THE

PICTORIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_KU-191-395_1

Pictorial History of SCOTLAND.

VOL. I.

GALGACUS ADDRESSING HIS ARMY.

"MARCH THEN TO BATTLE, AND THINK OF YOUR ANCESTORS,
AND THINK OF YOUR POSTERITY."

GEORGE VIRTUE, LONDON AND NEW YORK.

THE PICTORIAL

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

FROM

The Roman Invasion to the Close of the Jacobite Rebellion.

A.D. 79 — 1746.

BY JAMES TAYLOR, D.D.,

ASSISTED BY

PROFESSOR LINDSAY, D.D., PROFESSOR EADIE, D.D., L.L.D.,
JOHN ANDERSON, D.D., GEORGE MACDONALD, ESQ., F.E.I.S.,

AND OTHER CONTRIBUTORS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS ON STEEL.

LONDON:
JAMES S. VIRTUE, CITY ROAD AND IVY LANE;
AND NEW YORK: 26, JOHN STREET.
1859.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY JAMES S. VIRTUE,
CITY ROAD.

TO

SIR DAVID BREWSTER,

K.H., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., V.P.R.S. Edin., M.R.I.A., F.R.A.S.;

ASSOCIATE OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE;
HONORARY, OR CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ACADEMIES OF ST. PETERSBURG, VIENNA, BERLIN, COPENHAGEN, STOCKHOLM, BRUSSELS, GOTLINGEN, MODENA, AND OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF WASHINGTON;
AND PRINCIPAL OF THE UNITED COLLEGE OF ST. SALVADOR AND ST. LEONARDS, ST. ANDREW'S,

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

HIS FRIEND,

JAMES TAYLOR.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

	A.D.	PAGE
GEOLOGY OF SCOTLAND		i—xcvi
CHAPTER I.		
The Roman Period	—	1
CHAPTER II.		
The Caledonians	—	9
CHAPTER III.		
Pictish Period	446—843.	23
CHAPTER IV.		
The Scottish Period	843—1097.	33
CHAPTER V.		
Ecclesiastical History	563—597.	48
CHAPTER VI.		
Scoto-Saxon Period	1097—1306.	59
CHAPTER VII.		
Robert Bruce	1306—1329.	113
CHAPTER VIII.		
Robert Bruce	1329—1330.	140
CHAPTER IX.		
Ecclesiastical History during the Scoto-Saxon Period	1097—1329.	166
CHAPTER X.		
State of the Country	1097—1329.	172
CHAPTER XI.		
David the Second	1329—1346.	184
CHAPTER XII.		
The Parliament of Scotland—Laws — Charters — Royal Burghs — Trade and Commerce—Coinage — Weights and Measures — Houses, Military Arms, and Dress—Sports and Amusements	1097—1370.	213
CHAPTER XIII.		
Robert the Second	1370—1390.	224
CHAPTER XIV.		
Robert the Third	1390—1424.	238
CHAPTER XV.		
James the First	1424—1437.	258
CHAPTER XVI.		
Ecclesiastical History	1370—1436.	275
CHAPTER XVII.		
Condition of the People	1370—1436.	280
CHAPTER XVIII.		
Language and Literature during the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries	1285—1437.	289
CHAPTER XIX.		
James the Second	1436—1460.	316
CHAPTER XX.		
James the Third	1460—1488.	346
CHAPTER XXI.		
Condition of the People	1436—1488.	365
CHAPTER XXII.		
James the Fourth	1488—1513.	378
CHAPTER XXIII.		
James the Fifth	1513—1542.	411
CHAPTER XXIV.		
Literary History of the Period . .	1494—1557.	474
CHAPTER XXV.		
Condition of the People	1488—1542.	532
CHAPTER XXVI.		
Mary.—[From her accession to her departure for France.]	1542—1548.	562
CHAPTER XXVII.		
Mary	1548—1561.	615
CHAPTER XXVIII.		
Ecclesiastical History	1542—1560.	660
CHAPTER XXIX.		
Mary	1561—1565.	698
CHAPTER XXX.		
Mary	1565—1567.	750
APPENDIX		774

GEOLOGY OF SCOTLAND.

GEOLOGY is that branch of science which relates to the structure of the earth, the mineral constituents of its mountains and other rocky masses, and the causes which have contributed to the relative distribution of land and water over its surface. It thus embraces physical geography as well as a consideration of the various changes that have rendered the planet so suitable a habitation for organised beings, recent and extinct. The researches of the geologist clearly show that the surface of the earth has not always been as it now is—that there have been various modifications, from time to time produced, of its superficial arrangements—that the sea and land have repeatedly interchanged places—and that gradually, and not all at once, it has assumed an external configuration so admirably adapted for sustaining life, more especially human life, in its highest type of organised matter.

The qualities and varieties of the rocky strata, their vertical arrangement and position, no less than their diversity into mountain and plain, river and ocean bed, demonstrate them to be the work of a designing cause, of the All-wise and Almighty Creator. Rocks are neither the offspring of chance, nor the accidental effect of causes that might have generated a wholly different product, without effecting the end for which they were created. The marks of intelligence and benevolence with which they are everywhere stamped, and the important office they fulfil in determining the condition of the human race, in their migrations and occupancy of different territories, evince a designing purpose in their arrangement, distribution, and mineral constituents. It is solely in consequence of these conditions, that the earth is fitted, in so eminent a degree, to be the residence of such an order of beings as man, whereby they are divided into nations and communities; separated by seas, continents, and islands; and are impelled to seek the means of subsistence, civilisation, and improvement, by ingenuity and exertion. This constitution of the earth has, accordingly, produced a most decisive influence on their physical, social, and moral condition. The character of the strata which constitute the surface, the nature of the metals imbedded beneath, and the broken and dislocated position into which both have been thrown, rendering them at once accessible and workable, have contributed to the very existence of our commerce and arts; to the extension and improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and navigation in every country of the world. A different arrangement of the mineral masses, or of even a few of the geographical features of the earth, would have greatly altered its physical adaptations to the human family, changed the relations of large portions of its inhabitants to each other, given a different direction to their pursuits, and issued in a different history.

Thus, for example, had any of the great mountain ranges of the world been altered in their direction and height, or of the seas and oceans in their free opening into each other, or had the continents extended from pole to pole, and what a different state of things would have prevailed over the surface? The dispersion of the race from the eastern cradle of their birth, their subsequent intermixtures, their occupation of particular countries, and their final circumnavigation of the globe, would not have taken place in the manner and time, nor been attended with the same beneficial results, that have issued under the existing disposition of things. Transplant the Himalaya, with their lofty table-lands, across Northern Europe, dividing Russia from Germany instead of Thibet from India, and, along with an entire change in the climate and productions of these nations, the agency of the tribes on one another would have operated very differently, both in Europe and in Central Asia. Instead of the hardy intelligent Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon, and other races, sprung from the Japhetic stock which inhabit Great Britain, and her world-wide colonies, a degenerate caste would have risen up, and retarded the progress of civilisation. Had Africa, instead of projecting from Europe to the South, stretched to the West, and joined the continent of America, the whole history of the world, ancient and modern, would have been changed: the black Negro of the tropics, and the red Indian of the wilderness, would, ages ago, have invaded each other's territories, mingled with each other's blood, and modified each other's habits. Europe and the Atlantic side of North America would have been isolated from the southern part of the globe, and Spain and Portugal would have had no part nor lot in the produce and treasures of the western world. The plains of Italy and France, it can be established on geological data, emerged from the sea shortly before, or nearly coincident with, the historical era. Had that physical event been prevented, which it might have been, or even delayed, by the shifting of the subterranean forces that caused their elevation, and what mighty influences would have been withdrawn, through their operation upon Roman and Gallican States, from modifying the condition of every civilised people in the world—in their language, arts, literature, history, government, and religion!

Now, one main object of Geology is to investigate the nature of the causes which led to the actual condition of the earth's surface and rendered it so convenient an abode for man, as well as the kinds of animals and plants which existed in the past epochs of its history, and are now entombed in its rocky strata. The rocks, for miles deep, have been severally examined. The earliest appearances of organic life have been traced. The place of the metals and of the richest minerals have been accurately explored. Five hundred genera, and eight hundred to a thousand species of the larger families of vertebrate animals, and a thousand genera and species of fossil plants, have been restored to human investigation and spread out in the cabinets of natural history. With such disclosures it may be safely averred that no subject within the compass of human research has been attended with more beneficial practical results, or more brilliant discoveries into the past history of the planet, than have attended with such rapidity, variety, and number, the investigations of the geologist. There can be none more improving in extending our acquaintance with nature—none more calculated to give cheerful, healthful recreation—and none more directly fitted to raise the mind to wonder and admiration, while contemplating the works of the great architect of the universe. The earth has been the cradle, so will it be the grave of all our race. Hence the legitimate desire to learn its origin and its cause, the manner of its formation, and the laws of its continued course.

Geology has a claim to be regarded as History—Antiquarian History—a record of events which lie in the far distant past. The rocks of Scotland, described in the following pages, belong most of them to the oldest formations in the world. None go deeper into the crust, or can be ascribed to the operation of anterior secondary causes. The fossil remains, contained in the lower stratified series, consist of the earliest types of organised bodies anywhere detected in the strata of the earth. The testimony of their existence as living substances, vegetable and animal, in very remote periods of time, and now incorporated as parts of the solid rock, is of a nature not to be resisted: it speaks at once to the senses and the understanding as alike credible and satisfactory. The more ancient periods of Scottish history are involved in doubt and fable: the first settlers in the island, whence they came, the line of the earliest kings, and the system of the Druidical priesthood, are matters still of uncertainty. The evidences of Geology, whose memorials are infinitely older, rest upon direct observation; nay, the older the chronicles here, the less uncertainty is there as to their reading, where the registers are all engraven in the most legible characters, and, to be understood, have only to be examined and compared with existing forms of life. A state of things, in the most lucid order and form, has thereby been revealed in the vegetable, animal, and mineral kingdoms, very different from anything in existing nature—plants generically distinct from all living types—animals whose families have all passed away—and systems of rocks which can no longer be produced by any visible agencies, under existing arrangements.

The physical outline of Scotland is very much influenced by its geological conditions. The headlands, bays, creeks, and valleys, are all determined, less or more, by the peculiar formations and the disposition of the rocks. Hence the exceedingly irregular form of the coast-line, as presented on maps, where exposed to the action of the sea. The localities of the different mineral substances of the primary and secondary rocks, are readily distinguishable by the long sea-arms or other indentations upon the shores, where, in their stronger resistance to its erosive action, the older rocks generally occupy the capes and headlands, while the newer, from their softer texture, as limestone and sandstone, have been penetrated, washed away, or exposed in isolated patches. The islands, and especially the islands on the western coast, have in this manner been detached from the mainland, their chief mass and lofty ridges consisting of the hardest crystalline rocks, and presenting along the beaches only narrow stripes of those more easily eroded. The great straths and valleys, again, are all determined in their direction and extent by the position and bearing of the mountain chains, as the valleys of the Spey, Dee, Tay, Forth, Tweed, and Teviot, which have all an easterly course corresponding with the mountain summits; they all lie nearly parallel to each other, and the rivers, with their tributaries, all pour their waters into the German Sea. The line of bearing is nearly E.N.E. by W.S.W.; and with scarcely a single exception, every class of rocks, whether occupying the plains or lining the uplands, or caping the ridges, range from sea to sea across the island. Hence a description of any particular locality, in respect of the same series of rocks, will be found of general application over the mainland; where the continuity is broken by straths, lakes, or arms of the sea, the particular formation can be easily recognised on the opposite sides. The student may, therefore, indifferently as it were, begin his researches along any intermediate district as his convenience or his sojourn for the time may direct. And thus, whether it be the gneiss of Cape Wrath or Ardtorinish—the granite of Aberdeen or Arran—the schists of Kincardine or

the Mull of Cantyre—the sandstones of Stonehaven or Helensburgh—the porphyry of Dundee or Largs—the carboniferous deposits of St. Andrew's or Ayr—the columnar basalts of Earlsferry or Staffa—the lesson throughout will be one and the same, either as respects the mineral constituents, or the geognostic position, or the relative ages of the rocks examined.

The causes of this parallelism in the mountain chains, and continuity in their rocky materials, are to be sought for in the elevatory movements which acted contemporaneously upon their masses, and the direction of the forces which produced them. The hypothesis of M. Elie de Beaumont implies that "continuous systems must have had a simultaneous origin," embracing a vast extent of geographical area, and arranged into groups and systems in lines parallel to a great circle on the sphere. The various qualities of rocks in Scotland are so arranged, from the most ancient primary to the newest sedimentary formations, running in a direction from south-west to north-east, and preserving throughout the valleys, slopes, and ridges of hills one common line of bearing. As we shall afterwards see, volcanic agencies have been at work all over the island. These agencies lifted up the strata and formed them into mountains over their central nucleus. The great lines of fissure, occasioned by the disruption of the strata, would consequently partake of the same rectilinear movements; and hence the lakes, friths, and straths generally, as well as the chains of hills and mountains, all maintain an approximation to parallelism—proofs that the upheaving agency from beneath must have extended across the country in the direction thus indicated.

The mainland of Scotland lies between 54° 38′ and 58° 40′ 30″ of north latitude, and 1° 46′ and 6° 8′ 30″ of west longitude, and has been estimated at 26,400 square miles, and the circumference, including minor irregularities, at about 3000 miles. The islands and fresh-water lakes are reckoned to be nearly 3700 square miles, or upwards of one-ninth of its superficial area. The extent of coast-line from Duncansbay Head to Berwick is 712 miles; from Duncansbay Head to Cape Wrath 145 miles; from Cape Wrath to the Mull of Galloway 1430 miles; the south coast where washed by the Solway to the mouth of the Esk 173 miles: and of borderland the distance eastward to Coldstream is about 90 miles. Hence there are rather less than eleven square miles of surface to one mile of sea-coast, whereas in the whole of Europe, there are twenty-five miles of surface to one of sea-coast; and in the other quarters of the globe there is a still higher ratio of the former to the latter.*

The rock formations of Scotland, now to be cursorily described within this area, consist of three great divisions, namely, the primary, transition, and secondary. To these are to be added a few limited sections of new red sandstone, and the upper and still newer series of strata of which two-thirds of the superficial extent of England are covered, but of which only the smallest traces are to be found in Scotland along the north-eastern and western shores. Rocks are termed stratified or unstratified, aqueous or igneous, according as they have been supposed to be formed in water, or erupted in a melted state from the bowels of the earth. They are divided into formations, systems, and groups, according to the conditions under which they have been formed, and the mineral and organic contents by which they are distinguished. The term *formation* is applied to designate rocks which seem to have originated under nearly similar circumstances, and whose ages are relatively embraced within a definite geological epoch. The

* Nicol's *Guide to the Geology of Scotland*, pp. 9, 10.

term *system* is of a more limited application, and is intended simply to express their relation to each other as determined by their mineral and fossil characters. A *group* of rocks is still less generic than either of these; as there may be several systems in a formation, so there may be several groups in a system, such as a crystalline, sandstone, or limestone group or series of strata. The following table exhibits both divisions and sub-divivisions according to their mineral connexion, chronological order, and relative superposition.

TABULAR VIEW OF ROCKS.

PRIMARY FORMATION.	TRANSITION OR LOWER SECONDARY FORMATION.	UPPER SECONDARY AND TERTIARY FORMATIONS.
Gneiss.	Grauwake.	New Red Sandstone.
Mica Schist.	Silurian Schists.	Lias. Oolite. Wealden.
Quartz Rock.	Old Red Sandstone.	Chalk.
Limestone.	Coal Series.	Tertiary Series.
Clay Slate.	Mountain Limestone.	

IGNEOUS ROCKS.

Granite.	Felspar Porphyry.	Amygdaloid.
Basalt.	Compact Felspar.	Clinkstone.
Claystone.	Greenstone.	Tufa.

The rocks, as arranged under the head of formations, are all stratified, and are therefore supposed to owe their origin to deposition in water. The igneous rocks all belong to the unstratified class, and are consequently as justly ascribed to volcanic action, whose materials were once in a state of fusion, and ejected from beneath the crust of the earth. The primary series are by far the most widely developed of the rock formations of Scotland, covering upwards of 19,000 square miles, or about two-thirds of its superficial extent. They prevail chiefly in the northern Highland counties. The lower group of the secondary formation is, in part of the series, limited to the southern division and border districts, consisting of grauwake, silurian schists, and impure shelly limestones. The middle or central districts are occupied with the old red sandstone, the coal metals, and the mountain limestone. The upper secondary and tertiary formations are, in Scotland, of very limited extent, and chiefly confined to Dumfriesshire and the Hebrides; while again, with the exception of the granite the igneous class all lie within the area of the coal field or form its out-works, constituting the Sidlaw, Ochil, Campsie, Kilpatrick, and Pentland ranges of hills. But in proceeding with our geological description, according to the natural order of the rocks from the lower to the higher, it will be most convenient to adopt their geographical distribution from north to south, which arrangement, although necessarily attended with some repetition, will upon the whole be found the most conducive to perspicuity and systematic condensation. One of the most remarkable facts in descriptive Geology is, that in a transverse section from any two points across the mainland, as from Cape Wrath to Berwick, we pass over the whole intermediate series of rocks—system upon system—not piled up in one colossal mass, but drawn out and slipped over the edges of one another, and so arranged and disposed at successive intervals, as to be projected in regular order to the surface. The arrangement, like the drawers in a cabinet or the courses in a building, is thus uniform from below upwards, and as nearly as possible according

to lineal perspective. This arrangement is never inverted. From the blue slates of the Grampians to the new red sandstone flags of Dumfriesshire, there is a persistent succession of ascending beds of rock, lying with their outcrops one above another, chapter after chapter of the world's history stereotyped on their stony tablets, and the families of its remotest annals in countless numbers of vegetable and animal forms restored to the inspection of the curious, learned and unlearned.

The annexed section gives a condensed view of the different formations, in their natural order of superposition and geographical sequence; from the Grampians to the Solway, in which, according to their several systems and groups, the whole series of Scottish rocks are represented from the granite to the new red sandstone (see Plate I). A section from the same primary range, taken in a northern direction to the Pentland Frith, includes the same series, with the exception of the coal measures; but in their stead, there are patches at irregular distances of the overlying formations, as the oolite, wealden, chalk, and tertiaries, so abundant in England. Thus, within the circumscribed limits assigned for this sketch, rocks of every known kind meet our view, and Scotland in its mineral wealth and variety may be considered as an epitome of the globe.

THE PRIMARY FORMATION.

The rocks included under this formation consist of granite, gneiss, mica-slate, limestone, quartz-rock, and clay-slate. Their mineral constituents differ very little from each other: felspar, quartz, mica, and hornblende, enter into them all; lime, talc, and chlorite, are more abundant in or exclusively confined to others; and, through the whole series, these simple minerals exist either in the form of perfect crystals, or as broken, fragmentary portions of crystals. They are all, in consequence, more or less, crystalline in their structure; and they are termed PRIMARY, because they not merely denote the absence, but are assumed to have been formed before the existence of living things, vegetable or animal.

Granite constitutes the basis of the whole; and although, according to the igneous theory of its origin, it is probably a later formation than any of them, yet as the fundamental rock, not only in this, but in all countries of the world, it falls naturally to be described as the first of the series. The prevailing constituents of granite are quartz, felspar, and mica; where hornblende is added or substituted, as it frequently is, for mica, it is then denominated sienite; and in this form it is easily distinguished by the darker colour which it assumes from the presence of the hornblende. The more usual colours of granite (which are red, grey, or whitish grey), are not unimportant as regards its texture for polishing and economic purposes. Thus the red of Peterhead and Aberdeen are found to be the most durable; the white varieties are esteemed to be the next in quality: the scale of hardness diminishes in the proportion in which hornblende, talc, and other ingredients abound. The mica sparkles like gold, and exists sometimes in crystals, as well as the talc, of more than a foot square, when it is split up into thin plates, and used as a substitute for glass. Some granites are binary, consisting only of two minerals, felspar with quartz or hornblende, and when polished break into irregular lines, resembling Arabic letters, on which account it has been called graphic granite. A vein of this rock traverses the district about a mile east of the town of Portsoy, in Banffshire, in connection with mica-slate and a bed of lustrous marble of great celebrity.

Nothing surprises one more when looking at this brilliantly diversified rock than to be told that it owes its origin to fire, and once existed in a state of fusion beneath the crust. Granite forms mountains, always the largest in volume and loftiest in elevation in the world. It environs with its rocky vesture the whole circle of the globe, and is the basis on which all the other formations rest. It has penetrated and risen above every other part of the crust, and, in beauty of colouring, closeness of texture, condensation, and other qualities of endurance, granite, even in the mass, resembles, if it does not sometimes rival, the gems and precious stones of rarer occurrence. What the precise combination of causes, and what the circumstances under which they must have acted, in order to unite the ingredients in the proportions and forms that constitute its peculiarities, there are no means, in the present state of science, of determining; but by a common observer examining a hand specimen of this remarkable rock, the agency of heat would least of all be predicated as having been concerned in its production. It is difficult still more, upon many scientific grounds, to admit the hypothesis, as, for example, the unequal fusibility of its general constituents, quartz, felspar, and mica;—quartz requires for its fusion a temperature equal to 4043° of Wedgewood's pyrometer; felspar is fusible at a varying heat of 120° to 150°, and mica can be reduced at a still lower temperature. It is argued, in these circumstances, that the tripartite crystalline structure of this rock could not be effected—that in the same mass quartz could not be fluid when felspar was solid—nor the mica in a condition to be aggregated with either—when all, if in fusion must have been consolidated at such unequal temperatures. It is farther argued, that, as regular crystals of felspar are not unfrequently found imbedded in quartz, the felspar must have become solid while the quartz remained fluid, contrary to what would have happened from the known fusibilities of these substances, if they had consolidated from fusion. Asbestus, it is likewise stated, is a foreign ingredient in granite, and which, although it melts at a lower temperature, is found penetrating in the most delicate fibres through the quartz; and, finally, that shorl, a substance of comparatively easy fusibility, is often crystallised in the quartz, shooting through it in every direction, with various wavings and incurvations, and in fibres even finer than the human hair, all tending to prove that the quartz had been completely liquid when the shorl crystallised. Whence, above all, it is demanded, the source of the immense heat, the causes of its support, and the means of its action when deprived of the vital air, that could first fuse masses of matter beyond the power of imagination to conceive, elevate these masses through the crust of the globe, and pile them up into the highest mountain chains, simultaneously in the several quarters of the globe? *

It is argued, in reply, that the fires that issue from volcanoes are evidences of heat existing in the interior of the earth; and that, in a globe of eight thousand miles diameter, there are stores enough of the combustible element for the fusion of matter elevated only four or five miles on its surface. The craters of Etna and Vesuvius have been successively augmented, and islands are frequently seen to arise out of the sea; and what, therefore, could hinder the forces that raised up the Alps, Hymalayas, and Andes, from melting and ejecting the materials of which they are composed? The state of extreme condensation in which the granite rocks are found to exist shows the presence of some cementing

* *Comparative View of the Huttonian and Neptunian Systems*, pp. 240-1.

element, in the aggregation of their component particles, which heat only was capable of producing. The several crystals are likewise in such a condition of form, arrangement, and contact, as only fusion could have rendered possible; as, for example, when they impress each other, quartz moulded on the felspar, or, as no less frequently happens, the felspar giving its form to the quartz: a clear evidence, in either case, of a soft condition of both substances, and that softness occasioned by fusion from heat. The existence of VEINS so generally diffused among the primary rocks, and composed of the purest specimens of crystallised granite, is adduced as one of the strongest proofs of the igneous theory of its origin. These veins have the appearance of streams, of the melted substance, that have poured through fissures and rents, penetrated and broken up passages in other rocks, running in every direction, and often crossing each other, and generally traceable to some great nucleus or central mass of the formation. The rocks along their course are usually altered, or affected in such a manner by induration, discolouring, fracture, or smoothness of surface, as indicates either the presence of intense heat, or the mechanical action of a body of matter violently intruded amongst them. Lastly, the form and position of the primary mountains, the dislocation and upheaval of their exterior parts, where strata originally horizontal are now nearly vertical, and beds once united are separated, and the interspaces filled with granite, are regarded as the most direct and conclusive testimony that the disturbing agency has been produced by the expansive force of heat, and that the intruded matter, which is always granite, has been fused and ejected by its action.*

These are some of the arguments adduced on both sides of the celebrated controversy known as the Wernerian and Huttonian Theories, whereby the one ascribed the origin of all rocks to precipitation in water, while the other contended that granite at least, and some others, were produced by fusion in fire, and ejected from the interior of the earth. Hence the terms Neptunian and Plutonic rocks as applied to their respective systems. Werner, the father of systematic mineralogy, studied in Germany, and derived his knowledge chiefly from the Hartz and Swiss mountains. Hutton was a native of Scotland, traversed all the hills of Caledonia, and founded his theory mainly on the appearances of granitic veins as exhibited in Glentilt, the centre of the Scottish Grampians. Though little doubtful of the correctness of Hutton's views, Sir Charles Lyell applies the term *hypogene* to the granitoid group; that is, nether or under-formed rocks, to avoid any particular theory as to their origin. But the term has not been generally sanctioned among geologists, the prevailing opinion being that granite is of igneous origin, the result of the gradual cooling down of the globe while in an incandescent state, and is therefore inferior to all the stratified systems.

The Grampian range, which divides Scotland into two nearly equal parts, and separates the Highlands from the Lowlands, is the principal seat of the primary formation, and of which granite constitutes the centre or nucleus through their entire length. The great mass, forming the anticlinal axis of the district, stretches from the western shores at Oban, to Peterhead on the eastern, where some of the loftiest peaks of the Grampians consist of granite, rising in Ben Cruachan, Ben-y-gloe, Ben-Mac-Dhui, Loch-na-gar, and other distinguished mountains, to upwards of 4000 feet. Ben-Mac-Dhui, according to the latest measurement, is 4418 feet in height, and covers a superficial basis of nearly forty miles in extent,

* Playfair's *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory.*

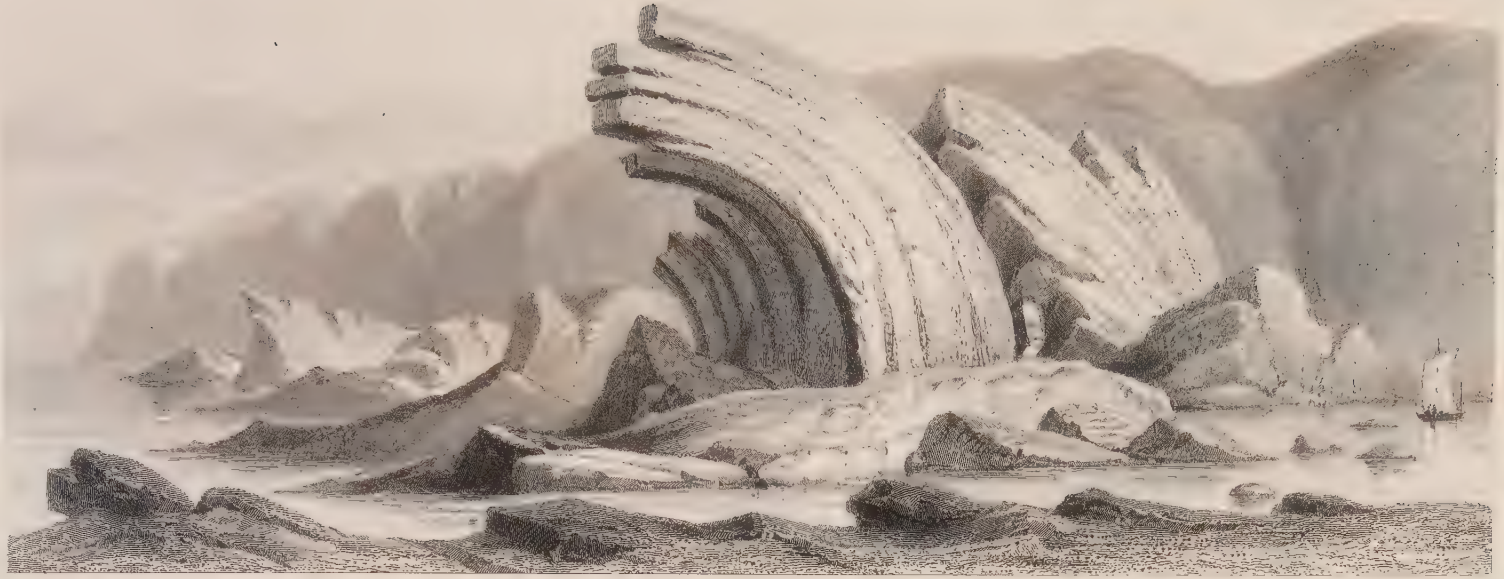
one vast mass of reddish granite. It occupies a central position in the loftiest part of the range, in whose deep recesses are the sources of the Dee and Don, and the springs of the "deer-haunted Avon," whence ridges of granite diverge for thirty miles continuously in every direction, and extend over the whole eastern division of Aberdeenshire. A vast, but less connected range, traverses the district from Morven, on the west, to the Moray Frith, on the east, passing through Ben Nevis, Glen Roy, the mountainous shores of Loch Ness, and sending outliers along the Findhorn, to Forres, on the south, and on the north by Loch Eil, Sunart, Loch Duich, and the wild districts of Kintail. Detached mountains of great elevation, and long out-stretching hillocks in the moorland districts, occur in Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness; the islands of Sky, Rum, Mull, and Arran, are all caped in their highest pinnacles by the same rock, whence it stretches, but at wide intervals, into Kircudbrightshire, through part of Wighton, Galloway, and terminates in the lofty table-land and ridge of Criffel, on the Solway. Over this wide extent of its superficial distribution granite, according to the most accurate estimates, covers about 1760 square geographical miles, or about a fifteenth part of Scotland; but, considered as an eruptive or hypogene rock, the formation may be found underneath in many localities where it is not actually visible. While, in Goatfell, and other mountain peaks, the granite protrudes through the schistose rocks that wind round their bases and sides, and often cover them to near the summits, there are many other mountains, as Ben-y-gloe, and Bernera, near Fort Augustus, where the formation is only discoverable by small out-bursts that are exposed in the ravines worn by the rivers along their acclivities, or by veins traversing the strata in their immediate vicinity.

The veins themselves form an interesting feature in the geological history of the primary rocks. The granite veins are of different dimensions, some being of the breadth of several yards, others of a few feet or inches, and some even as thin as paper. They are of unknown depth, and generally diminish in thickness as they recede from the central mass or main body of the formation. Veins also occur in many places where there is no visible connection with the parent rock, and where, for miles distant, no granite mountain appears. The presumption is, from what are actually seen, and the curious and diversified ways in which the overlying systems are penetrated, that, were the surface of the primary districts fully exposed, these remarkable phenomena would be found over the length and breadth of the country, reticulating every part as with a gigantic system of network, and showing the mighty levers employed by nature in piling up her Cyclopean masonry. They are found in most of the western islands, and in some of them, as Coll, where there is no connection with any mass of the same rock. In Arran they are beautifully developed, in Glen Rosa and Glen Sannox, also in Glen Catcol, where they pentrate in every direction, and in every degree of thickness, the clay and mica slates: in Galloway, on the banks of Loch Kin, where an interesting series occurs, varying from fifty yards to the tenth of an inch in width, and running through the schistose beds, over an area of country of nearly eight miles square. The veins in Glentilt are seen in the bed of the river, where, in the space of little more than a mile, the strata of limestone are intersected by nine or ten large, and by double the number of smaller veins, some extremely thin, and several of them, accompanied with such marks of dislocation, confusion, and induration in the invaded rocks, as indicate very strongly the original fluidity of the granite, and the violence with which it has been injected amongst them.

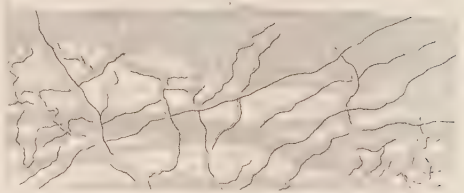
They are likewise observable in several places in the district of Rannoch, at Glen-Drummond on the Spey, at Fort Augustus near Loch Clunie, in the neighbourhood of Huntly, and about eighteen miles northward, at Portsoy, where the singular graphic variety of granite is found. Veins are equally numerous in the counties of Ross, Caithness, and Sutherland; and here, in closing our description of them, we would particularly notice the promontory of Cape Wrath, "the land's end of Scotland's wildest region, and the most advanced post of its wildest seas." This majestic promontory rises about 600 feet above the sea—a bare, rugged, flinty mass of stone, and is connected with the mainland by a ledge of rocks, consisting of gneiss and quartz; the cape itself is composed of gneiss, interstratified with dark hornblende rocks, and reticulated all over with the most remarkable display of granitic veins. It is hollowed out into lofty arches and winding caverns, through which the sea passes with the velocity of a torrent; a huge pyramid, towering above the loftiest billows, and presenting, as the termination of the rude mountain ranges of Scotland, a buttress of unrivalled strength and sublimity, worthy of all their wildness and all their grandeur.

The rock which immediately overlies the granite is Gneiss, of which there are three varieties, each composed of felspar, quartz, and mica, and only distinguishable by the size, form, and arrangement of the crystals that constitute the mass. Gneiss is essentially, therefore, a granite in its component parts, but differs from granite in being always stratified, and in presenting none of the phenomena that accompany the agency of fire. It is indisputably admitted to be of aqueous origin, formed by precipitation in water, and afterwards indurated by chemical action or mechanical pressure. It consists of a series of thin lenticular plates, which give it a ribbon-like appearance, and which, according to the predominance of one of the ingredients, causes the rock to assume the slaty, granular, or aggregate structure. Talc, hornblende, chlorite, actinolite, as in granite, are not unfrequently diffused through the substance of gneiss, whence particular names have been adopted to distinguish the varieties in which they occur. Thus, when talc or chlorite is mixed in the substance, it is termed *protogine*, by the French geologists; when the crystals of felspar and quartz are very minute, the rock is named whitestone, or *leptinite;* when the hornblende and felspar predominate, mixed with actinolite, it graduates into a *primitive greenstone;* and when the quartz and felspar are scarcely visible from their extreme attenuation, it merges into a variety of *hornstone.* Sometimes the quartz, instead of being disposed in layers or plates in the felspar, occurs in small parallel rods or bars; and when this species is cut perpendicular to the direction of the rods, especially after exposure to the atmosphere, it assumes the appearance, and in hand specimens is often mistaken for, petrified wood.

Gneiss, the lowest of the stratified rocks, is likewise the most widely diffused of the Scottish primary series, filling an area of 9600 square miles, and with scarcely a break over this extensive district of country. It occupies nearly the entire northern counties of Sutherland, Ross, and Inverness; great part of Nairn, Elgin, Aberdeen, and Perth shires; most of the western islands, as Tiree, Coll, South and North Uist, Harries, and Lewis, consist of the formation, as also considerable tracts in Orkney and Shetland. While in a soft state, or from the vast pressure to which it has been subjected, this rock often assumes the most singular contorted appearances, whole miles presenting twistings and undulations as if the substance had been moved and tossed like a stormy sea, and sometimes crumpled and bent, or rolled into gentle, unbroken flexures like a web of cloth. It will thus,



2



Pl. CURVED GNEISS IN LEWIS.— N°2. SECTION OF STRATHFDEN AND DURA DEN, 4 MILES.— N° 3. TRAP VEINS TRAVERSING LIMESTONE IN ARDNAMURCHAN

in such cases, exhibit beautiful and picturesque aspects; and where exposed in ravines along with other rocks, with which it finely contrasts, no better pictures or groupings of rock scenery are to be met with. But, in general, where the gneiss is unbroken, and as it seldom rises into peaks or serrated ridges, the districts in which it prevails are rather monotonous and unpleasing, not unfrequently disfigured by spongy heaths and boggy wastes. The most desolate, uninteresting portion of the Highlands is unquestionably the north-western districts of Ross and Sutherland, where the hills of this formation are all flat and shapeless, surrounded by unvarying solitudes of brown moor, interminable deserts of sand, and scarcely enlivened by a river, or broken in their silence by a waterfall. Gneiss is the oldest rock known in the records of Geology—the lowest floor of the most ancient seas—probably the first dry land that rose above their surface—and here in these sterile wastes presenting a scene of almost primitive chaos and desolation.

The next member of the series, in the ascending order, is Mica-Slate, or Schist, which, as possessing more mica, and being of a more slaty structure, is so denominated. This rock is readily distinguished from gneiss by its glistening aspect, and from granite by the absence of felspar, although it occasionally seems to graduate into both when in contact. The particles of which it is composed are uniformly more broken and rounded than those of gneiss, which probably arises from their being partly derived from the granite and partly from the gneiss, and have in consequence undergone a double process of attrition. Veins of quartz, parallel with the strata or crossing them in every direction, are so predominant often as to change the usual colour from a glistening grey into a mottled white. Vertical dykes of the purest quartz, sometimes several yards in breadth, and traceable for miles along the surface, are likewise of frequent occurrence. One variety is termed garnet-schist, from the circumstance of these beautiful crystals being so abundantly distributed through the substance of the rock as to form a principal ingredient, as well as greatly to enhance the sparkling lustre of the mica. The garnets vary from the size of a small seed to an inch in diameter, are of a dark crimson colour or blackish brown, and under a bright sun look like gems in a setting of gold. They occur plentifully in the formation near Huntly, in the upper districts of Strath Tay, and of considerable dimension and very perfect in the Isle of Mull.

The geographical distribution of this rock is much inferior in extent to the gneiss: it is chiefly confined to the more central division of the Grampians, which it accompanies in one continuous envelope, along the range from sea to sea. The mica-schist thus embraces within its course the finest and most celebrated scenery of the Highlands. No lover of the picturesque, in his most favoured haunts, can fail to recognise it, whether by its bright metallic aspect or the remarkable flexures into which the strata are twisted and folded up. Suffice it to mention the beautiful ravines on the Esk and Isla, the pass of Killicrankie, the Trosachs, the charming environs of Loch Ketterin and Loch Lomond, the precipitous defiles of Glencoe, and the dark rugged mountains that surround Loch Goyle, Loch Fyne, and Loch Awe. The hills of this formation are among the loftiest and most notable in the Grampian range, rising to 4000 feet and upwards; as Cairnwell, Ben-y-gloe, Schichallion, Ben Lawers, Ben Vorlich, Ben Ledi, Ben Venue, Ben Lomond, and all the bold serrated ridges to the west. The long headland terminating in the Mull of Cantyre, great part of the islands of Bute, Arran, Jura, Isla, and the whole of Colonsay, consist of mica-slate; whence crossing to the

mainland, embracing Mull, the formation stretches from Appin through Glencoe, encircles Ben Nevis and the higher parts of Badenoch, lines the watershed of the Spey on both sides as far as Laggan, where it is interrupted by the gneiss, but re-appears on the slopes of the Cairngorm mountains, and spreads over great part of the intermediate district towards Portsoy and Cullen.

We have remarked on the veins and dykes of quartz that characterise the mica-slate formation, and no one perhaps ever passes a bowlder of this substance without a momentary inquiry as to the causes of its origin, or the pure region whence it has issued. The student in Geology is familiar with mountains of it. Quartz-rock exists as an independent member of the series, as well as an ingredient in every one of the primary, and of nearly all other rocks. One set of theorists regard it as only an altered sandstone, which, through the intense action of heat, has been fused, and on cooling was crystallised. The more prevailing opinion is that which ascribes it, like gneiss and mica-schist, to precipitation in water; but as it alternates with both, sometimes resting on the granite, sometimes intermediate betwixt the gneiss and schist, not unfrequently overlying the latter, and plentifully distributed through them all, in the form of veins and dykes, which penetrate, like the granite itself, the whole members of the system, it is difficult to ascribe to either view, and still more difficult to find a substitute for either theory of formation. There are problems in every subject which science has not yet solved. That there should be mysteries in Geology on the formative processes of rocks, the sources of their constituent elements, and their mode of aggregation, is according to the rule and not the exception of speculative inquiry. The quartz-rock, thus difficult in theory to be accounted for, has a range and position in the Grampians nearly co-extensive with the mica-slate, with whose substance it is so mixed up and forms so large a proportion. A belt of quartz crosses the island, having its eastern limit in Banffshire, its greatest breadth in Braemar and Athole, and attaining its culminating point on Schichallion, which consists wholly in the upper ridges of pure granular quartz. The line of bearing is by Glenlyon and Glenorchay, where it terminates near Dalmally. The islands of Lismore, Lunga, Scarba, Isla, and Jura, are almost composed of quartz-rock, attaining in the Paps of Jura an elevation of upwards of 2000 feet, whose summits glance like polished marble under the rays of the setting sun, the Pharos of the western main. Another band of the same formation traverses the north-western coast from Loch Eishort in Sky, to Loch Eribol on the mainland; here there are several quartzose ridges of considerable altitude, among which is the Stack Balloch-nan-fey, a large conical mass of pure uncovered quartz-rock, described by Pennant as marble, and which glistens in the distance like snow. Ben Lair, Ben More, and other mountains in Ross-shire, of first-class magnitude, are composed of the same siliceous substance; likewise, the range of the Scarabins, on the southern verge of Caithness-shire, whose whiteness beautifully contrasts with the deep red of the sandstone by which they are encircled. Ben Lair exceeds 3000 feet, on which, says Dr. M'Culloch, "though it produces few Alpine plants to regale a botanist, a mineralogist will find enough employment in collecting the greatest variety of quartz that is perhaps to be found in any one place in the world, ranging from jet black, through every possible gradation to snow white, and equally differing in texture and appearance. But its great attractions are the views from the summit, and chiefly to the northward. The eye wanders far over the wildest mountains of Ross-shire, and through a county as apparently uninhabitable as it is uninhabited. It is usual, in describing

mountain scenery, to speak of rocks and precipices, whether present or not, but here they exist without any need of exaggeration. There is the reality in this district, not merely the name: mountains, whose faces show the very skeleton of the earth in all the details of its stratification, for miles together; with deep and wide valleys of enormous dimensions, bounded by vertical acclivities, just as the little ravines of torrents are in other places; everything is gigantic and terrible; wild and strange and new. From the summit of this mountain, the eye sees at once down into a valley, as if perpendicularly beneath, and at a depth of at least 3000 feet; while the various precipices that rise all round, no less than those which start immediately from beneath the feet, tending downwards into the abyss, and the deception which makes us imagine that even ourselves are suspended above it. Numerous lakes, among which Loch Fuir is conspicuous, add to the beauty of this wild and wondrous scenery; increasing also the picturesque effect produced by the infinite variety and intricacy of the mountain forms, by the deep shadows of the valleys, the reflected tints on the mountains, and the innumerable atmospheric effects in which scenery of this class always abounds."

While the eye of the geologist is thus enchanted, and the imagination regaled, amidst these sights and scenes of his apparently dry vocation, it is his province also to relate that, in an economic view, the quartz formation is neither the most valuable nor ornamental of minerals,—that for architectural purposes it is unsusceptible of polish, and to the agriculturist can be of no use,—and that, wherever it prevails, its course is marked by one continuous tract of sterility and barrenness, of spongy heaths and rocky *débris*.

But nature, who scatters her good things on the right hand and on the left, is sometimes as exuberant in her bountifulness as she is niggard and sterile in other communications. The rock which succeeds the quartz, and sometimes alternates with it, or is enclosed in its beds, is the PRIMARY LIMESTONE or marble, so extensively used for ornamental purposes. This formation consists of nearly equal parts of lime and carbonic acid, with a trace of silica. It resembles the quartz in outward appearance, in being granular, white, and lustrous in colour, and regularly stratified, and in hardness is scarcely distinguishable; but how different in its susceptibility of polish, and other practical uses. Famed among the ancients in the celebrated quarries of Paros, Pentelicus, and Carrara, their finest and most enduring specimens of sculpture were chiselled from the same family of rocks which claim a parentage with the limestone of the Grampians. There are several varieties, differing chiefly in colour, fineness of texture, or as containing imbedded crystals of tremolite, sahlite, augite, asbestus, and steatite, whence it derives its unctuous feel and variegated colours, as mottled, striped, and veined by lines of pink, green, and yellow. Its range is nearly co-extensive with that of the quartz formation, being generally imbedded in its mass, or accompanying its outcrop. It is burnt in a great many places into quicklime, but as the concretions have an extreme tendency to exfoliate and separate during the process, by the volatilisation of the carbonic acid, it is difficult to preserve its cohesive and other chemical properties, and is accordingly not rendered so applicable to economic uses as it otherwise might be, from the large proportion of calcareous matter contained in it. Preserving the same line of bearing with the quartz-rock, this limestone stretches along the more central parts of the Grampians, and is found in almost every position—in the bottoms of valleys, in the beds of rivers, on the sloping acclivities of mountains, or even caping their ridges and summits. It occurs plentifully on both sides of the

Dee, from Ballater towards the Castletown of Braemar, at which latter place it nearly composes the beautiful hill called the Lion's Face, and thence passes westward by Glen Clunie and the base of the quartz-caped Morven. Appearing at several intervening localities, it descends Glentilt, where it is so frequently penetrated by the granitic veins of Ben-y-gloe; and, crossing the river Garry, it may be observed high on the sides of the green hill of Tulloch; and spreading over the extensive tract southwards, to Loch Earn, there are various openings in the strata for quarries—in Glen Tummel, Glenlyon, near Loch Earn head, at Aberfoyle, Auchmar, Loch Lomond—when it is again traceable through all the western isles, from Lismore to the more quartzy regions of Jura and Isla.

The Clay-slate forms a very narrow strip, of about five or six miles in breadth, and may be described as the outer envelope of the primary series and upper crust of the Grampian range. It extends from Stonehaven, in a continuous belt, to Roseneath, and through Bute to Arran, where, at Loch Ransa, it is penetrated by the granite, and is seen in connection with the mica-slate. It consists of a fine-grained argillaceous basis, of considerable hardness, of various colours, from a greenish-black to a deep-mottled purple, and, from its splintery fissile structure, is admirably adapted for roofing-slate. Some of the smaller islands in the vicinity of Oban, as Luing, Eisdill, and Seil, are entirely composed of the formation, where it is extensively quarried, and has long formed an article of export. Various other bands of slate occur, in groups of different kinds and qualities, among the primary mountains. They are confined to no particular mineralogical district, but are distributed at long intervals, and appear as outliers indiscriminately in the granite, gneiss, and mica-slate series. They are termed talc, chlorite, actinolite, and hornblende schists, according to the prevalence of any one of these mineral substances in the mass. They have less or more an unctuous feel, a foliated or fibrous structure, an extremely flexible texture, and a fine glossy lustre. The chlorite schist is very abundant in the Cairnwell and Glenshee group; the hornblende variety, also strongly impregnated with cubical iron pyrites, occurs at Ballahulish and Appin, and Ben Lair, in Ross-shire; talc-slate is not abundant, and is generally incorporated with the mica-slate, by the substitution of the talc for the mica plates. Actinolite schist is usually associated with, as it differs little in character from, gneiss and some specimens of granite, and is found in considerable quantity in Glenelg, and the high and beautifully sloping passes of Glen Shiel.

The rocks of the primary formation, now described, are represented in Plate I., section 2, where the granite, as figure 1, occupies the centre of the group. The rest follow in the order enumerated—2, 3, 4, 5, 6; but, of course, on so small a scale, the subdivisions, dislocations, veins, and intersections, are not exhibited. The remaining figures point out the formations yet to be described, according to their ascending order of superposition, and as far as they lie within the assumed line of section.

After this brief description of the different members of the primary rocks, it only remains to be noticed, in connection with the prevailing theory of their formation, and the law which seems to have influenced their mode of aggregation, that, in proportion to their relative distances from the fundamental granite, the greater is the comminution of their particles, and the less crystalline their structure. Assuming the igneous origin of granite, and it necessarily follows that its surface, penetrating the waters of the primitive seas, would be subject to the disintegrating influence of atmospheric, aqueous, and chemical agencies. The waters themselves, especially

those resting in the newly-formed hollows, must have been heated to a high degree, the air loaded with vapours, and the superficies of the earth raised to a comparatively high temperature. The process of disintegration would consequently be much accelerated. The runnels and streams would carry down the loose particles, disposing the heavier first and nearest, and carrying out the lighter and smaller to deeper basins. And thus the whole system of the schistose rocks, in the primary series, might have been forming at nearly one and the same time, or within a comparatively limited period of each other. The garnet-schist demonstrates of itself a very high temperature over the surface of the globe, as the garnets and other crystals denote that the rocks in which they are imbedded have experienced a degree of heat sufficient to form such fusible minerals without being able to melt the other constituents of which they are composed. The hard crystalline texture of the primary rocks, and the total absence of organic remains, also strongly warrant the inference that they have been exposed to the action of heat after the deposition and arrangement of their strata. Hence, there exists the greatest affinity often betwixt these rocks, where the granite is fused into the gneiss, the gneiss into the mica-schist, and the quartz-rock, marble, and alternating beds all welded, as it were, to each other. Heat alone, of all known causes, could produce such results. Added to the phenomena of veins, the effects of the after-fusion of the granite, the changes, dislocation, and induration invariably produced upon the strata through which they penetrate; and there are few dogmas of science that can boast of resting upon a stronger induction of facts, than that the mountains of the earth owe their elevation to the expansive force of internal fire, and that its massive foundations have been mainly consolidated through the instrumentality of the same agent. The rudiments of all other rocks, and of all after formations, are likewise there, re-compounded only from the waste and debris of the originally solid parts, or cast out from beneath them by the influence of the causes by which they were upraised. The quartz of the granite constitutes the substance of some of the more precious gems; the mica is divisible into plates of the 1-300,000th part of an inch in thickness, and enters as an ingredient into almost every combination of matter; the felspar is reduced to clay, and mixed with the hornblende forms the soil of our most fertile carses. Here, also, among these rocks, wherever existing on the globe, is the vein of the silver, and the gold, and all the rare metals; the emerald, sapphire, beryl, topaz, and amethyst are all derived from their interior. The marble to decorate our houses, and the slates to furnish a commodious roofing, are among the first of nature's offerings; and thus combining security and elegance, usefulness and beauty, variety and richness, the foundations of our steadfast earth, and the arrangement of its mineral substances, are well calculated to speak the praises of its munificent creator, and to form a noble subject of contemplation to its intelligent inhabitants.

THE SILURIAN SYSTEM.

The vast masses of crystalline rock considered above constitute, as far as the researches of Geology can determine, the original crust and dry land of the solid terraqueous globe. The mandate for producing life upon its surface was not issued when the matter of these rocks was being arranged and consolidated. Not a particle of any organised substance has been detected in any part, through all their profound depths, of the primary formation. But the whole, the entire aggregate of material substance created, arranged, and upheaved to the influences of sun, light,

and air, the living order and series of events commenced, and of which in the rocks of the SILURIAN SYSTEM there are the first intimations. Herein are contained, if we may so speak, the medal-stamps of creation in the earliest forms of organic life that came from the hands of the Creator. The fact is all-important, and the science is enabled to announce it, that in the lowest fossiliferous rocks vegetables appear to have been the first of all organic bodies—the impressions of plants and beds of carbonaceous matter are found in the deepest and oldest strata of the formation; and no less satisfactory is the discovery that the fossils which next arrest the attention, and, embalmed in their stony matrix with the vegetables, are the remains of marine animals, myriads of shells, and vast numbers of fishes—creatures all of the deep, when the command had been given, "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life." The geologist at once here plants his foot on holy ground, and rejoices in results that so strikingly harmonise all his speculations with the record of divine truth. These are legends of very olden times. The rocks under consideration contain them in their brightest and most legible characters.

The rocks of the Silurian formation have been divided into three systems or groups—the transition, grauwake, and Silurian proper. They are all stratified, and in their component parts are more or less siliceous and crystalline, arenaceous, argillaceous, and calcareous, in which there are alternating bands of slate, sandstone, and limestone. The term "transition" has been applied to a part of the system as not only indicating a change in the causes and conditions of their formation, but as implying that the world was then advancing from an uninhabitable to an inhabitable state. The "grauwake" is simply the German term for grey-rock, and is applied to the more coarsely granular portion of the series. Professor Sedgwick designates these and other beds as the Cambrian group, because they constitute a large part of the surface of ancient Cambria or Wales. The upper members of the series are called Silurian, as occupying the country of the Silures, an ancient people who dwelt in the district lying betwixt England and Wales, where these rocks, consisting of various groups are largely developed. The division into Cambrian and Silurian is not generally admitted by geologists, the latter designation being held as applicable to the whole, while the term transition is scarcely now theoretically necessary or admissible, since the distinction is so clearly drawn between the fossiliferous and the non-fossiliferous formations. The system is in many places upwards of 30,000 feet thick, embracing an innumerable series of strata, and all containing fossils.

The clay-slate occupies an intermediate territory between the primary and transition systems, being sometimes classified with the fossiliferous and sometimes with the non-fossiliferous rocks; but, as in the Grampian range no organic remains have been detected in any part of this widely extended system, we have noticed it in connection with the more ancient series, which thus constitute one great physical group, existing in the same physical region, and formed and elevated under the same physical causes. Nor have any true Silurian strata been yet established to exist in this district, overlying and outward the clay-slate. The great valley of Strathmore, the slopes and defiles of the Sidlaws and Ochils, are occupied with rocks lithologically as well as organically distinct, and all belonging to a higher series and a later epoch in the earth's history. Still such arguments as the following may be advanced in support of a Silurian connection with the clay-slates of the Grampians.

First, this band of slate resembles in texture and colour the slates of Cumber-

land and Westmoreland, in hand specimens scarcely distinguishable, and often less crystalline than the bands overlying the dark chloritic slates of Skiddaw. The position of the clay-slate in reference to the true primary series, in the next place, is very distinct, never alternating with, nor lying conformable to, any of these rocks. It forms the outer zone of the Grampian range where porphyritic and trappean rocks are abundant, often interposed and associated with the slates sometimes reversing their dip, and at other times rendering them almost conformable to the mica-schist. Moreover, immediately overlying the clay-slate, precisely as in Cumberland and elsewhere, the old red sandstone rests unconformably; near Dunkeld, and eastward by Blairgowrie, as well as flanking Birnam hill on the south-west, the grauwake characters are strongly presented in some of the ridges. A single organism would determine the point, as yet undetected in the numerous openings and quarries along the line of deposit. But the absence of organic remains has been attempted to be partly accounted for by the fact of the vast disturbance prevailing in the seas during the deposition and upheaval of the strata, and indicated by the enormous mass of igneous matter spread over their bottom, and repeatedly intermixed with the bands of slate.

The student of Geology, however, has ample scope for examining this system of rocks, so interesting as shadowing the first dawn of life upon the earth, in the Lammermuir range, where they are developed upon a large scale. Though not so extensive and lofty as the Grampians, this group of mountains combines many of the boldest features of Alpine scenery, and are well entitled to be denominated the Southern Highlands of Scotland. The axis of the chain runs from E.N.E. to W.S.W., and extends nearly 150 miles in length, by an average breadth of thirty to forty miles. It consists of various groups of hills, divided at intervals by rivers and their divergent valleys, and forms the frontier barrier, from St. Abb's Head in Berwickshire to Port Patrick in Wigtonshire. The Lammermuir, Moorfoot, Hart Fell, Lowthers, and Queensberry, constitute the more elevated portions of the range. On the eastern extremity, where it terminates on the coast, the solid strata are singularly contorted, forming several convolutions, and bent round an axis of curvature parallel to the chain. Similar contortions and twistings are beautifully exposed near Langholm, and in several places in Upper Eskdale. As a general characteristic of the formation, it may be observed, that all the beds in the southern portion of the range are finer grained than those in the northern, more fissile and slaty, and lie at a considerably lower angle of elevation. The gigantic piles around Peebles and Moffat are, many of them, of a flinty or sub-crystalline texture, and tilted nearly perpendicular across their line of stratification. The igneous rocks constitute at Innerleithen a marked and interesting feature, where the trap assumes a granitic structure, and the grauwake at the points of junction is converted into *Lydian-stone*. This rock is often a mere siliceous variety of clay-stone, hardened by the intruding igneous matter into a consistency so as to strike fire with steel. It is of a light grey or bluish colour, sometimes of a deep black aspect, when it has been mistaken for coal, and fruitless attempts made to reach the inner beds of the valuable combustible. Alum-slate is likewise found in a few places, but in small amount. These beds are generally very soft and friable, of a saline taste, and readily distinguishable by a white efflorescent powder on their exposed surface.

The lines of cleavage are very distinctly marked in all the varieties, and they are always at right angles to the bed of stratification. Fissures or rents, often of great extent, and filled with quartz and magnesian earth, traverse indifferently the

several members of the series, dividing them into large rhomboidal or tabular masses, and running more or less oblique to the direction of the beds. Where the mica prevails the surface of the rock has a smooth, glossy appearance; and where indented by the ripple-mark—a frequent and well-marked feature of the more flaggy varieties—there is superadded a lively and agreeable aspect to the generally dull exterior. An interesting and important inquiry remains: whence the source of this enormous mass of sedimentary deposit?—a question all the more difficult and complicated by the intervening distance from the Grampians, whose primary and granitoid rocks so obviously supplied the materials of their neighbouring strata. The problem is one of still harder solution, when it is considered that nowhere, in the whole southern range, are there any imbedded fragments of granite, gneiss, or mica-schist, so as to indicate even the specific characters of the rocks whence they were derived. But still, as already shown, abundance of materials were high above the waters, and lofty pinnacles of rocks were scattered along the western shores, encircling the whole line of coast from the Grampians to the Mull of Galloway, and southwards into Wales. These doubtless, however altered and re-arranged, were of sufficient mass for all the depository sediment required, and which connects them so much in quality, structure, and age, with the Silurian formations of England, Wales, and Ireland—rocks all of them of an age anterior to that when the Alps were raised above the sea, and while the greater part of Europe was occupied by the ancient ocean.

The Organic Remains, in this series of Scottish rocks, are not abundant, approaching in no degree to the numbers interspersed among the beds of the sister kingdom, where some of the limestones of the formation are nearly composed of animal exuviæ. Here, too, they are scattered at wide intervals along the line of strata. The principal localities in which organic bodies are found are the lime quarries of Wrae, near Broughton; Greiston slate quarry, near Traquair; Girvan, in Ayr; St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright; Loch Ryan and Little Ross Island clay-slates, on the western coast. These interesting relics carry the mind back, in review, to the beginning of life upon the globe, when we witness the very dawn and commencement of earthly enjoyment—the first forms and families of creatures privileged to eat at the banquet of creation. Though generally low in the scale of animated being, the forms of these earliest specimens of organisation are as perfect and beautiful as those subsequently produced, each after its kind, demonstrating how Nature at once stamped, with her plastic hand, in these morning days of existence, the lineaments of symmetry and adaptation on everything that has life. The entire casts, and even bodies, of some species are completely preserved; their organs of motion, feeding, and protection, are all fully developed; and in one tribe, the trilobites, the eye, formed of four hundred spherical lenses in separate compartments, is still entire, and in the most perfect state of keeping; whereby man learns that, many ages ago, the air he breathes and the light by which he sees were the same as at this hour, and that the waters of the sea presented to their inhabitants the same qualities of the most lucid transparency. The organisms belong exclusively to marine animals, and these chiefly to the invertebrate tribes termed graptolites, zoophites, trilobites, and molluscs, all destitute of an interior bony skeleton, and suited to live in shallow water and on muddy bottoms. Nor are the remains of fishes wanting, belonging to the order of placoids, and so denominated from the broad scales or plates with which they are covered. Of these there are distinct evidences of several genera and a great many species, differing

from any now existing, but of an equally high type of organic being. Vegetables would also appear to have been abundant enough in the bays and estuaries of the Silurian seas, although the Scottish rocks have contributed as yet but comparatively little to the fossil flora of the period. The plants are allied to the ficoids and algæ of the present time, which supply the food to several existing races; and, as showing the persistent analogy of nature through her long series of creations, there were pentameri, terebratulæ, and other forms of shell-fish, that fed upon the sea-weeds which covered the rocks of the Silurian age of the world. Others of the order cephalopoda were carnivorous, and adapted with organs to prey upon each other, as the orthoceratites and nautili, which have their congeners in our present seas, and still distinguished by their strong predaceous instincts and roving habits.

As the Grampians consist of the earliest series of the primary rocks, so is this southern range chiefly characterised by the fossils of the lowest palæozoic system, and therefore ranks in age with the Cambrian or oldest Silurian group of the English rocks. The district of country which it traverses, though not so bold and mountainous, partakes in many localities of the characteristic scenery of Wales, the Cumberland Lakes, and the Northern Highlands. While there is much of sweet upland pastoral, and the loveliest dales verdant to their tops, hills of a soft rounded form or with long flat summits, there are also many noble gorges and steep acclivities, and lofty peaks, which give grandeur and diversity to the borderland; otherwise famed for its classic rivers, their charming tributaries, and ancient warlike Peels. The associations here are all of early times, physically and historically—rocks worn to their bases, and ravines that scarcely admit a ray of light to the waters that have strained through them for ages—cascades and waterfalls among which the kelpies and wizards of other days have played their fantastic tricks—and beds of indurated strata which contain the relics of the earliest finny tribes of creation.

Professor Jameson says—"The mountains of this formation have usually a gentle acclivity, and its cliffs are not so steep and rough as those of mica-slate or gneiss. It is more favourable to vegetation than any of the rocks already described; and it is observed that the quantity of vegetation increases from granite to clay-slate, a circumstance which appears to depend, not so much on the lower level of the outgoings of its strata, as on the nature of the rock itself. We can thus observe a gradual change in the shape of mountains, also of their cliffs and valleys, from granite to clay-slate; and these differences are so striking and characteristic, that a long experienced eye can, at a glance from the summit of a mountain, point out with considerable certainty the different formations of which a country is composed. Landscape painters, by confounding together all these differences, or by combining them irregularly, fail not only in accuracy, but in giving their work that appearance which shows, at first glance, that it is not only a copy of Nature, but a copy by one who has formed a distinct conception of the general and particular features of the inequalities observable on the surface of the earth. Some affect to maintain that the grand features of mountains and plains are different in different zones. Thus, that in the torrid zone, for example, the shape, cliffs, and other appearances in mountains, are different from those in the temperate zone. This opinion, however, is erroneous, for the same formation in all countries presents similar external characters; and, as the great formations are universal, no such differences can exist. It is true that the blue colour of the heaven, its degree of

illumination, the appearance of distant mountain-vapour, the shape of animals, the luxuriance of vegetables, combined with the features of mountains, will form a particular character for each climate; but still the aspect of the rocks of the same formation, in whatever country they occur, will be the same. Thus, cliffs of granite and mica-slate have the same appearance in India and Siberia as in Scotland; and the valleys of the Urals do not differ in shape and other features from those formed by similar rocks in this neighbourhood."*

It is thus that Geology, under its great physical aspects, illustrates even the pursuits of the artist and furnishes the details of perspective. As far as landscape depends on forms, it will be found that it is very often essentially regulated, as to its beauty or deformity as well as its character, by the nature of the rocks of which the district consists. This is often true, even where the rocks themselves are not visible; as the character of the surface, the outlines of the hills, the forms of the shores and headlands, and other circumstances, depend on the geological nature, position, and arrangement of the rocks beneath. Nor is even the aspect of a cultivated country, where the original configuration is so obscured or obliterated almost by plantation and husbandry, so independent of the subjacent minerals as might be imagined. On the contrary, many districts in England as well as in Scotland, have a character in their vegetating surface, or agricultural aspects, so marked as not only to indicate the nature of the rocks beneath, but to enable an experienced geologist to decide where one kind terminates and another begins. Thus compare the bare rugged escarpments of Criffell, and all the bleak granite ridges of Galloway, with the rounded tops and verdant sloping sides of the Terregles, Dalveen, and Lowther hills, and no ordinary observer can fail to discern the marked distinction between the contour of the primary and the transition series of rocks. The lofty-pointed Fells around the sources of the Teviot and its tributaries, composed chiefly of trappean porphyries, so craggy and splintery, are as clearly again distinguishable in form and outline from the grauwake-schists of the mountains from whose deep ravines issue the waters of the Tweed and Clyde. Look into the smooth upland vales of the Ettrick, Yarrow, and Gala, and, because lying on the same formation, how close their resemblance to the charming dales of Ewes, Esk, and Liddle, with scarcely a tarn or lake in all of them to break or diversify the pastoral greenness of their surface. These distinguishing features are very notable among the older systems of rocks, whose strata are nearly vertical, or all highly inclined upon the granite; but when we descend among the secondary formations, the old red sandstone and coal measurers, we will find, where the rocks are seldom exposed, the physical differences and the characters of the landscape not only widely changed from all the former, but strongly contrasting with each other. The benefits of an extended agriculture, of rich, deep loamy soils, of gentle undulating plains, of diversified woodlands and verdant meadows, will accompany us henceforth in our description of the systems of rocks which characterise the Lowlands or central districts of Scotland. A Salvator Rosa drew his inspiration among the rugged defiles of the Alps; the eye of Wilkie rested upon "mine own blue Lomonds," and his quiet and gentle spirit dwelt among the homes and landscapes of village life; the smooth river for the leaping torrent—the sheltered field for the wild waste.

As not unconnected with the subject, and before leaving the older systems of rocks, it may not be out of place to introduce here the substance of a very curious

* *Manual of Mineralogy*, p. 363.

and important speculation of Dr. M'Culloch's, concerning the comparative earliness of the seasons in the northern districts. Like most of the Western Isles, South and North Uist, Barra, Vatersa, Sandera, and all the neighbouring islands are composed of gneiss; they are all high, attaining a general elevation of 800 to 1000 feet, and in some of them there are mountains 2000 feet high. The western shores are flat, sandy, and generally arable, followed by boggy brown tracts of low hills, interpersed with lakes, which are again succeeded by high mountains. The earliness of the harvest is a remarkable circumstance in all these islands, and certainly considering the nature of the subjacent rocks, very unexpected, as the climate is very moist, like that of most of the inner islands or the mainland, where it is a month or six weeks later. "This may be attributed," says Dr. M'Culloch, "to the dry and calcareous nature of the soil, in some measure; but I believe that it depends as much on another circumstance, which will equally explain the well-known forwardness of the harvest in Moray and on the east coast of Sutherland; a tract which, in the same manner, exceeds in earliness the districts further to the southward, and in a very great degree all those on the west coast. That to which I allude is the greater proportion of light, or sunshine, which these districts, remote and indifferently situated as they are, enjoy when compared with many other tracts in the different parts of Scotland just named. The immediate cause of this must be sought in the relative position of the mountains towards these places, and in the direction of the prevailing winds, as these act jointly in causing the detention of clouds over a particular region. The great annual supply of clouds, as of rain, is from the west; and they are brought by the predominant western winds. The western-most land, which forms this insular tract, is too low and narrow to arrest their flight, whence they pass freely over all the outer chain except Harries; which, by detaining them, becomes an exception to the rest of the Long Island, being a dark, rainy, and late country. But as they arrive at the inner islands and the mainland, they are stopped, partly by the Highlands of Skye and Mull, but still more by the great western mountainous tract of the Highlands, producing a dense and dark atmosphere through which the sun seldom shines, even for a few days, without long and frequent interruptions. An undue proportion of rain is a necessary consequence; and that of course aggravates the evil, although it must not be considered the sole cause. In that rain the clouds are partly dissipated, as they also seem to be by being re-dissolved in the air; and thus the eastern districts enjoy continuous sunshine, often for weeks, when the western are wrapt in gloom. If this view is correct, a register of light by means of a proper apparatus, ought to enter as much or even more than that of the barometer and thermometer, into the scientific means of estimating the nature of an agricultural climate." *

Geology is thus intimately connected with hygrometry, and both in many interesting relations with agriculture. The soils of the earth depend, for richness and variety, upon the qualities of the rocks beneath, and are sandy, clayey, calcareous, or loamy, according as they rest upon, or are within the influence of, the prevailing system in which these constituents exist. The dislocation and dip of the rocks afford a passage for draining. Their height and distribution collect the vapours, or give a free admission to the air and light of heaven.

* *The Highlands and Western Islands*, vol. 3, p. 21.

THE DEVONIAN SYSTEM, OR OLD RED SANDSTONE.

The system of rocks on which we are now to enter leads us a step onwards as well as upwards in our geological history, where we are presented with new aspects of the country, introduced to new forms of life in its waters, and with new features and arrangements in its mineral masses. The change is a remarkable one, in the shifting of its outer scenery no less than in the singular character of its various tribes of inhabitants. A new dynasty crosses the stage of animated existence, and is ushered in by as great a revolution in the laws that had hitherto prevailed in the mineral kingdom, as the convulsed condition of the globe has shown repeatedly to have occurred. The colour and constituents of the rocks are all wonderfully altered. The transition from the beautiful crystalline masses of the older formations into the fine grained and schistose strata of the Silurian series is gradual, and in its first stages scarcely perceptible. A type and mould of far coarser materials, and a distribution of thicker and generally less homogeneous beds, characterise the Devonian order of things; while the seas were tenanted with families of creatures dissimilar from those of the anterior era, and whose enamelled skins were of such enduring texture as to rival, in brightness and strength, the scaly appendages of every existing order of fishes. This may be justly termed the Fish Epoch, and constitutes one of the most remarkable portions of the natural history of our own country; so numerous are the fossil remains, so singular their forms, so diversified and yet so normally alike, so splendid their attire, so perfect their preservation, and all so distinct from everything that now swim the waters or occupy their deep coral caves, that we seem to be transported back in imagination to scenes of romance rather than reality — the relics of a physical drama whose agents and pageantry have become utterly extinct. The rocky matrix in which their remains are entombed is as evidently the wreck of a former world, water-worn fragments of granite, quartz, schist, and other rocks;—a reconstruction, amidst vast and sudden changes of the inorganic crystalline formations, for the still more beautiful elaborations and increasing progress of organic existence.

The old red sandstone formation, so interesting in every respect, consists of three principal series or groups of strata—lower, middle, and upper—which are all strongly characterised by a granular structure, and more or less by a reddish colour. Overlying unconformably the Silurian strata, or resting on them nearly at right angles, the beds of the old red indicate, from their position and relations, a vast shift in the sea-bottom on which their materials were collected—the steep abrupt shores consisting of the primitive formations, or lifted into bolder and loftier ridges landward. The immense thickness of the sandstone as clearly demonstrates the deep hollows or troughs into which they were cast. Hence the great mass of the conglomerate, or the lower series, consists of fragments principally derived from the older rocks in the vicinity; and so persistent is this feature of the formation, that the deposit, all over Scotland, bears a resemblance to the nature of the rocks with which it is locally connected. Thus, on the line of the Lammermuirs, grauwake, clay-slate, felspar, porphyry, and hornstone, along with a sprinkling of quartz and a few primary boulders, are the prevailing ingredients; whereas, on the line of the Grampians and the great primary mountains to the north, granite, gneiss, mica-schist, quartz, and hornblende, of every variety of size, in fragments and boulders, almost entirely exclude the transition class of rocks.

It is matter, too, of indifference, whether the geologist continues his researches into this new group of strata over the border district, whither our description in the former chapter has led us, or he returns to resume them over the northern frontier, where the old red sandstone is developed on a scale almost co-extensive in area with the primary series. The few pinnacles then above the waters still stand out in bold relief: Criffel, Queensberry, Moor-foot, Hart Fell, and others, commanding from their lofty summits all the shallows, creeks, and bays, into which their *débris* was carried; and the yet higher *Bens* of the Grampians, overlooking the great valleys, straths, and indented coast which mark the deeper basins into which their spoils were collected. Flanking the primary and transition series of the Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Welsh mountains, these sandstones are largely developed in Devonshire, and are hence denominated the Devonian System of English Geologists —their position throughout distinctly showing the various sources and the littoral character of the deposit.

The colouring matter of this formation consists of the peroxide of iron; and, though still a matter of hypothesis among geologists, the opinion which ascribes it to volcanic origin is the one generally adopted, as it is indeed the only one which seems adequate to account for the phenomenon. The period was one undoubtedly of great disturbance, when the crust of the earth was widely fused and broken up by igneous action; the seas would consequently be affected to as great an extent with metallic impregnations; the materials conveyed in a loose unaggregated state, would be easily suffused with the penetrating element; and, as a curious corroboration of its deleterious influence on animal substance, the organic remains are fewest in number, as well as in the worst state of preservation, in those groups and strata of the formation which are the most deeply tinged with the discolouring solution. The grey flagstones of Strathmore, and the yellow sandstone series of Cromarty and Dura Den, are accordingly rich in specimens of their respective flora and fauna of the period; but comparatively few of either are traceable in the more deeply reddened strata and coarser conglomerates of Ross and Sutherland.

The external characters of the formation, in its various localities, are thus too well-marked to need any minute description of its mineral constituents. Taken in the mass, it has been estimated at ten to fifteen thousand feet in thickness, presenting a succession of sandstones, alternating with subordinate layers of sandy shale, thin dark-coloured tilestone, and beds of impure concretionary limestone. The calcareous rock is termed *cornstone;* it is almost destitute of organic remains, and is of little use as a limestone. While fine-grained strata, as well as conglomerates, are found in all parts of the series, in the lower, middle, and upper divisions, it may be considered, as already stated, the general law in their order of superposition, that the coarser beds all lie nearest the great mountain ranges, and that the finer and softer ones take their positions successively more sea-ward. The Sutherland, Caithness, and northern portions of the formation, which are densely clustered round the primary series, are for this reason not only the coarsest in mass, but the oldest in age and of the greatest extent in vertical thickness. Coul Beg, Coul More, and Suil Veinn, on the north-western coast of Ross-shire, and resting unconformably on a bed of gneiss, form three immense insulated hills of about three thousand feet high. The hills of sandstone here are of every variety of aspect—round, conical, ridged, or serrated. They are sometimes isolated, sometimes in a prolonged range, with naked and precipitous rocky faces of a thousand feet in depth, and with an aspect often as rugged

as that of the mountains of Skye. The sandstone in some localities constitutes the entire mass of the mountain; in other places it is observed to rest on granite or gneiss at a considerable altitude, and in not a few of the mountains of Ross and Sutherland it is found only on their summits. The stratification is in general distinct. Where the angle of inclination is low the strata are thin and equal, possessing a schistose flaggy structure, and exhibiting on the summits of the mountain, as the two Ben Dcrigs in Durness, an even surface resembling a pavement of loosened tiles; but where the angle of inclination becomes considerable, the distinctness of the stratification diminishes, and wherever it assumes the vertical position the divisions of the beds are scarcely recognisable, the rock acquiring the aspect of some granites or gneiss, into which it seemingly graduates, being split into prismatic or angular fragments. Looking from an elevated summit over these northern sandstone districts, composed of so many insulated mountains which are caped in one place, encircled round their base at another, and here and there accompanied with broken fragments of the formation, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the whole country has once been covered with a united stretch of sandstone, all now abraided and washed away, the harder portions remaining like pillars of gigantic masonary, and the deep gorges of the rivers showing the still older and more enduring foundations on which they rest. The extreme depth of this deposit, as far as it can now be discovered, may be measured by the Kea Clock in Rossshire, a mountain of nearly three thousand seven hundred feet, or as high as Ben Cruachan of the primary system,—where the strata are nearly horizontal, and extend from the summit to the base, which dips into the sea. The detached portions which occupy the shore indicate the subaqueous range and connection; and in viewing its relations to the islands of similar formation, Dr. M'Culloch justly infers that the large intervals now occupied by the sea were once parts of a continuous tract of land.

Southward of the Grampians, the beds thin out, and become more slaty and fissile in their texture. This is the general character of the sandstones in Strathmore and the basin of the Tay, in Strathearn, and Menteith; while in Roxburgh and Dumfries shires they are generally more flaggy and composite in their mineral qualities. Mottled bands of a purple and fawn-coloured shale, and though close-grained yet extremely friable, are not unfrequently interspersed; as near Auchtergaven, the environs of Creiff, and the high ridges that slope westerly to Callendar. Towards the upper beds of the middle series there occurs a well-marked stratum of hard texture, and an excellent building-stone, which is dotted all over with whitish spots of a spherical form. These spots generally inclose a dark centrical nucleus of the size of a garden pea, and owing to which, whether of animal or metallic origin, the discharge of the oxide has been occasioned. While the highest portions of the upper series merge into, and are scarcely distinguishable from, the sandstones of the coal formation, either in mineral texture or colour; those, again, of the lower series, just as insensibly graduate in many places into the crystalline primary rocks on which they repose, the altered sandstone being fused into quartz-rock by plutonic action. This form of the sandstone occurs in various places near the southern ridges of the Grampians, in Glenshee, at Cally Bridge, and near Dunkeld, where it is in contact with the mica-slate and limestone, and has been generally described as belonging to these formations.*

* *Geo. Jour.* No. 30, p. 126.

The geographical range of the formation is of great extent, being largely developed in every quarter of the globe. It forms vast areas in Russia and Central Europe, in Siberia and Tartary, along the flanks of the Himalayas and upper plains of India; it likewise extends over large portions of Australia, the boundless deserts of Africa, whence their arid sands are mainly derived; and in North and South America it is no less abundantly distributed. In Scotland, this rock deposit ranks next in extent to the gneiss—the largest of the primary series—and covers nearly 5000 square miles of surface, of which about a half lies to the north of the Grampians. The organic remains are nearly the same in every region, the same species inhabiting the ocean at one and the same time, in India as in Russia, in Scotland as in Africa and South America. As far as the researches of geologists have yet extended, the collections of fossils from the Scottish deposits are more numerous, as well as diversified in genera and species, than those of any other country, perhaps than all the rest of the collections put together. This shows how much has still to be done in this department of geology—what spoils may yet be gathered from the buried dead of past ages—what trophies have still to be won to the science over these immense fields of research.

The topographical features of the old red sandstone district are in general varied and irregular; if in hills, rising in easy undulations, or swelling into round conical tops; in the plains, where the strata lie flat, the scenery is generally of great richness and amenity, the fields fertile and covered with the finest loams; where, debouching from the mountains or girdling the sea-coast, the glens, valleys, and lochs are diversified with every species of simple beauty and wild grandeur—the leaping cascade, the rushing torrent, the gentle river, having each their appropriate places in the heights and hollows of this friable formation. The picturesque character of the valleys of the Jed, Rule Water, Teviot, and Tweed, is derived from its precipitous cliffs worn by the rivers in the course of ages. The Crig-up Linn, the deep pools of the Nith, the Falls of the Clyde, the romantic shores of Largs, the Cumbraes, and Rothsay, are all cut and moulded on the same variegated flesh-coloured sandstone. The Ochils and Sidlaws may be regarded as the type of its hilly or general physical features, along with their numerous valleys and ravines; of which the more remarkable are Glen-eagles, Glen-farg, and Dura Den in the former, and in the latter the Dens of Balruddery, Rossie, and Baliggarny, which either cut through or open upon the strata of the middle and upper series.

It were endless to enumerate the many remarkable places and admired scenes formed in this rock, where it flanks the southern ridges of the Grampians, lines the trough of the Great Canal, or fringes the coast from the Spey to Dunnet Head, and from Cape Wrath to Loch Carron; sometimes rising into mountains two and three thousand feet high, or broken into shelving precipices and fissures of extraordinary grandeur, or hollowed into bays and caves by the unceasing action of the billows. The Orkney Islands, sixty-seven in number, are chiefly composed of the old red sandstone, and, agreeing so closely in external aspect and mineral structure with the general features of Caithness, there is little doubt of their having formed at no very remote period a continuation of the mainland. Nor may it be uninteresting to remark, as a curious illustration of the wide diffusion of the formation in every district of Scotland, that the ancient monasteries, with scarcely an exception, are chiefly constructed of this rock, from the circumstance perhaps of their lying in the immediate vicinity, or of being built directly over the convenient and easily excavated materials.

The Organic Remains of the old red sandstone would require, of themselves, several chapters of description. It has been termed the "Fish Period," so abundant and curious are the fossil specimens preserved of it. Nothing, however, beyond a simple outline of their general features, and the more remarkable localities in which they are found, can be given according to the necessary limits of our sketch.

There are four great divisions or natural orders of fossil fishes, as admitted by geologists, distributed in the several systems of rocks which compose the earth's crust. The latest classification is that of M. Agassiz, in the *Poissons Fossiles*, the standard authority in fossil ichthyology; and where, proceeding upon the characters of the scales and plates, the following orders are described: 1. The Placoid, or broad-plated scale. 2. The Ganoid, or shining scale. 3. Ctenoid, or comb-shaped scale. 4. The Cycloid, or marginated scale. Now these different orders are not promiscuously huddled together in the rocks of the earth, but have each their distinct positions in the vertical arrangement of the fossiliferous strata, and serve to characterise the formations with which they are connected. Generally speaking, the two former orders belong to the older secondary formations, and the two latter to the newer secondary and tertiary series. And so, according to the geological chronometer, were the successive periods of their introduction upon the stage of organic life. But, besides the form of the scales, the two divisions of these natural orders are no less remarkably distinguished by the qualities and form of the inner skeleton. The fishes, for example, of the present age are arranged into two great classes, the cartilaginous and osseous. To the former belong our existing rays, sharks, and sturgeons; the latter include the cod, herring, and salmon families. In the cartilaginous class, the internal framework is soft, destitute of fibre, and contains scarcely a trace of calcareous matter; while the osseous tribes, on the other hand, are constructed internally of true bone, like that of birds and quadrupeds, and which consists of a fibrous texture and of great hardness. But, as if to make up for any deficiencies in strength and firmness arising from the cartilage, nature gave to all the creatures of this class, in geologic times, a strong external armiture of hard osseous scales, coated with enamel, and capable of the greatest endurance. The head sometimes consists of pure naked bone. The skeleton in all of them extends to the extremity of the tail, and hence termed *Heterocercal* or unequally-lobed, which serves to distinguish them from the two last orders as well as existing races with an osseous skeleton, whose tail-fins are *Homocercal* or equally-lobed; and thus covered cap-a-pie, over the length and breadth of the body, the placoids and ganoids of the ancient seas were admirably suited to the convulsed condition of the element in which they were placed. The ganoid order is the prevailing type of the old red sandstone. They are nearly all of a family, termed sauroids, as possessing in many respects a reptilian or lizard caste of organisation; the scales are thick and bony, often two or three inches broad, and combined with their curiously interlocked arrangement, artistically mailed upon each other, these creations of so early a period are recovered often in a state of perfect entireness, in colour, enamel, and freshness even finer than those of any succeeding age.

This discovery of the Swiss naturalist, whereby he finds all the important distinctions of structure to harmonise with the scales and dormal covering, is of the greatest importance in geology. Without it, indeed, no other trustworthy method of classification could have been found. The system of Cuvier, as applied to existing fishes, and which chiefly proceeds upon their internal characters, combined

...us Andersoni.
...nectus Andersoni

with the form and disposition of the fins, could have been of little or no use where the skeletons of fossil species are seldom detected in any considerable portions, and where the teeth, spines, and other fragments, though obtained in abundance, afford too imperfect data for arrangement. The skin, on the other hand, with all its scales and plates so remarkably preserved, is the organ which indicates not only important anatomical and functional distinctions, but also shows the relation of every creature of earth, air, or water, to the element in which it moves. Accordingly, as Cuvier, by means of a single bone, and often by the fragment of a bone, was enabled to detect the order and genus to which it belonged, and thereby to produce his wonderful restoration of the huge monsters of Montmartre and the tertiary epoch, where every part fitted so precisely to its place, so has Agassiz, by the aid of a solitary plate or scale, carried us back among the earliest creations of the deep, demonstrated the several orders to which they belonged, and pointed out the habits and conditions under which they flourished. Some were suited to muddy bottoms, some rejoiced in clear blue waters, some were herbaceous, and others carnivorous, armed with teeth and claws capable of breaking the hardest substances. The palæocarcinus, or lobster of Balruddery, was several feet in length; the cephalaspis, or seraphim of Glammis and Carmylie, consisted of a head of naked bone, nearly three times the size of the body; and the phyllolepis, or leaf-scaled fish of Clashbennie, was covered with enamelled plates of the enormous dimensions of half a foot in diameter. Such researches, and especially discoveries so minute, correct, and interesting, exalt the science with which they are connected, and show principles of investigation worthy of our closest study, which can still, at this remote distance of time, detect the surprising methods and analogies of Nature in these beautiful and enduring tissues of her earliest works. The ways of the Almighty in all ages are one and the same: the greatest diversity combined with the greatest harmony—everything adapted to its place in the scale of being, and all illustrative, in the most eminent degree, of divine wisdom and foresight.

The districts in which these interesting organic remains have been most abundantly found are the counties of Caithness, Sunderland, Ross, Inverness, Nairn, and Elgin, and, perhaps, most richly of all, in the Orkneys near Stromness. The central district of Strathmore, included betwixt the Grampians and Sidlaws, is next the most distinguished for the varieties and numbers of its fossil treasures. The Carse of Gowrie, Dura Den, and Stratheden in Fifeshire, are no less remarkable for the abundance of specimens imbedded in their strata. The border counties, and other localities of the formation, have as yet yielded them in small quantities, sufficient enough for identifying the deposit but not to claim for them any separate description. Ichthyolites, or fragments of the bones of fossil fishes, are abundant in the sandstones of Caithness and Cromarty, and other localities in Scotland, but shells are rare; while in Devonshire, and other parts in England, testaceæ and crustaceans are abundant. The geographical distribution of the old red sandstone, now referred to, may be considered as nearly as possible corresponding with the geological divisions into the lower, middle, and upper series; and, therefore, as the most characteristic of the fossils belonging to each series, it may suffice to notice those which are the prevailing types of their several districts.

1. The northern district, which contains so large a development of the lower series of the formation, is remarkable for four genera of fossil fishes, of the ganoid order, namely, the asterolepis, osteolepis, coccosteous, and pterichthys. The first

is found in the Orkneys, in a state of almost perfect preservation, and is the largest of all the genera belonging to the period. It is variously estimated, according to its ablest historian, Mr. Hugh Miller,* from eight, ten, to even twenty-three feet in length, resembling, in all its equipments of bulk and strength, the sword-fishes, sturgeons, and sharks of our present seas. The scales are round, large, and divided into grooves, radiating from the centre of the organ. Hence the term asterolepis, or the star-scale fish. The cranial buckler was large and flat, in some specimens about eight inches in length by six in breadth, traversed by three slightly elevated ridges, and in size might have furnished a substitute for the frontal bone of an elephant, or the largest of existing crocodiles. The under jaws were furnished with two rows of teeth, the one row small and densely set, the other thinly set, but very large, bent and twisted, and, after the reptilian type, were laterally fenced with two sharp-cutting edges. The opercules and hyoid bones were likewise of great size and massiveness, the former thickly studded with star-like tubercles, and the divisions of the arch of the latter resembled those of a small Gothic window, in which the central mullion parts into two branches at top. As with these, so with all the other portions of the ossification of this earliest vertebrate type of the lower old red, every bone, plate, and membrane being exactly suited for their place, and of the finest and most admirably formed structure. Belonging to the highest division of the animal kingdom, the asterolepis—all of whose organs of sight, smell, hearing, and taste, are so delicately preserved in the matrix of the rock—demonstrates a high style of organisation; showing that nature, in these morning days of existence, did not first fashion the minute and imperfect, whence were gradually eliminated the larger and more complicated structures of progressive animal life, but created at once models of the highest kind and of the fullest dimensions. No theory of development, from the little to the great, from the simple to the more perfect, from a condition of semi-animate to the higher states of functionary action, can be maintained on the palæontology of the old red sandstone. This single witness from the deep overthrows the whole baseless fabric on which the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*" rests its preposterous assumptions, and shows the theory to be as devoid of any foundation in science as it is repudiated by the feelings of our moral nature. There is no progression. There is no transmutation from family into family, in all that exists in the underlying Silurian rocks, so as to give anterior geologic lineage, on a lower scale, to this earliest example of the succeeding Devonian System. The asterolepis moves as independently, and individually, in its orbit of animal life as the stars in their courses; the nebular and development hypothesis are equally unsupported by fact, and by the revealed law of creation.

The remains of this remarkable fish are found in the greatest abundance in the sandstones of Orkney, near Stromness; in some of the beds they are so numerous as to obliterate all traces of the rock itself; and their mode of preservation is no less singular, presenting an instance of Nature's embalming which surpasses all the most skilful manipulations of the chemist, and as simple as it is perfectly conservative of every plate, scale, tooth, and bone, in their original integrity. The substance of the creature itself seems to be the only element employed in the preparation. The animal matter has been converted into a dark-coloured pitchy mass, resembling bitumen, or coal-tar, and which, thickly enclosing the body, has subserved equally

* *Foot-Prints of the Creator.*

the purposes of shroud and coffin. It possesses the consistency as well as tenacity of wax, and has been used as a substitute. And thus steeped in the residue of its own blood, muscle, and flesh, the skeleton of the asterolepis, of the size of a porpoise, and whose age in the geologic scale the years of human reckoning cannot number, is again restored in all its enamelled polish and beauty, not a bone displaced nor an organ disfigured.

The pterichthys and coccosteous are more abundant than the former; so characteristic, indeed, of the series, as to be obtained in every locality of its northern range—at Cromarty, Gamrie, Lethen-bar, Scateraig, Altyre, Tynet-burn, and the Dipple on the Spey. Some of the finest specimens are found in nodules and a concretionary limestone, which have served as a better matrix than the oxidized sandstone; every part of the body, internal and external, the stomach and its contents undigested, even the pebbles and grains of sand intermixed with the food, are all there, to attest the form and the instincts of creatures of which there are no existing analogues. They are considered to be true fishes, though more resembling crustaceans from their thick bony envelopes. They are covered with nearly the same number of plates, differently disposed on the head and carapace. The tail in both is long, and belongs to the homocercal or equi-lobate structure; thus indicative of an osseous skeleton, and the cause, perhaps, of the perfect preservation of so much inner integument. The coccosteous derives its name from the berry-like tubercules which dot its plates, being the Greek compound (*kokkos*, a berry, and *osteon*, a bone) for the descriptive term. It differs from the pterichthys, besides in the number and disposition of the plates, in having a less elongated head, and the absence of arms or winged appendages, which are so characteristic of the pterichthys as to serve for its generic appellation. Hence the name—*pteron*, a wing, and *ichthys*, a fish. But whether so curiously placed on the body for defence, or as aids to locomotion, or, like the flying fish of modern times, to assist its elevation, for breathing purposes, into the air, these organs of the pterichthys have not been pronounced upon by palæontologists. There are several species of both genera; and so abundant are their remains, that the seas of the period must have been literally swarming with them, pursuing their prey among the rocks and shallows of the waters which, in the Silurian period, were occupied by the trilobites, the crustacean types of the age, as the pterichthys and coccosteous were decidedly of theirs.

The osteolepis, more fish-like in its form and general structure, is also very prevalent in the old red sandstone rocks. It was one of the earliest discovered fossils in the Caithness beds, and received its name, under the classification of Cuvier, in consequence of the osseous character of its scales (*osteon*, a bone, and *lepis*, a scale); but as all the coverings of the fishes of the period were of the substance of bone, the designation fails in some of its most remarkable peculiarities. Nature, perhaps, has never formed any similar creature with an outer vesture so brilliant in its colouring, compact in its arrangement, and enduring in its texture, as that in which she arrayed this early specimen of her marine workmanship. Combining the lightness and agility of the feathered tribes, there was the hard, impenetrable coat-of-mail over every organ, membrane, and spot of the body, which so remarkably distinguishes the sluggish tortoise and chelonians of the present time. The covering of the fishes already noticed consisted of detached plates, which met at the edges of each other, and were united like the sutures in the bones of the human skull, forming a uniform envelope round the entire body of the animal, and thus better adapted for strength than for symmetry or fleetness. But

in the osteolepis the scales are arranged alongside each other, like the bricks in a wall, disposed in regular rows, and joined in a manner calculated at once to afford protection to the internal parts, and to suit the flexures of the body while in motion. The divisions of the head are all composed of pure naked bone, and brightly enamelled. The teeth formed part of the jaws, not set in sockets, nor rising out of the fleshy cartilage. The fins and tail consisted of the same substance, hard, shining, enamelled bone; the rays of these organs were as numerous and thickly set as the feathers in the wing of a bird. The scales were all of bone, coated with enamel, and glistened like plates of gold. Thus every portion of the osteolepis was enveloped in a network of bone, elaborated into every shape and form of organic structure, and after subserving the purposes of animal life ages ago, the whole remain undisplaced and entire, as an evidence of the beautiful diversities and wonders of Creation.

2. The middle group of the old red sandstone covers nearly the entire district lying between the Grampians and the Ochils, and consists of conglomerate, micaceous slaty bands, cornstone, tilestone, arenaceous marls, and thick beds of grey and flesh-red sandstone. The cephalaspis and holoptychius are the vertebrate remains that chiefly characterise the group. The relics of the cephalaspis are exceedingly abundant, and are very widely dispersed in the series, but are found most numerous, as well as in the best state of preservation, in the marls and tilestone. The cephalaspis, or buckler-headed fish, derives its name from the great size of this organ, being about three times the size of the body, and from its being covered with a buckler or shield. The shield consists of one large plate, of a lamellar structure and crescent-like form, which terminates in two long projections, or pointed horns. The other plates of the head are united into one osseous case; and the whole consisting of hard bone, protected by equally hard enamelled scales, this fish, though never found above a foot in length, must have proved no easy capture to its predaceous cotemporaries. The scales of the body formed elevated bands, and the rays of the fins were covered by the membrane which everywhere surrounds them, while the entire skeleton was wrapped in bony plates, so arranged as to join or overlap each other. The fossil specimens, accordingly, are very entire, and are lifted out of the rock, as if their interment had been but yesterday. The quarries of Carmylie, Glammis, and Balruddery are the most noted places for the relics of this remarkable genus, hundreds being disinterred within an area of a few square yards; and resembling, as they strongly do, from their cephalic shield, the trilobites of the Silurian seas, they appear to have been equally abundant with that most prolific race, and to have constituted, like them, the most singular race of their time.

The holoptychius, or the wrinkled-scale fish, belongs to a family allied on the one hand to the true finny tribes, and on the other hand, particularly in its dentition, to the order of reptiles. The scales are nearly circular, rough, and corrugated in ridges, with waving furrows intermediate, and are sometimes two inches in length, by an inch and a half in breadth. The plates covering the head have a dotted, shagreen surface. The teeth are double set, the one set long and slender, the other consisting of the sauroid or reptilian conical form, of great density. The head is comparatively small, forming in this respect a remarkable contrast to that of the cephalaspis: from the position of the mouth it required to turn on its back while striking its prey; the fins are large and distantly placed; and thus encased all over in scale-enamelled plates, articulated and mortised after the strongest

and most flexible fashion, the holoptychius and cephalaspis were not unequally matched for either attack or defence. The largest specimen yet found of the genus measures thirty inches in length by twelve in breadth. It is also the first that was found. We well remember the date—a bright autumnal day in 1839—having visited the quarry of Clashennie, in search of relics, only the day before its discovery; but returned richly loaded with remains of other genera—namely, scales of the glyptosteus, phyllolepis, and glyptolepis; all abundant in the same beds, and all described and named in the monograph of M. Agassiz.

Of the crustacean family the fossil relics as yet detected in the old red sandstone are very rare. Any that have been found were restricted to the English rocks, until a huge specimen was cast up in the Den of Balruddery. Several specimens of the *Calymene Sternbergii* and a *Brontes signatus*, both allied to the trilobites of the Silurian period, were the only forms of the order belonging to the Devonian deposits. Fragments of "*petrified seraphim*" had been long familiar to the quarrymen in Forfarshire—a name applied by them to portions of the shell or case of a crustacean, from their fancied resemblance to the conventional figures of cherubim as seen on tombstones. Some fragments had likewise been found in the Ludlow rocks, and figured by Murchison, in the *Silurian System*, as the *pterygotus problematicus*—the provisional name assigned by Agassiz. It is described in Mantell's *Wonders of Geology** as a *eurypterus*; and at the British Association, which met at Edinburgh in 1834, the fragments of the creature there presented went under the more euphonious cognomen of the *edotea*. The specimen found at Balruddery, embracing almost every organism of the body, and presenting at once to the common observer a most striking resemblance to the lobster, enabled the Swiss naturalist to determine its order, genus, and species, as the *palæocarcinus alatus*, or the old-winged lobster. The carapace, claws, and flaps, are all in the most perfect state of preservation, ornamented externally with circular and elliptical markings, which give them an imbricated or scaly appearance. The projections of the claws are finely developed, terminating, the larger in sharp points or hooks, and the smaller in enamelled plates like the nails of the human hand. This magnificent specimen now enriches the cabinet of Lord Kinnaird, at Rossie Priory, and occupies in its different portions ten or twelve drawers. When the portions are combined, this inhabitant of the rocks and seas of ancient Gowrie appears to have measured from five to six feet in length, and, from the great size of the shell or covering, the body might at least have been two or three feet in circumference. Along with innumerable fragments of the lobster, the Den of Balruddery abounds in fossil remains of various kinds: annelides, shells, wings of pterichthys, heads uncountable of cephalaspis, and, as described by Agassiz, portions of the *parexus recurvus* and *clematius reticulatus*.

The same bed of rock extends into the Den of Rossie, where the search has resulted only as yet in the discovery of vast numbers of curious concretionary nodules, resembling shells, and of which an elaborate account has been given by M. Parrot in describing similar bodies (*les pierres d'Imatra*), and which he affirms to be *des mollusques petrifiés, sans coquilles*. The nodules occur in great numbers in Elland Water, near Melrose, and are regarded in that land of romance as "fairy stones;" they are of a spherical form, more or less flattened, generally consist of laminæ, are from half an inch to an inch in diameter, and, whether they are organic, or simply concretions, as Sir David Brewster thinks, formed by the dropping of

* Vol. ii. p. 760.

water holding in solution earthy particles which cohere on evaporation; the nodules impart a singularly striking appearance to the surface of the rock, and call back the imagination to a time when the sandstone constituted the silt of a sea-margin, whose waters, filled with so many curious forms of organic life, have long since retreated.

About a mile to the westward, in the charmingly wooded dell of Baliggarny, occurs the overlying bed of the mottled sandstone, so full of spots and blotches, which stretches over great part of the Carse of Gowrie, the southern bank of the Tay, and several places in Strathedden, dipping under the Lomonds at Glenvale. The spots are generally spherical, the transverse section forming a circle varying from a quarter of an inch to nearly a foot in diameter, and in the centre of the spheres there is generally a small pea of metallic oxide, to which the iron diffused through the stone seems to have been transferred. In accounting for the origin of these spots, Dr. Fleming has suggested that they are owing to the presence "probably of some vegetable or animal organism, the decomposition of which exercised a limited influence on the colouring matter of the surrounding rock." In corroboration of this view, two specimens have been found with the scale of a holoptychius in the middle of the white spot, one of which is in the possession of the writer, and the other in that of David Milne, Esq.; in whose *Geological Account of Roxburghshire* the author advocates the theory of a chemical process, holding that the formation of these blotches belongs to "the same class of phenomena as the blanching process which takes place along the sides of fissures or cracks in the old red sandstone rock," and where there is generally a larger development of metallic incrustations, having very beautiful dendritic forms. The chemical analysis of the spot, as compared with the red rock, yields something in support of both theories, and is not determinate as to either. Thus, in the spot, the iron is changed from a peroxide to a protoxide,* which in the red stone exists as a peroxide; and again, in the spot, there is a trace of phosphoric acid, whilst there is none in the general body of the rock, and may have been derived from the phosphate in the scale or other organisms. Assuming the organic theory as affording the readiest means of producing the discolouration, from the infinite numbers of both vegetable and animal bodies floating in the Devonian seas, the organic matter containing phosphoric or carbonic acid, it is supposed, became gradually decomposed, and the acid, set free, combined with a portion of the iron to form a protoxide, and thus discharged the red colour. The metallic nucleus, which is of a dark bluish colour, and finely contrasts with the red and white of the rock, it may be also observed, generally bears a proportion to the size of the spheres; thus showing a correspondence between the two, whether as cause or effect, whether the influence was discharged outwardly from the centre or attracted inwardly from the circumference, and in either mode confirmative of the organic hypothesis. The sandstone extends a considerable way up the Den of Baliggarny, when it abuts against the amygdaloidal trap which has thrown the strata into the perpendicular; at the point of junction, the sandstone is

* Metals, in combining with oxygen, combine with different proportions of it, and these combinations, in conformity to the usual law of chemical attraction, give rise to compounds having very different properties. Thus in minerals, through which any metallic substance is diffused, there are degrees and shades of colour corresponding with the proportions in which the oxygen is united to the metal. The protoxide denotes the oxide formed by the first degree of oxidation, and the peroxide denotes that of the highest degree of oxidation: the black coloured oxide of iron, as the central spot, contains 21 of oxygen and the red coloured stone about 33, in 100 parts.

converted into a pure quartz or flinty schist, while the trap becomes insinuated between the beds, and welded to them by the strong fusion of heat. The interest of the section here is greatly heightened by the vast overlying mass of the plutonic matter, extending several hundred feet along the uptilted edges of the sandstone strata, and displaying as perfect a profile view of the intermixture of eruptive and sedementary rocks as curiosity or science can desiderate. The student, in his pursuits, rarely has the good fortune of seeing these junctions, as they most frequently occur upon inaccessible sea-shores, or lie concealed under too great depth of soil, or have not emerged to the surface in sufficiently extended sections.*

This beautiful den, with its sweeping row of flower-covered villas at the entrance, possesses attractions enough in itself to repay a visit, whether by naturalist, botanist, or geologist; nor will the artist fail in his object should he see it as we last saw it, in a bright autumn noon, as the rays of the sun streamed through the densely-tinted foliage, and fell upon rivulet, rock, trees, and startled deer, producing the most beautiful effects of light and shade, and lighting up a scene which the pencil may trace, but will ever fail to impress in all its vivid beauty upon the canvass. The accomplished authoress of the *Queens of England and Scotland* humorously remarked on the occasion, "that even geology could be made interesting were it found only in such delightful places;" in front the vista is no less delightful, where the eye reposes on the richest and most spacious of those river-basins which constitute so much of the physical frame-work of Scotland—the lordly Tay.

3. And other "such delightful places" do often meet the geologist on his way, whether he has to cross broad rivers, or scale rugged mountains, or tread wastes of sand to meet them. Dura Den, in Fifeshire, is one of these, a deep winding ravine formed in the upper series of the old red sandstone. The rock on both sides presents a precipitous face, in some parts nearly 200 feet in height, and rising behind into finely-wooded hills of 500 or 600 feet of the formation. Entering the Den from the north, a cornstone at Craigfoodie, a conglomerate at Osnaburg, and a grey, reddish sandstone near the church—all of the middle series—arrest the attention, and will reward the inspection of the inquirer. The sandstone strata immediately change in dip, colour, and texture, when he will find himself among the newest or upper series, which are of all hues and dyes, the white-yellowish prevailing, and hence it has been termed the Yellow Sandstone. The qualities are as various as the colours, consisting, in the lower beds, of beautifully white, hard building stone, which is succeeded by thin layers of ferruginous marls, terminating in thick bands of coarse sandstone. The fossil remains are chiefly confined to the middle parts of the series, the beds immediately beneath and above the clay marls. They are found all on the western side as well as in the bed of the stream, which, in the course of ages, appears to have been the principal agent in scooping the ravine. Five or six genera of vertebrate fossils have been described and named

* All the strata of the middle series occur in the vicinity of Perth, and extend in great thickness along the left bank of the Tay by Scone and Lethendy. It may not be out of place to notice here that the celebrated "coronation stone of Scone," now in Westminster Abbey, is formed of this rock, and not, as antiquaries say, of "merbyl." We have examined a splinter of it, when "the stone" was wickedly fractured during the fitting-up at Westminster in 1838. It is unquestionably a *bonâ fide* specimen of old red sandstone. The colour, texture, and granular qualities are identical with those of the sandstone of which Scone Palace is built. And whether, as the legend affirms, originally from Egypt or the Holy Land, true it is, that the now existing emblem of Scottish independence is a veritable product of Scotland itself, dug from the same quarry or bed of rock as that of which the modern palace is constructed.

by M. Agassiz, some entirely new, and others new species of genera found in other localities of the lower and middle series. They consist of the following kinds:—*Glyptopomus minor*, *Holoptychius Andersoni* and *Flemingii*, *Pamphractus Andersoni* (the *Pterichthys hydrophilus* of Egerton); also *Diploterus* (new species), *Dipterus* (new species), *Glypticus Dalgleisianæ* (new genus), and one or two not as yet named. This remarkable deposit is, in many places, filled to repletion with these curious relics. A space of little more than four square yards, on a late occasion, when the writer was present, yielded about a hundred fishes perfect in their outline, and as many more in a fragmentary and broken state. The scales and fins are, in general, quite entire, the forms of the creatures often starting in their complete scaly envelope from the matrix; and the organisms being all enamelled and of a bright pink-colour, the teeth and plates of the head fresh and unbroken, one can scarcely divest himself of the idea that, instead of the innumerable series of geologic terms to be counted, he is looking upon the creations of yesterday, the relics of living things that had just ceased to breathe.

The yellow sandstone deposit extends east and west, from St. Andrews to the Cleish hills, occupying the valley of Stratheden, and dipping under the carboniferous system, from which it is generally separated by overlying masses of trap. It forms a belt of no great breadth, but is in many places of vast thickness. It is found in several other localities in Scotland—in Morayshire, Cromarty, Ayrshire, Arran, and across the Channel, in Ireland. Its fossil treasures have nowhere been so abundant as in Dura Den, which may be considered, in its palæontology as well as mineral qualities, the type of the formation.

What, in conclusion, it will now be asked, was the flora of a period so remarkable for its development of animal life? Nature everywhere delights in contrasts; and here the contrast is certainly very striking, if the measure of her vegetative powers is to be taken from the few scanty relics of fuci and algæ scattered through the lower and middle series of the old red sandstone. Not a fragment of vegetable matter has anywhere been detected in the yellow deposit; but they exist in the system at Parkhill, near Newburgh, Wormit Bay, Balruddery, Carmylie, and other localities—and all confined to the tilestone and grey micaceous flags of the middle series. These remains are chiefly of the fucoid order, consisting of thin slender stems, diverging into numerous leaflets or fronds, and resemble the long boggy grasses that grow in our marshes and lakes. Sometimes they may be observed as a mere coaly film, at other times like small decayed branches of gnarled oak, and covering often the surface of the rock, causing it easily to split into thin divisional flagstones. In Orkney they likewise occur in the lower series, where some have the appearance of the club-moss, thickly striated and tubercled; and one specimen has been described as a fern, of the size of the moorworts and other smaller kinds, and in sufficient preservation to show that it belonged to the terrestrial, not the marine tribes. But if thus scanty in her vegetable productions during the Devonian age, the period was at hand when the earth was to pour them from her teeming bosom in the most affluent measure, and in forms and sizes which tropical climates can only now present. Dura Den exhibits, in the closest juxtaposition, the wonders of the two geologic ages. A step carries you from the one series of rocks to the other. A vast, universal, inconceivable change passes over the surface of the globe, the seas increase in greater varieties and in multiplied forms of animal life, the earth all over abounding in trees of the amplest and loftiest dimensions; and, leaping across the stream, in this narrow dell, you pass the shadowy bourne which separates

two of the oldest and most singular epochs in the world's history. The mighty operation is marked on a small scale, though recorded in the most legible characters —a slight depression in the dip of the strata on the one side—a few black lines interspersed among stripes of white on the other side—is the simple lithograph by which Nature tells of energies whose products are mountains and valleys, new teeming lands, seas swarming with the moving thing that hath life, and mineral treasures enclosed for man's use and comfort, which time only can exhaust.

THE IGNEOUS ROCKS.

Before looking into the carboniferous system, now dawning into view on these lithologic pages of our history, rocks of a different class require first to be noticed in their due chronological order. These are the igneous products of the age we have just been contemplating, that is, the period intermediate between the old red sandstone and the deposition of the various materials of the coal formation. After the strata of the former had been all collected and arranged over the bottom of the Devonian seas, they were penetrated, hardened, and upheaved by vast masses of molten matter issuing from below; forming new ranges of mountains, as the Sidlaws, Ochils, Pentlands, Eildons, and Cheviots, and convulsing, like a tumultuous sea, the whole surface of Scotland. The evidence of the plutonic agency, as well as the geologic era of its chief activity, is as clear and certain—recorded in every way, form, and character of physical truth—as that of any event of ancient times with which the moral historian has to deal.

When we consider the masses of molten matter thrown up by volcanos in modern times—Vesuvius, about 3900 feet above the level of the sea, throwing out fiery torrents over all its slopes, and filling up valleys through all their extent—Etna, nearly 11,000 feet high, and 63 miles in circumference at its base—Teneriffe, 16,000 feet, and the whole island composed of volcanic matter—the Kirauea, in the Sandwich Islands, a mountain of 18,000 feet, and the entire island in which it is situated, seventy miles in length and covering an area of 4000 square miles, a complete mass of volcanic matter—while, along the range of the Andes and in other parts of the globe, there are, every day, in active operation, about two hundred fiery cones ejecting matter in sufficient quantity to form mountains higher and more massive than the largest in Great Britain;—these facts take away all antecedent incredibility from the assumption of hills of only 2000 to 3000 feet high being the product of similar agencies, and raised into position by similar internal forces.

But, to take an illustration nearer our own shores, Iceland may be referred to as an example of volcanic action on the great scale. The whole of this island is the product of recently extinct or of actually existing volcanic foci, which, within a few fleeting years of man's duration and in modern times, have thrown out masses of fused rock higher than the loftiest of the Grampians, and of sufficient depth to cover the Scottish Highlands thousands of feet all over with mountain ranges of the igneous formation. Iceland lies within the same terrestrial zone with Great Britain, situated between 13° 20′ and 24° 31′ of west longitude, and between 63° 23′ and 66° 33′ of north latitude, and is consequently distant less than the island's own length, or about 560 miles from the most northern point of land in Scotland. It is nearly one-third larger than Scotland, being calculated to contain about 38,230 square miles. Through its length and breadth Iceland has been convulsed, upheaved, and overrun in

every part; and even now there is scarcely a district in which a human habitation can be built, without the risk of being speedily overwhelmed with the fiery torrent, or submerged in the yawning abyss whence it continually issues. Hecla, the most celebrated of its cones, is 5110 feet in height, and its circumference at the base is from fifteen to twenty miles; steam and hot vapours are constantly arising from the central peak; the sides are scarred by numerous ravines; and, for nearly ten miles around, the beautiful and fertile valley which formerly encompassed this famed volcano is overflowed by its fiery flood, or buried under immense heaps of cinders, pumice, sand, and ashes. Vast numbers of small cones rise in every part of this lava plain, the most remarkable of which is the Raudseldar, which has an oblong form, a crater in the middle 180 feet deep and 840 feet in circumference, and is composed, as the name implies, of small red half-melted stones. There are several chains of mountains which traverse the island, one of which is above 200 miles in length, and whose summits attain the great elevation of 5685 to 5927 feet. The dark lava sides and linear arrangement of their rocky masses sufficiently attest their volcanic origin, without the still more terrible proof given from time to time by the latent fires within their bosom bursting forth in unexpected and most destructive eruptions. The Skaptar Jokul was produced by one of these outbursts in 1783, a ridge now of hard rock, 100 miles in length, 15 miles in breadth, in some places 600 feet high, and of an average height of 300 feet. Several torrents of lava have issued, in very recent times, upon a similar scale of magnitude, from a group of mountains situated near the centre of the island, and whose deep recesses have never been explored, partly from the superstitious fears of the natives to accompany travellers into these demon-haunted regions, and partly from the extreme difficulty and danger that have attended every attempt to penetrate into their shattered and rugged defiles. The eruptions are descried at an immense distance, covering all the interior with dense masses of smoke and ashes, and throwing out quantities of scoriæ and pumice so great as to cover the waves for many miles round the shores of Iceland. The mountains themselves, with their snowy peaks, are seen at a distance of 100 to 150 miles; and nothing surprises the voyager more, as he approaches the scene of these volcanic operations, than the contrast exhibited between their scorched, dark-coloured bases and the gleaming whiteness of their upper ridges; the internal fires smouldering beneath, or casting out vapours and warm springs; geysers leaping more than 200 feet into the air, and in a column of water 200 feet in diameter, with a temperature of 154°. These singular phenomena, accompanying the subterranean agency, are found in all parts of the land, and at all elevations, sending up clouds of steam from amidst fields of perpetual ice. The very ocean that surrounds the coast is not free from them, where, in the northern portion of the Breida Fiord, studded with innumerable islands, the water in many places is sensibly elevated in temperature by their action. The author of *The History of Iceland* says:—

"Between the snowy chains now described lies the great desert of Iceland, whose unknown regions form the scene of many superstitious terrors to the natives; and, indeed, the lonely and desolate aspect of this district can scarcely be exceeded by any other region on the earth. Age after age, volcano on volcano, have poured their stony floods over its surface, till it has become almost one black scorified field. Long tracts of volcanic sand, immense masses, torn from the neighbouring mountains, wide chasms, huge insulated fragments of lava, everywhere interrupt the progress of the traveller, whilst the magnetic influence of the rocks renders the compass useless as a guide. In these wastes no springs of water refresh the sight:

no bird, no beast, scarcely even a plant or humble moss relieves the tedium of the journey, or expels the feeling of loneliness that weighs upon the spirit. Where the internal fires have been most active, hills are tossed on hills in inextricable confusion, of which even the tempestuous ocean furnishes but a faint image. In other quarters, magnificent glaciers of green transparent ice occur, whilst the volcanic scoriæ with which they are often mixed exhibit a contrast, though one strikingly characteristic of this land, where fire and ice seem ever conjoined, and yet ever contending for the mastery."

Such is Iceland: and what is thus occurring so near ourselves, in modern times, has occurred within our own borders in the remoter periods of the earth's history. The island of Great Britain has passed through the same fiery ordeal, and been convulsed in a similar manner. The craters whence its volcanic masses issued are closed over, the peaceful abodes of fertile valleys, or the quiet retreats of deep lakes. Isolated cones, as Moncrieff Hill, the Lomonds, and Arthur's Seat, mark the lesser foci of their action, while the greater torrents constitute the more extended ranges which characterise the midland and southern portions of Scotland. The Sidlaws, Ochils, Pentlands, and Cheviots, as well as the Campsie, Kilpatrick, and Renfrew hills, are nearly all composed of the same materials of rock; they have been ejected all within the same geologic epoch, and now constitute the firmest foundations of our once agitated land—the jokuls and volcanos of an era that has long passed away.

The term TRAP has been applied to this class of rocks, from the German *Trappa*, a stair, in consequence of the terraced or step-like elevations generally assumed by the hills of the formation. They are known in Scotland by the name of whinstone. The generic term "trap" includes porphyry, compact felspar, claystone porphyry, greenstone, clinkstone, amygdaloid, basalt, trachyte, tuffa, and several varieties of each. They are very widely diffused—indeed, more so in their several places of emergence to the surface than the rocks of any of the other systems. The hills, neither so lofty nor bold in character as those connected with the primary system, have the same geographical range across the mainland, running parallel to the Grampians and Lammermuirs, and are equally characteristic as a great geological division of semi-crystalline rocks. The Sidlaws, Ochils, and Campsie hills are the principal seats of the trap formation in the central district; the Pentlands, Cheviots, Eildons, and other outliers, show its leading features and extent in the southern and border country. The Renfrew hills, of great extent and variety, mark the outgoing of the formation on the western shores, and which are to be considered as a continuation of the Kilpatrick group, terminating at Dumbarton in a series of beautifully wooded cones and lofty mural cliffs.

The various members of the series differ greatly in their general composition and appearance. Although, from other circumstances, it is impossible to doubt their common origin, there are members of the family which, if viewed in detached specimens, would be considered as possessing no relation or affinity to each other; since even some of the proximate rocks present as little mineralogical resemblance as lime and sandstone, slate and coal. They have been ejected at different periods and after long intervals, and consequently have been modified by the circumstances under which they were produced, the conditions of the sea-bottom over which they were spread, and the character of the rocks through which the fused matter was erupted. They are not lavas, which are sub-aerial products, and therefore light and porous; nor are they aqueous formations, whose materials have been deposited in

water, and subjected gradually to its abrading influences. These rocks are the results of igneous fusion deep under the crust of the earth, and from their weight and density, having parted with few of their elements in a gaseous state, have doubtless been consolidated under strong pressure from above before reaching the surface of the waters. They are found in all positions, insinuating themselves not only between different rocks, but between the beds and thinnest laminæ of the same rock, filling up rents and fissures, and, like a cement poured from above, overlying and binding the whole in one mass. They contain no organic remains, and the absence of these, except in a few instances, while abounding in all the sedimentary rocks through which they pass, is urged by geologists as a proof that the trap matter has been forced from below in a melted state, whereby any organic bodies that mingled in the heated mass have been destroyed. While occupying no fixed place in the order of superposition, the traps are never disposed in layers, and exhibit no lines of stratification. They are often composed of the fragments of other rocks, agglutinated by a base of clay, as in the tuffa species, and each considerably altered by the heat to which they have been exposed. Remarkable changes are also produced upon all the strata in immediate contact with the traps, especially with basalt and greenstone—chalk being converted into flint, limestone into chert, clay hardened into brick, and coal into coke, when it is deprived of its bitumen, or the quality which renders it combustible as a fuel.

These and other appearances have justly led to the conclusion, that the trap or whinstone formation is of igneous origin, and that all the hills of which it consists, to which we are indebted for so much beauty and fertility—now the abodes of peace and abundance—once glowed with volcanic fire, and were actually molten with subterranean heat.

Their mineral constituents may be briefly described, consisting essentially of felspar, hornblende, and augite, substances which also form those of the modern volcanic rocks. The traps are very numerous in their specific characters, as well as very different in their external appearances, occasioned by the various combinations of their simple ingredients, of which no two in the whole series will be found exactly alike. The porphyries, of which there are several species, are all more or less composed of felspar; that is, an argillaceous paste, containing imbedded crystals of other substances. There is generally a considerable quantity of iron diffused through the composition, which, in the state of an oxide, gives a reddish tinge to the aspect of the rock, and thereby serves to distinguish the felspar porphyry easily from the other members of the formation. The term porphyry was applied by the ancients to rocks of a burnt red aspect, and susceptible of polish; it is now applied to all rocks having crystals imbedded in a base of other mineral composition. Thus granite is a porphyritic rock, having crystals of felspar and mica imbedded in a quartz base; but as the true normal structure is best defined in the trap family, the term is accordingly more strictly applied to some of the varieties of this extensive series of igneous rocks. Claystone and clinkstone are essentially one and the same, the former consisting of felspar porphyritically arranged, but more generally in a loose state of aggregation, and the latter being of such close texture and induration as to give a metallic ringing sound when struck with the hammer. The prevailing colour of both is ash-grey or a dark green, and while occasionally assuming a columnar structure, often of great dimensions, there is no prismatic or geometric arrangement, as in basalt, in the form of the columns. Sometimes several colours occur in all the varieties of the felspathic rocks, frequently showing beautiful dendritic

delineations on the surface, as well as green and yellow spots, which are supposed to be occasioned by the oxidation of copper disseminated through the rock. Where the spots are concentric round a dark-coloured nucleus, as frequently occurs, the presence of some organic substance is now considered to be the cause of this appearance, which, as not having been entirely dissipated by the heat, had chemically acted in discharging the colouring matter within the parts affected. These spots, like those in the dotted sandstone, are in some instances innumerable, occurring in every part, even in the innermost recesses of the indurated mountain. If, as the name and substance of the rock import, the porphyries were ejected over the sea-bottom in the form of clay-mud, and not in a state of fusion, though expelled by the inner fires, myriads of the smaller organic bodies, always abundant in the ocean, would be inclosed in the moving mass, and necessarily occasion such changes or phenomena as those in question. A bed of this claystone porphyry extends along the Ochils, almost continuously for twenty miles; appearing at the upper entrance to Glenfarg, at Lumbenny, in the parish of Newburgh, the Mount-hill, near Cupar, and at various intermediate places in the parishes of Moonzie and Kilmany Its prevailing colour is brick-red or ash-grey, and is richly covered with the circular yellow spots.

The other varieties of the trap family are of a more compound character, and consist of several kinds of crystals, or portions of other rocks united in the mass. Greenstone is of a granular texture, and generally of a dark green colour, of which there are two kinds, one composed of hornblende and felspar, and another of felspar and augite, and in both, crystals of quartz and olivine are often mixed. Basalt consists of the same ingredients, united only in different proportions; it is generally of a darker colour and finer texture, and occurs in every form of tabular, globular, and prismatic concretions, in which the minerals are always so intimately blended that the whole appears as one homogeneous mass. Amygdaloid, or the almond-shaped stone, from the form of the nodules, consists of a basis of impure claystone, through which are dispersed various nodular substances, as quartz, agate, chalcedony, calc-spar, and green-earth or chlorite. This rock forms the matrix of all the finest varieties of the Scotch pebble, where alternating zones of felspar, quartz, chalcedony, and heliotrope, frequently occur in the same crystal. The amygdaloid sometimes passes into tuffa, containing portions of nearly all the species of trap, from half an inch to a foot in diameter; some of which are sharp and angular, and others rounded. The whole mass strongly suggests the idea of a current of liquid lava which, as it proceeded in its fiery course, embraced the various substances lying in its way, both soft and concrete, and by the excessive temperature altered and modified their composition. The remarkable vesicular character of this rock, as seen in Glenfarg, Moncrieff, and Kinnoul hills in Perthshire, and in the Castle-rock and other places in Dumbartonshire—the *habitat* of the beautiful zoolitic family of crystals—has clearly resulted from the expansive power of gases in the process of cooling, while the substances now filling the cavities have, many of them at least, been introduced since the induration of the rock.

While none of the class of rocks now described exhibit any distinct lines of stratification, they nevertheless assume the appearance, in many places, of being disposed in beds or masses separated at regular intervals, and extending over considerable distances. Sometimes also they are arranged in layers, possessing more or less of a homogeneous character, as of mud collected or poured over a horizontal sea-bottom. Hence "flœtz trap," and the opinion once prevalent of its Neptunian

origin. But a closer inspection speedily dispels the illusion, and shows the apparent stratified structure to be only partial. The vast pressure of the ocean would necessarily contribute to the distribution of the materials into parallel beds within certain limits, whether these materials were thrown out by submarine volcanos or were accumulated in the sea, from the *débris* of other rocks, during their intervals of repose. There might be repeated alternations of such beds, differing more or less in their ingredients, according as the successive eruptions were at longer or shorter intervals from each other, or modified by the conditions of the currents, and other causes concerned in their formation. The amygdaloidal, and other vesicular varieties of trap, may be accounted for in like manner, where the pressure from above would not only prevent the escape of their gaseous constituents, but, by preserving the fluidity of the mass for a longer time, assist in the secretion of their particles and the flattening of the cavities in which their beautiful crystals are lodged.

The phenomenon of Veins, or dykes, forms an interesting feature in the history of these rocks; nor, in a theoretic point of view, is it the least remarkable feature in this history, that, of all the varieties of trap, basalt and greenstone only are found in this condition among the secondary formations, and, along with these, felspar porphyry only among the primary. No reason can be assigned for this: geologists have attempted no explanation of the fact. The granite veins are composed of pure granite, unmixed with foreign substances; those of the trap as invariably consist of felspar, basalt, and greenstone, in their purest and best characterised forms. These dykes are very numerous over the northern division of the island, as well as among the Grampians—occurring in every position and diverging in every direction—elevating, disrupting, and indurating the rocks of every kind along their passage. They traverse the district of Strathmore, five or six crossing the bed of the Tay, betwixt Dunkeld and Perth, and running nearly parallel for twenty or thirty miles in a south-westerly course. A well-defined instance occurs on the southern slope of Norman's Law, traceable for miles westward by Glenduckie, Higham, and Newburgh. There is another on the opposite ridge running behind Letham School-house, near to Auchtermuchty, under the Roman road at Pitlour, and skirting west by Damhead to the Path of Condie. In Strathearn they may be observed, in various places, rising above the sandstone, and forming mural ridges of disjointed tabular masses, of considerable elevation. They are of frequent occurrence in every coal-field, subserving the purposes of a wise providence, while regarded as *troubles* by every miner.

On the shores of the Frith of Clyde, trap veins are very numerous, particularly near Dunoon in the direction of Toward Point, where they cut the schist at right angles and are readily distinguished by their dark colour from the bright silvery hue of the slaty strata. In some instances portions of the schist are inclosed in the matter of the dyke. One near Hafton House is of a light greenish colour and seems to be composed wholly of the fused schist itself, the quartz being the prevailing ingredient of the mass. Another, several yards in breadth, may be observed on the Castle-hill, projecting across the road into the waters; it is traceable for miles up the face of the mountain, whose culminating point, the Bishop's Seat, appears to be formed of the same vein. Here, on this beautiful coast, the student in a walk of a few miles meets with examples of three successive systems of rocks, the schist, the old red sandstone, and the trap or igneous formation. The schist belongs to the clay-slate series, already described; it extends along the southern group of

the Cowal hills, consisting of smooth rounded tops, and thereby forming a striking contrast with the loftier and more rugged range of mountains which surround Lochs Long, Goil, and Eck, and all composed of the mica-schist of the primary formation. Nor will he fail to notice the close resemblance between the grauwake and Silurian slates which environ the springs of the Clyde, in the mountains of Peeblesshire, and the schistose beds through which its waters, after their long course, pass into the sea. The eye can discern no difference either in colour, texture, or mineral ingredients. But their lustrous purity, washed daily by the tide, may here well invite the closest inspection, as their truncated edges, innumerable divisional planes, detached groupings, and variegated quartz veins exhibit, in the most perfect manner, every feature and characteristic of the formation. This border-fringe of rock, one of Nature's finest weaving, cannot fail even to arrest the attention of the health and pleasure seeking visitors who resort in crowds to these lovely beaches; favourably contrasting with the most elaborate productions of the neighbouring mart of manufactures, and more than rivalling them in all the enduring qualities of tint, lustre, fineness of texture, elegance, and massiveness of structure. These tufts of wild flowers, the green pellucid waters, the long-tangled sea-weeds, the thousand sportive marine creatures that continually flit and glance through their foliage, all conspire to form a picture of rare excellency, and to every cultivated mind of the most attractive interest.

The trap dykes are very numerous in the islands of Bute and the Cumbrays, stretching into the Ayrshire coast: some of the dykes are very broad and much elevated above the surface, and traverse the schist and sandstone in such a manner as show the islands and mainland to have been once more closely united. They constitute likewise one of the most marked features along the southern portion of Arran, where, until examined, they have all the appearance of artificial dykes or breakwaters, fencing the land from the sea. They environ the coast, from Brodick Bay on the east to Pladda on the south-west; and as they are of all dimensions, from a foot to ten or twelve feet in breadth, and cross each other in their innumerable intersections of the sandstone, often curved and twisted like a coiled rope along the beach, there is no place where these curious concretions can be studied with greater advantage, and where all their phenomena, on an accessible basis, have been so completely developed. One upon a large scale—indeed, the largest and longest yet traced in Scotland—is the great Hawick dyke, which, after passing through part of Northumberland, enters the Cheviot hills, traverses the south-western district of Roxburghshire, crosses the ridges to the south of Chesters, and onwards to Hawick, where, in a continued course north-west by north, it bears through the parishes of Wilton and Ashkirk to near the head of Ale Water. Upwards of thirty miles of uninterrupted direction over the surface is thus clearly defined, intersecting the grauwake, the porphyry, the old red sandstone, and the coal formation in its course, and maintaining throughout its homogeneous character and qualities as an igneous outpouring from beneath. Indeed, there is no part of the country, in any class of rocks, free from the intersection of these curious stone-floods of trap, presenting an equal diversity of mass and mineral character with the strata around, and forming an instructive example of the various channels of communication with the interior of the earth.

The rocks now described are of different ages, and connected with different geological systems. The oldest, or the porphyritic traps, are chiefly diffused among the primary, Silurian, and Devonian systems. The greenstone, basalt, and wacke

varieties, in all their larger outbursts as hills and ridges, are generally limited to the area of the coal-field. In the form of dykes they are of all ages, while in their columnar and prismatic state they are developed, on their grandest scale, among the tertiary deposits of the western isles. The proofs of this order of succession are irresistible. The upheaval of the older strata, dislocated, and resting at all angles on the edges of the porphyries of the primary and secondary mountain chains, clearly demonstrates that the plutonic agency was in vigorous operation over the whole area of the stratified rocks thus affected. The porphyritic traps, capped by these deposits, rose above the surface of the ocean, studding with innumerable islets and forming shallows over the northern portions of Scotland. The coal measures, afterwards filling up the basins and estuaries thereby produced, were dislocated and upheaved in like manner by a new eruption of fused matter—the greenstone, basalt, and breccia—whose relative ages are determined by the circumstance that these forms of trap are localised within the area of the coal metals, which have been variously affected by their intrusion. Finally, as will be afterwards shown, the alternation of the basalt with the leaf beds of the Isle of Mull, and the identity of the columnar structure of the adjacent islands—all lying within the area of the oolitic and tertiary systems—as clearly warrant the inference as to the comparatively late eruption of these singularly magnificent piles of igneous rock.

The analogy and history of the trappean family might be extended through England into France, where in both countries it can be shown that they are of the same relative ages—from the primary to the secondary formations, from the new red sandstone to the chalk, and from the period of the chalk to the most recent tertiary deposits. The Silurian rocks of Wales are identical with those in Normandy, and through both the porphyries have burst their way. The oolite, wealden, and chalk of the south of England find their types on the banks of the Seine and the Loire; and the trachyte of the one country is not distinguishable in mineral qualities, nor different in subterranean effects, from that in the other. The extinct volcanos of Auvergne, in central France, bring down the narrative of these events to the verge of historic times, when the Cantal, Puy de Dome, and other volcanic peaks, rose above lakes inhabited by mammoths, dinotheriums, and other gigantic pachyderms, which have now no generic types on the face of the globe. The living fires of Etna and Vesuvius issue from the same interior storehouse, act upon, and throw up the same kinds of materials that reared the Alps, the Himmalayas, and the Andes. Thus the laws of nature may be demonstrated, in these eruptive agencies, to be one and the same in all times past and present; giving shape and contour to a planet whose stability, diversity, and conveniences are as fixed and determinate as its convulsions and changes have been uniform, progressive, and beneficial; and evincing a controlling Power guiding the movements of the most violent forces, to form a scene of beauty, and harmony, and fertility.

THE CARBONIFEROUS SYSTEM—THE COAL MEASURES.

The fertility of the earth referred to above was never greater than during the period of geological history on which we are now entering—the period of gigantic vegetables. It succeeded to an age when the internal fires were more than ordinarily active. The crust was everywhere pierced, upheaved and vast masses of

volcanic matter were rolled over the surface, or piled into lofty mountain ranges. Dr. M'Culloch has remarked, that, over the length and breadth of Scotland, every square yard has been more or less affected by the trap-rocks, and the convulsive movements which their intrusion occasioned. The class to which the older porphyries belong constitutes one of the most widely-diffused systems over the area of the globe. The effects are indicative of like causes. And thus the inference necessarily follows, that the general temperature at the earth's surface would not only be correspondingly high, but nearly uniform in geographical extent with the action of the internal fires, which melted the rocks, and raised them into mountains.

The carboniferous era borders on this period of fiery activity. The system of rocks composing the coal measures immediately succeeded—namely, a series of limestones, sandstones, ironstones, shales, and coal—two-thirds of which consist of vegetable and animal matter. The seas and the dry land were alike prolific. Masses of limestone, from 20 to 120 feet in thickness, and beds of pure coal, from 1 to 20 feet thick, are entirely composed of their respective marine and terrestrial products; and when it is considered that a single coal-field will frequently contain from thirty to a hundred seams of coal, and likewise several bands of limestone, both of corresponding but variable thickness, it will be admitted that the quantity of vegetable and animal matter of which they consist indicates a period of the most prolific abundance in both elements. Whence the heat which excited such wonderfully productive powers, during a particular epoch of time, but unlimited in extent over the earth's surface? The sun alone could not be the source, for however high the temperature thence derived, the solar heat could not have been universally, and at the same time uniformly diffused. The plants of the period were nearly all of the kinds which are now confined to the tropics, in their tree-form, and chiefly consist of the cryptogamic tribes, two-thirds of the whole being ferns, which attained a gigantic size. Equally remarkable is the fact, that a uniform state of vegetation prevailed over the whole earth during the age in question—the coal plants of Melville Island and Greenland corresponding to those of Southern Europe—the deposits in America yielding species identical with those in Great Britain; while every fresh discovery of the useful mineral, in the east or west, in Russia or Australia, shows the fossil remains of the same flora, in like gigantic forms, and in similar affluent fecundity. Hence the more probable solution of the problem has been sought for in the disengagement and diffusion of the heat accompanying so universal an eruption of the igneous rocks, and which, as permeating every part of the crust, evinced a nearly uniform temperature over the interior range of their influence. The hypothesis has likewise been adopted by geologists, that the earth, originally an incandescent mass, was gradually cooling down, but still sufficiently genial all over as to foster the excessive growth of vegetation, as well as the amazing opulence of marine animal life. But from whatever cause, the existence of a high and uniform temperature was indispensable for the sustenance of so prolific and uniform a state of living things, vegetable or animal; the disengagement of gases, especially of carbonic, would, upon either view, be a necessary concomitant, producing vapours, showers, and rains of corresponding density; and as all these requirements, in a moist and warm atmosphere, are implied in the exuberant flora of the coal measures, so is there evidence in the igneous phenomena of the period that the conditions were all in full and active operation. "We learn," says Sir Charles Lyell, "from the labours of M. Ad. Brongniart,* that there existed at that epoch, during the formation of the coal

* *Histoire des Végétaux Fossiles*, 2 vols.

measures, equisetæ upwards of ten feet high, and from five to six inches in diameter; tree ferns of from forty to fifty feet in height; and arborescent lycopodiaceæ of from sixty to seventy feet high. Of the above classes of vegetables the species are all small at present in cold climates; while in tropical regions there occur, together with small species, many of a much greater size, but their development, at present, even in the hottest parts of the globe, is inferior to that indicated by the petrified forms of the coal measures. An elevated and uniform temperature, and great humidity in the air, are the causes most favourable for the numerical predominance and the great size of these plants within the torrid zone at present."*

The vista thus opened into the past condition of the earth is no less instructive than curious. The existing kinds of plants in Scotland corresponding to those in the coal measures are horse-tail, club-mosses, and ferns, none of which ever attain, in their stems, the thickness of an inch; but which, as seen in the restored picture of the ancient world, grew to the size of gigantic trees, and multiplied in such numbers as to have surpassed the rankness and luxuriance of an Indian jungle, in regions now invaded by the impenetrable barriers of the polar ice. The relics of these extinct forests, through the converting agencies and wonderfully conserving powers of nature, amidst so many convulsions of the globe, are now buried deep in the bowels of the earth, constituting the chief source of our domestic comfort, and of nearly all our commercial greatness.

The mineral masses would also be much influenced by the operation of these causes. The heat, in the first place, would render them less cohesive in their texture; and, in the next place, their disruption, and the attrition necessarily occasioned by the mechanical shifting and upheaval of the earth's crust over such large areas, would as necessarily result in vast accumulations of sand, mud, and other detrital matter. As from the disintegration of the primary rocks were obtained the materials of the clay-slate, grauwake, silurian, and old red sandstone deposits, so, again, from these, as well as from the primary affected anew by the convulsions of the period, were derived the sandstones, clays, and shales of the coal measures. The limestone and coal are chiefly the product of organic agencies, when so much life—WILLED into being and sustained in such profusion by the provident arrangements of the period—elaborated the vegetable and calcareous ingredients of which the coal and limestone consist. It is less easy to trace the secondary sources of the ironstone, as, in the anterior systems, especially the old red sandstone, iron was disseminated through the mass in the state of an oxide, and as mere colouring matter; whereas, in the carboniferous system, it exists in thick layers, in nodules, and in other concretionary masses. But here, again, a solution of the difficulty may, to a certain extent, be sought for, in the extrication of heat and the fusion of earthy matter from the interior, when, by means of chemical action, magnetic and electric forces, a new arrangement of the metallic particles would be produced, and their aggregation around an earthy basis more readily effected. The prevailing ingredient, however, of the system is *carbon*, in a solid state—the residuum of the vegetables which constitute its most distinguishing feature;—and hence, as holding a position in the earth's crust intermediate between the old and new red sandstones, and both almost destitute of vegetable remains, it has been appropriately termed the "Carboniferous System," to mark an era so wonderfully rich in the development of vegetable life.

We shall now proceed to give a more detailed account of the structure, arrangement, and constituents of the coal measures—the nature and characters of the

* *Principles of Geology*. Vol. i. p. 116.

organic remains—and the geographic distribution and economic history of the coal itself. Much as the surface of our earthly abode is worthy of admiration, in the distribution of land and water, the diversity of hill and dale, the succession of seasons, of light and darkness, its interior arrangements are no less remarkable, whereby the products of other remote ages have not only been garnered up, but so distributed and protected, by a series of contrivances, as expressive of benevolent purpose and foresight as any of the existing processes through which living nature yearly accomplishes her beneficent designs; and as contributive, if not essential, to man's varied wants and requirements, the support and embellishment of his social progressive condition.

1. The structure, arrangement, and constituents of the coal measures. The mass of which the formation is composed consists of hundreds, or often of thousands of alternating beds of sedimentary rocks. The strata vary in thickness from the thinnest wafer-film to fifty, or even a hundred feet; every one of these distinct in their lamination, made up partly of different ingredients, and showing a change in the fluid, as the flux and reflux of the tide, in which they were deposited. Their aggregate thickness is from 2000 to 15,000 feet in vertical depth. These materials are all inclosed in basin-shaped hollows, contained within the area of the older rocks, and produced mainly by the convulsive movements of the porphyritic traps. The old red sandstone, for the most part, forms the sides and edges of the trough in which they rest; the strata of the two systems are consequently unconformable to each other.

The lowest beds of the formation consist generally of coarse-grained sandstone, termed by the English geologists millstone grit, and inclose a few thin seams of coal. The sandstones are scarcely distinguishable—except by their position and organic remains—from the upper series of the old red; their colour, texture, and arenaceous ingredients are nearly the same, as seen in Dura Den, the Lomonds, and other localities along their northern outcrop. Bands of limestone, shale, ironstone, and sandstone, follow in repeated alternations. A thick, massive limestone characterises this part of the series, termed the mountain limestone, from its great elevation, and supposed to have once existed as coral reefs, raised on the bottom of shallow seas, and so subdivided as to form suitable compartments for receiving and retaining the materials of the coal. This limestone is co-extensive with the coal measures in every part of the globe, and, like the kinds and orders of vegetables which accompany them, so its mass is composed of nearly similar species of coralline and other marine molluscs. The coal itself generally occupies a central position in the group, firmly caked and inclosed between the stony strata, and yet so entirely separate and homogeneous in its qualities as never, even in its thickest beds, to contain the least admixture of foreign matter. Nature, with all her affluence, during the carboniferous age, did not all at once heap the coally ingredients together. They are arranged into seams of variable thickness. They are removed from each other by interposed strata of other kinds of rock. Intervals of time, longer and shorter according to their dimensions, would thus elapse betwixt each successive deposit. And yet so wonderfully exact had she conducted her processes, attempered her forces, prepared, accumulated, and arranged her materials, that the vast compound mass never in a single instance has been permitted to interfere with the purity and texture of the useful mineral. Not a fragment of rock, amidst the myriads that must have been rolled about, nor a chip of sandstone, nor a broken ledge of limestone, is found imbedded in the coal, from one end of the basin to the other.

The lower as the upper surface of every seam, the commencement as the close of the bituminous deposit, preserve throughout their distinct lines of demarcation, unmixed at every point of contact, above and beneath, with the enclosing materials. The varieties of coal—as anthracite or blind coal, cannel or parrot, and the common house or glance-coal—are occasioned chiefly by the different proportions of the combustible elements that enter into their composition. The coal metals of England, as compared with those of Scotland, are of a greater average thickness, consist of a greater number of seams, and are generally of a richer quality, from containing a larger proportion of bitumen.

The great coal-basin of Scotland, in which all these materials were collected, occupies the central division of the island from sea to sea. The northern outcrop of the lower beds meets the eye, along the ridge of which the Lomonds constitute the highest point, ranging eastward by St. Andrews to Fifeness Point, and extending westward by Dollar, Stirling, the Campsie Hills, Glasgow, Greenock, to the coast of Arran. The southern lip of the basin stretches from the German Ocean, near Dunbar, by the Lammermuirs and Pentlands, to the Ayrshire coast on the North Channel. The smaller basins of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Canonbie are separated by the great silurian range, or back-bone of the border counties, and are as much connected with the English as with the Scottish coal measures. To the lover of the picturesque, as well as the geologist, the manner in which the strata are arranged at Penton Bridge, in the bed of the Liddle, will furnish a study of the most interesting kind. An injection of trap has thrown up the coal metals, shaped and moulded the limestone into every form, here broken into large tabular masses, there projected into lofty vertical walls; in one quarter twisted into long zig-zag ridges, and in another gently bent into domes and arches of every size and variety; some of the bands are a mere aggregation of encrinites, and others are inscribed all over with shells, entire and perfect as the existing races, "forms of creatures in old worlds." A concretionary ironstone, full of brick-red nodules, and thin dark-coloured shales, give additional variety to the picture. The windings of the river, the banks on the Scottish side gently sloping, and thickly covered with coppice-wood, and, on the English side, forming a precipitous wall of nearly a hundred feet in height, serve to render the scene, with its various adjuncts, one of singular beauty, and perhaps unrivalled as a display of geognostic masonry in ruins, on any similar scale of magnitude. We here see part of the inner framework and machinery by which, through the action of the trap, the great extended mass has been divided and arranged anew into workable sections.

Thus, over the area of the great coal-basin, bounded north and south by the older trap formations, a group of hills appears, isolated and thrown up as if at random, and nearly all of a conical wedge-top shape. These hills, in the eastern and central division of the coal-field, are the Lomonds, Cults, Largo, and Kellie Laws, North Berwick Law, Arthur's Seat, Corstorphine, Castle-rock of Stirling, Cleish, Binnarty, and the Bin-range at Burnt-island. From the character of the strata, and other phenomena accompanying the elevation of the igneous rocks, it can be clearly shown that the period of their ejection was subsequent to the deposition of the coal-metals, which have been altered when in contact by their heat, and shifted in position for considerable distances along their line of section. The traps of the Campsie Hills belong probably all, or in part, to the same period of eruption, being identical in mineral qualities, overlying or everywhere dispersed among the coal-metals. The associated strata, sandstone, limestone, shale, and

clay iron-stone, are found at various points of elevation through the range, which is twenty miles in length, ten in breadth, and rises in Meikle Ben to nearly 2000 feet above the level of the sea. The coal is wrought in various places along the eastern, southern, and south-western declivities, in the parishes of Larbert, Kilsyth, and Campsie. The metals are sometimes extracted from under a roofing of trap, spreading over considerable extent of surface; and there is little doubt that the stone-flood has poured over, and now conceals, large areas of coal in the district. The injection of so much igneous matter among the coal-metals may appear, at first sight, to have led only to inextricable confusion, and to have been destructive rather than otherwise. There are waste and disturbance, doubtless, and sometimes upon a considerable scale; but observe a little closer, and in these very disturbances we discover the most unequivocal testimony of an overruling intelligence and a restraining hand guiding all to a determinate purpose, and rendering conveniently accessible the inclosed treasures of coal, iron, and limestone, which are always associated or found in the closest juxtaposition.

Examine any coal-field in your neighbourhood, and observe, first of all, *the place* of the mineral. The coal does not lie exposed on the surface. The constituent elements are such that by exposure they would speedily have run to waste. Even a thick covering of earthy mould would not have been sufficient to protect it; and, therefore, was the treasure purposely hid in the ground, and so enclosed that the floods could not wash it away. Then consider *the quality* of the rocks by which the coal is protected: these are not the granites and hard crystalline masses of the primary formation, through which no borings could have been made, and among whose compact substances drainage would have been impracticable. A more suitable series of limestone, sandstone, shale, clay-ironstone has been established around the coal-metals, at once affording a safe roofing to the mine, and an easy outlet for the water, and all in themselves so valuable and indispensable to man. Next observe the *elevated* and *inclined position* into which the coal strata have been thrown. Had they remained horizontal, as originally deposited, and covered with the vast accumulations spread above, the depth of the metals would have been utterly beyond the industry of man to have reached. Hence the molten floods of trap injected amidst them, whereby the seams are divided into workable sections, —the great basin broken into limited areas,—a level produced for draining the mines, and, instead of being plunged to inaccessible depths, the several beds are repeatedly dislocated, and rise like the steps of a stair towards the surface. Again, every coal-field is furnished with a system of checks, in the shape of *faults* or *dykes* against floodings, fire-blaze, and the accidents that occur in the operations of mining. These, formed of the detritus of the associated rocks, or of intruded whinstone, present the appearance of a vertical wall, cutting the seams at right angles, and, though often occasioning inconvenience and interruption, yet, as every experienced miner well knows, form upon the whole his greatest safeguard, and are essential every way to his operations. To all which add, as *constants* in every coal-field, the minerals of lime and iron, gifts both of them of inestimable value—the former in the enriching of the soil and the construction of our dwellings, the latter ductile and plastic as wax, and convertible into so many useful purposes; and the coal also there, as if purposely to assist in the reduction of the ironstone and limestone into their various economic proportions.

When read aright, one cannot fail to see in all this elaboration of materials, arrangement and disposition of parts, quality and character of strata, and vast in-

exhaustible stores of mineral treasures, the most indisputable evidences of consummate wisdom, marvellous foresight, and benevolent design;—all conspiring to call forth our admiration and gratitude, as they cannot fail to reward the most diligent study of the varied contents of this remarkable storehouse of ancient relics. While in the repetition of the different strata, we see the successive deposition of earthy substances of different natures, afterwards consolidated, the number of the calcareous beds, no less than the alternation of the vegetable strata with the laminæ of the shales, show that successive generations of animals, as well as plants, had followed successive depositions of earth. To the same circumstances of repose, the solution of soluble earths and metals, pressure, and heat, we must attribute equally the consolidation of the rocks and the conversion of the vegetable deposits into coal. Conceive now the altered condition and quiet statical arrangements of all within these stony chambers since the coal measures were forming, and their basins were collecting their rich bituminous treasures. Where now the lands that maintained the mighty forests which filled them? where the rivers that transported their daily loads of drift-wood? where the lakes, estuaries, and seas into which were poured their bounteous waters? The continents of the period have disappeared. The land and sea have interchanged places. The coral reefs of ocean are elevated hundreds of feet over the fresh green earth. And no fact is more certain, or more easily to be demonstrated in the whole science of Geology, than that every rock, stratum, or layer of indurated matter—hundreds in number in every coal-field—on which there is impressed the figure of a plant, the form of a fish, the curvatures of a shell, or the outline of any organic thing, once constituted the bed of a sea or lake, the floor of the waters; replaced and covered over by another layer of rock, then by another, and another of still differing and altering ingredients, and now all lifted up and piled mountains high on the dry land. The most curious thing is, that the organic remains of the coal are all of terrestrial origin, while those of the limestones are all as unmistakeably of marine origin. The limestone and coal-beds alternate with each other, seams of coal lying beneath the lowest calcareous deposit, and limestone strata of varying thickness repeatedly intermixed with the bituminous series. There is one bed of estuary limestone which traverses the coal-field betwixt Pettycur and Burdichouse, cropping out at various intermediate places; it is termed estuary, because marine and terrestrial remains are found together in the mass, land plants, marine fishes, and shells, confusedly intermixed. But the exception only serves the more to establish the general conclusion concerning the origin of the whole carboniferous system, whose materials were collected during the subterranean movements by which the earth's crust was so much affected, and the recurring oscillations by which the floor of the waters was alternately depressed and upheaved. Twelve hundred feet on the slope of the Lomonds, or high up among the sources of the Nith, near Cumnock, and we tread the shores of a former sea, the shells, corals, and drift-leaves, all imbedded in its sands, and all still as perfect and beautiful as when washed and stranded up by the last ripple of its waves. Thus—

> "Earthquakes have raised to heaven the humble vale,
> And gulphs the mountain's mighty mass entombed,
> And where the Atlantic rolls, fair continents have bloomed,—

is not to be regarded as the mere exaggerations of the poet, but the warrantable deductions of the man of science.

2. The nature and characters of the organic remains. As the whole mass of the coal is now universally considered to be composed of vegetable matter, so in like manner all the limestones of the formation are regarded as mainly consisting of animal matter, either secreted during the exercise of the living functions or the petrified remains of their bodies. The nature of the flora of the period is best defined on the thin bands of the shale and other accompanying strata, although not so perfectly preserved as the skeletons of the fishes, or the testaceous coverings of mollusca found in the limestone and other rocks. It is rare, for example, to meet with the flower and seeds, those parts upon which the distinction of species and their classification chiefly depend; but still, the portions which remain often possess very great distinctness and beauty, and many specimens of wood are so exactly preserved, that the tissue may be distinguished under a microscope as complete as in recent species. The coal, when beat with a hammer, gives the woody sound, and, analysed by the chemist, its ligneous qualities are fully tested. The class, order, sometimes the precise genus, as compared with existing families, may be ascertained to which a fossil vegetable belongs, even when we detect only a small fragment of the plant. More frequently these fossils bear an analogy to some recent kinds, which they closely resemble, but to which they cannot be accurately referred. The class and order, however, are generally determinate; and, proceeding upon their established and well-defined characters, the botanical history of the coal-field, though the families or individual kinds be few in number, while vast in productiveness and geographical range, supplies materials for ascertaining several truths of high interest.

Between three and four hundred species of plants are now enumerated as belonging to the coal measures, not one of which is marine, and most of which are allied to the tropical tribes of palms and ferns. Experiments have shown that the vegetable matter of these tribes is the most capable of resisting solution in water. The wood of other kinds, of the dicotyledonous order, and of a harder texture, is ascertained to be more easily soluble; and hence the presumption is, that, under the conditions necessary for the formation of coal, many kinds have disappeared, being entirely decomposed, and that, therefore, the flora of the carboniferous era was richer and more varied than the fossil remains indicate.

According to the arrangement of botanists, there are two great divisions of plants, termed *cellulares* and *vasculares*, the former flowerless, and hence called cryptogamous, the latter bearing flowers, and called phonogamous. As connected with a greater simplicity of structure, the cellular plants are destitute of spiral vessels, while those of the vascular class are all possessed of them, as well as of a complex system of tissue. By another subdivision, these classes are denominated *endogenous* and *exogenous*, according to the nature of the stems, whereby the one receives its increments of growth all on the interior, and the other on the exterior parts of these organs. The seeds, again, of these natural orders, are very different, and, according as they are one or two-lobed, the distinction arises of their being *monocotyledonous* or *dicotyledonous*; the seeds of palms, corns, and grasses are of the former structure; those of our garden fruits, as apples, belong to the latter. The cryptogamic orders, as ferns, club-mosses, and horse-tails have no true seeds, and they are, in consequence, *acotyledonous*, whose germinal organs are as yet but little understood.

It would be wrong to interpret these divisions and forms of vegetable structure as, in the least, indicative of a lower or a higher, a less or a more perfect system of parts. Each is as perfect as the other, after its kind. They are so constructed,

endowed with different kinds of organs and arrangement of vessels, as to become most adaptive to their several conditions in the great economy of things. Their law of vegetable existence is never violated. There is no transmutation, beyond well-defined limits, of one type into another; and from apparently the more simple to the more complex, the fossil remains imbedded in the rocks clearly demonstrate that size and *development* are terms of no meaning, when applied to a low or a high type of organisation. The cryptogamia of the old world, the earliest planting in the new-formed soil, are in bulk, as in elegance and beauty of form, unrivalled by the finest specimens of modern arboriculture. The little and the great, the extinct and the recent, were equally the objects of Nature's maternal care, and were all modelled with a skill and finish that left nothing to be supplemented.

Of the existing species of British algæ, while some consist of microscopic forms, inhabiting obscure places, shady paths, or half-immersed surfaces of stones and banks, "the more complete algæ," says Dr. Greville, "comprehend species forming sub-aqueous forests, of considerable extent, in the vast ocean, emulating in their own gigantic dimensions the boundless element that unfolds them. Chorda filum, a species common in the North Sea, is frequently found of the length of thirty or forty feet. In Scalpa Bay, in Orkney, according to Mr. Neil, this species forms meadows, through which a pinnace with difficulty forces its way. Lessonia fuscescens is described as twenty-five or thirty feet in length, with a trunk often as thick as a man's thigh; but all these, and, indeed, every other vegetable production, is exceeded in size by the prodigious fronds of macrocystis pyrifera—the sea-weed reported by navigators to be from 500 to 1500 feet in length; the leaves are long and narrow, and at the base of each is placed a vesicle filled with air, without which it would be impossible for the plant to support its enormous length in the water, the stem not being thicker than the finger, and the upper branches as slender as common pack-thread."* The presumption is, that the algæ of the most ancient geologic times were, according to analogous instances, of still greater dimensions and nice elaboration of functional organs; while, as to the animal life of the period, for intricacy, minuteness, and division of parts two instances may be given only, namely, the encrinite, and pentacrinite, one individual of the former being made up of no less than 30,000 separate plates of stone, and one of the latter containing 150,000 minute pieces of the same material.

It was soon observed, when the study of fossil vegetables began to attract the attention of botanists, that those from the coal measures were distinct from the plants now existing on the surface of the earth, and that, in their general affinities, they more nearly approached the species of tropical climates than such as grew in the temperate zones. Subsequent researches have shown that the species imbedded in different formations likewise differ from each other, and that from the lower to the higher systems, according to their order of superposition, the genera and species become numerically greater. As already related, they first appear in the schists and limestones of the silurian strata. These contain a few cryptogamic species, about thirteen, of which, according to Brongniart, four are marine algæ, and the rest ferns, or the allied orders. In the coal itself, above 300 distinct species have been recognised, among which the ferns are the most abundant, amounting to about two-thirds of the whole. Many of them are arborescent, with large branching fronds, and their roots, with portions of their trunks standing vertically, are still

* Greville's *Algæ Britannicæ*.

FOSSILS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE CARBONIFEROUS SYSTEM.

2. Body of Acumocri[illegible]
3. Producta scab[illegible]
4. Inoceramus v[illegible]
5. Bellerophon.
[illegible]
7. Orthoceratite
8. Ammonites Listeri, Sow.
9. Pecten papyrac[illegible]
10. Spirifer tri[illegible]us
11. Lomonaeus
12. Fragment of Encrinita, Limestone.
13. [illegible]s Hilberti, A[illegible]
coal-field us[illegible]al
14. Lieu.163 Lepidodendron Stern.

found in the spots where they grew. A considerable number of palms, a few club-mosses, and grasses, are the chief monocotyledons; and there are several dicolyledons, which have been considered analagous to the families apocynæ, euphorbaciæ, cactæ, and coniferæ; along with numerous plants, the exact nature of which is extremely doubtful.

The FELICES, or ferns, constitute the most numerous of the cryptogamic plants of the coal measures. They indicate a state of the atmosphere, and represent a condition of the earth's surface, stretching from pole to pole, and embracing the extremes of longitude, with which no after period of the planet's history can be compared, and of which, upon physical grounds, no sufficient explanation has yet been given. The circumstances most favourable to the growth of such plants are humidity, shade, and heat. The number of species found in the coal formation are now upwards of two hundred, to which list additions are yearly being made; most of them of forms differing much from those of living ferns, and nearly all belonging to the tribe of polypodiums, which are chiefly allied to the existing arborescent species of the tropics. The trunks and stems of these arborescent species are deeply decorticated, and indented with seams, the markings of their deciduous fronds, and by which they are distinguished from those of all monocotyledonous plants. The whole superficies of the globe was one dense forest of fern trees. A uniform condition of temperature, moisture, and soil everywhere existed to maintain their exuberant fecundity, which partook of the same specific development in all latitudes. Admit one, or any number of centres of generation, and the diffusion and the multiplication of the race are utterly unprecedented; and show that the carboniferous era is, in all its circumstances and peculiarities, a marvellous and yet unexplained page in the earth's history, as it brings before the imagination a vista of the ancient world with which no arrangement of landscape or combination of scenery can now be compared. The tree "whose seed is in itself," God commanded everywhere to flourish. While the earth was still unpeopled it sprang up luxuriantly, to be again buried in the ground. Man digs from it his daily fuel, and, obeying the law of his multiplication, the earth is replenished and subdivided, mainly through its instrumentality, as the promised inheritance of his race. "It is, indeed, a curious reflection," says a recent writer, "that the present commercial greatness of Britain should be intimately connected with the towering and thickly-spread forests of arboraceous ferns and gigantic reeds, vegetables of strange forms, and uncouth names—which flourished and decayed on the surface of the earth, age after age, during the vastly-extended term of the carboniferous period—ere the mountains, in many masses, were yet upheaved, and while as yet there was no man to till the ground! Yet such truths Geology teaches us, and of such curious facts the very coals at our sides, and in our parlour grates, remind us." *

The EQUISETACEÆ, known as the common horse-tail of our swamps and ditches, are likewise very widely distributed through the coal measures. The existing species are indifferent to climate, extending from Lapland to the torrid zone. The fossil ones were equally independent of latitude, being found of the same gigantic size in all the coal strata. They are divided by Brongniart into equisetæ and calamites, so named from their jointed, reed-like structure. The latter kind are more abundant in a fossil state. They are characterised by large and

* *Our Coal-Fields.* By a Traveller underground.

simple cylindrical stems, articulated at intervals, and sometimes marked by verticillated branches of great size. LEPIDODENDRA, including the lycopodiaceæ, or club-moss tribe, and other plants of similar structure, are, after calamites, the largest and most abundant class of fossils in the coal formations of the North of England, occurring from twenty to forty-five feet long, and occupying large spaces in an upright position. In some points of their structure they have been compared to coniferæ, or the pine family, and in the general aspect of the stems; to ferns more especially, in the abundance of axilar ducts contained in the axis, and in the want of several apparatus; and to mosses in their whole appearance. By means of lepidodendron a better passage is established, according to Lindley and Hutton, from flowering to flowerless plants, than by either equisetum or cycas, or any other genus. SIGILLARIA, very common in the coal formation, constitute a group of plants unknown in modern vegetation, and of which the duration seems to have been limited to that particular era. They abound in the sandstones and shales that accompany the coal, and, being apparently hollow in the stem, the fossil specimens are generally filled with sand or clay, surrounded by an outer bark, beautifully fluted with longitudinal parallel grooves. M. Brongniart enumerates forty-two species of sigillaria, and considers them to have been nearly allied to arborescent ferns, with leaves very small in proportion to the size of the stems; while Lindley and Hutton show strong reasons for classing them with dicotyledonous plants, entirely distinct from ferns, and different from any plants in the existing system of vegetation. This tree grew to an enormous size, specimens of four feet in diameter by fifty feet in length being frequently met with; traces of a vascular and fibrous structure can be observed in the trunk; also, the annular wood-layers are sometimes beautifully defined; and, presenting a coating of bark of an inch in thickness, the probability is that the sigillaria belonged to the exogenous order of vegetables. The STIGMARIA, equally abundant in the coal measures, are perhaps still more obscure in their botanical relations. The trunk of this tree is dome-shaped, of three to four feet in diameter, and the branches, some of them, supposed to have been from twenty to thirty feet; their leaves, by Steinhauer, have been traced to the length of twenty feet, and have been considered to be much longer. The stems and branches are covered with spirally-disposed tubercles, resembling the papillæ at the base of the spines of *echini;* and from each tubercle there proceeded a cylindrical, and probably a succulent leaf, whose scars penetrated through the bark, and rendered the surfaces on both sides slightly corrugated. The form of the trunk and branches, which are always flattened, show that these trees could not have risen vertically in the air, but must either have trailed on the ground or floated in water.

There is a very remarkable fossil, described by Count Sternberg, with branches attenuated upwards, and having the whole surface covered with leaf-bearing scales, arranged in an imbricated manner, neither referable to the genus Yucca nor to that of Cactus, to which he has given the name *lepidodendron dichotomum.* This plant, like ferns, as well as many of the preceding kinds, is furnished with a singular structure of organs subservient to respiration, and highly adapted for inhaling nutritious juices from the atmosphere. It is well known that the cacti, and most succulent plants, derive their nourishment more from their relations to the air than to the earth. The *yuccæ,* now so common in our gardens, and the *lychnaphoræ,* which choose for their habitation a dry sandy soil that has undergone little preparation from the decomposition of previously existing vegetables, were peculiarly adapted for clothing a recently formed world much warmer than the present. By

such plants, vegetable matter would rapidly accumulate to the extent that we find in our coal strata, when the land abounded in moisture, and the air was densely charged with carbonic acid.

Favularia, Megaphyton, Bothrodendron, and Ullodendron belong to the same group of plants with the sigillaria, and all exhibit a similar disposition of scars, arranged in vertical rows. In the three first genera the scars appear to have given origin to leaves, and in the last they indicate the insertion of large cones. The Asterophyllites, so called from the stellated arrangement of the leaves round the branches, are possessed of many of the characteristics of these imperfectly understood families; there are no traces of them found among existing vegetables, nor in any strata more recent than the carboniferous series. But still these, as well as all the others, are connected with living tribes by common principles of structure, and by details of organisation which show them all to be parts of one grand, consistent, and harmonious design.

But of all the fossil plants found in the coal measures, the CONIFERÆ, or pine tribe, distinguished by their punctated woody structure, are the most interesting, whether we consider their characteristic properties, extensive distribution, age, and consistency of habit through all the epochs and changes of the earth's history. Unlike the tree ferns already noticed, the pines grow now as they grew before, inhabiting the same latitudes, and preserving the same appearances in bulk and figure. The coniferæ occupy a place intermediate between the classes of the cellulars and vasculars, connected with the former through the lycopodiums, and with the latter by the myriceæ, or aromatic gale tribe. The scales of the cones are regarded by botanists as true foliage or reduced leaves, and in this respect they approximate to the genus zamia, of the order cycadeæ, where these organs are distinctly developed as carpellary leaves. Thus widely connected through the chain of vegetable life, the fossil pines, discovered in the coal strata, form also the most interesting link between the present and the remote past, showing similar conditions of vegetable existence and forest landscape. No class of plants have been more useful to man than the whole pine family; none are more universal in their distribution over the face of the globe; none are possessed of such powers of endurance, existing through all time, and natives of every part of the world, from the perpetual snows of arctic America to the hottest regions of the Indian Archipelago. These trees differ as remarkably in form as in size, ranging through every gradation, from the stunted juniper of the Grampians to the stately cedars of Lebanon; and the fossil specimens do not excel the existing races. The araucaria, or Norfolk Island pine, attains a height of two hundred feet and upwards; and, in the Oregon territory of North-West America, there are species of the fir tribe (P. Lambertiana and P. Douglasii), which rise to even still more gigantic proportions. Among the largest fossil specimens are those of Craigleith and Granton, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, which were lately found in the sandstone deposit, and measured about forty feet in length by nearly five feet in diameter, but were only fragments of their original dimensions. Figuratively, it is said of the cedar, that its branches shall cover the earth, and in the shadow thereof all fowl of every wing shall dwell. Literally, we find that members of the same family have existed in all lands, and flourished in the mountains through all ages. Our fires are now supplied with billets from the modern pine forest, growing in the vicinity, or over the very wreck of ancient submerged lands, and along whose borders waved the extinct forests of geologic times, which furnish fuel to all the families of man, and encourage the arts in all quarters of the globe.

If we seek for anything analogous in the present condition of things, New Zealand furnishes some of the most striking points of resemblance betwixt the flora of the old and the new worlds. In that recently discovered land, the number of species of plants already described is about 632, of which 314 are dicotyledonous, and the remainder monocotyledonous and cryptogamic. The fern tribe is the most abundant, covering, in the tree size, immense districts. They replace the grasses of other countries. Plains and mountains are everywhere filled with them, growing to thirty and forty feet in height, and giving their sombre hue of colouring to the landscape. The variety and elegance of the arborescent species are remarkably striking, recalling to the numerous emigrants who visit these distant shores the strata of their fatherland, when Nature was storing up materials, in the remote ages of the past, for colonising and facilitating the intercourse betwixt the remotest ends of the earth: when the mountains of Caledonia, now covered with the braken, which scarcely conceals and cannot compare in stature with the branching antlers of the red deer, were mantled in forests of tropical characters, and which attained to a size and elevation of more than tropical dimensions.

The formation of coal from these vegetable bodies is now a matter, among geologists, which admits of no dispute. Their growth, distribution, and uniformity of character must be regarded as the results of peculiar causes. That the principal beds are of a single period, formed of the same class of vegetables, proves that the causes by which they were generated acted only during that epoch. That they are dispersed all over the globe, in areas of variable dimensions, proves farther that the physical agents concerned in their production must have acted on the vegetable matter, and its conversion into coal, with far greater intensity, and on a much grander scale, than any of the geological causes that are still effecting changes on the earth's surface. That the vegetables were collected into basins, and into stratified beds or seams, by the abrasive action of water, are points on which all are equally agreed. There are differences of opinion as to the conditions under which the coal resulted, the chemical agencies concerned in the process, and the mechanical powers that assisted in the collection of the materials. It is held by one class that all the vegetables grew where the coal lies, and by another, that they were transported from a distance by rivers and currents. That the materials did not all grow on the spot is apparent from the immense bulk required for beds that are of any considerable degree of thickness, as well as from the fact, that the portions of which the bottom of the mass was formed exhibit no more marks of having undergone decomposition or decay than that which lay at the top. The traces of stems, branches, and leaves, are as distinct and perfect in the lower divisions of the strata as at the centre or surface. The whole, therefore, of which a layer was constituted must have been very rapidly deposited; and, from the extreme delicacy and beauty of preservation of some of the organic forms, the forests which supplied them must have grown at no great distance. Many trees, indeed, with their roots and stems, are to be found in every coal-field, standing in their original vertical position, and penetrating several distinct strata of sandstone and shale, as well as of the coal itself. In these cases the fact is certain, not only as to the place of their birth, but as to the intensity of the causes which effected so rapid accumulation of materials around their still unbroken, undecayed forms.

The transformation of the vegetables themselves into coal has been variously explained upon chemical principles. The most probable account of it is, that

during their submersion the plants have suffered that slow kind of decomposition by which the greater part of the vegetable principles have been evolved in new combinations, while the carbon, and a portion of the hydrogen, have remained. This residue, mixed with more or less of earthy matter, deposited at the same time from the waters, has in its soft state been consolidated by the force of aggregation, and under the strong action of the heat of the period assisting its more rapid decomposition, has formed the bituminous product of coal. It is well known that wood, by immersion in water, becomes first brown, and then black; and the ligneous fibre, by slow decomposition, or more rapid, according to the state of the climate, is completely converted into a black mould, in which carbon predominates. Hence it is easily conceivable, that this process, being carried on under different circumstances, may proceed with various degrees of rapidity, and to a greater or less extent; and hence, likewise, will originate different varieties of coal, some being much more carbonaceous, some more bituminous, than others, while their composition will be also varied by the different quantities of earth deposited during their formation. The purest coal would be the most quickly formed; and as few of the ashes of any coal are mixed with particles of clay or sand, the presumption is, that the whole chemistry of the process, and all the mechanical forces engaged, were special, unprecedented, and never repeated under the same combination of circumstances.

The analogy to peat, in the formative process of coal, is maintained by some, especially by Dr. M'Culloch. His illustration is curious. "By the action of water," he says, "on the vegetable matter, a portion of the hydrogen is dissipated, and the result is a new compound of hydrogen and carbon. It is not unlike that produced by fire, of which roasted coffee is an example. Thus the papyri of Herculaneum have been roasted, or carbonised by water, not by fire; they are in a state of peat. The exact nature of this change is easily ascertained by chemical analysis. There is here an approximation to the condition of bitumen, and thus to coal; but it is no more. When forests, or peat of far higher antiquity, are found at greater depths in the earth, the bituminisation is well marked, though still incomplete. The antiquity is proved by the strata that lie above, and the substance is then lignite, including Cologne earth, Bovey coal, and jet. This substance may be considered a mixture of peat and coal, or a transition between the two, retaining the vegetable forms. The last change is to coal. This, in a similar manner, is proved to be a substance of far higher antiquity than lignite; and that such is its origin is also proved, geologically, by the exact resemblance of its disposition among the strata, to that of peat among beds of sand and marl, and by the certainty that it has been formed under fresh water, and in marshes, as it contains only fresh water shells and terrestrial vegetables. It is proved, chemically, because, by mere change of form, jet becomes coal."*

Anthracite, or blind coal, is generally found in veins, of small size, and traversing the rocks of nearly all ages; certainly in granite, gneiss, the trap of the Carlton Hill, Edinburgh, as well as in the coal formation in various places in England, Wales, near Cumnock and Kilmarnock in Scotland, and at Kilkenny in Ireland. In America it is found covering large areas, near Pittsburg, and other localities in Virginia. From its analysis, it does not appear to contain any bitumen, its chief ingredients being carbon, silex, alumine, and oxide of iron, and hence, by mineralogists, anthracite is not referred to a vegetable origin, but, like plumbago,

* *Western Islands.* Vol. iii. p. 121.

which is usually found in similar situations, it is supposed to be the product of such agencies as elaborated and arranged the particles of other compound earthy and metallic rocks.

The Carboniferous Limestones chiefly owe their origin to the prolific abundance of the marine animal life of the period, as the coal unquestionably does to that of the terrestrial vegetables. There is great difficulty in admitting this conclusion, at first sight, when one considers the vast quantity of limestone contained in the coal measures. Some of the beds are several hundred feet thick, consisting often of 96 per cent. of pure carbonate of lime. There is a repetition of beds of varying thickness, occurring in every quarter of the globe, and always co-extensive with the size and form of the coal-basins. Through their whole extent in Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland, the mountain limestone strata are invariable accompaniments, lining generally the outer edges of the basins, and following the direction and line of bearing of the coal metals, but not unfrequently traversing them at right angles, and thereby dividing or separating the basins from each other. In America, where everything is on a vast scale, the limestone covers an area of many thousand square miles, stretching from the Atlantic to the base of the Rocky Mountains, and filling with calcareous matter nearly the whole immense interspace of the Central States.* This limestone, wherever found, possesses a general uniformity of character, compact and thick in the mass, and, for the most part appears to be composed of organic remains. When apparently more homogeneous and destitute of organisms, the microscope has shown that these are often more profusely distributed through the mass of the rock, the mineralised skeletons being as fully developed and perfectly preserved as those of a larger and thicker shelly texture. The rock is occasionally of an oolitic structure, and sometimes contains parts of encrinal columns, in such abundance that the mass is, in a great measure, made up of them, whence the name Encrinal Limestone. Along the northern line of the outcrop in Fifeshire, it everywhere abounds in these organisms—from St. Andrews, by the Cults, Forther, Lomonds, Binnarty, and Cleish-hill quarries. An inner range of the deposit occurs on the south of Largo Law, at Innertiel, Inverkeithing, North Queensferry, Rosyth, and Charleston, where the deposit is often nearly a hundred feet thick, and filled with countless multitudes of shells and corallines.

The coralloid remains consist of several genera, as caryophylea, turbinolia, astrea, favocites, tubipora, and retipora. These are the most abundant; but, in all, upwards of thirty genera, and about seventy species, have been found in the carboniferous limestone; while, of the families of crustacea and testacea, more than a thousand species have been detected in the formation. It was

* "One of the most remarkable geological features of this continent is the vast extent of the carboniferous limestone. I have traced its eastern border—conforming to the course of the other mineral formations east of the Mississippi—more than 1,000 miles, running to the west of south, from the state of New York to the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, in the state of Alabama; the course is there changed, and lies to the north of west, leaving Little Rock on the Arkansas about thirty miles to the south, and disappearing between 500 and 600 miles from the Rocky Mountains. This deposit extends uninterruptedly a geographical distance of at least 1500 miles from east to west, underlying portions of the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and the territory of Arkansas on that line. In Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland, it is bounded by a line, of which the Cumberland mountains form a part. In the plains through which the Mississippi flows, and which include the Illinois prairies, it appears like a continuous floor, forming an almost unvarying flat."—*Featherstonhaugh's Geological Report*, 1835: p. 27.

remarked of the vegetables of the coal strata, that their geographical range was co-extensive with the circumference of the globe,—that the same species were common to America and Europe, to Melville Island and Australia,—and that the types of them, which still exist, are in their larger forms all confined to tropical countries, while in northern latitudes they are represented by diminutive herbaceous plants. The same law of distribution seems likewise to be maintained betwixt the extinct and existing races of the animal remains, as represented in the carboniferous limestone, more especially with those of the coralloid order. The living families of corallines, in their full and active development, are now only found in the Pacific and Indian seas, where, in all nearly corresponding latitudes, they swarm in countless myriads, are possessed of the same habits, and are still employed, as were their congeners in the old world, in piling up coral-reefs,—vast islands of limestone rock. The extinct genera were spread over the terraqueous globe, are found in the limestones of all countries, in Greenland and Australia, and swarmed in such numbers as to compose entire beds of limestone. And as with the existing vegetables, so with the existing animals. Several kinds of polypi, of the orders of millepore and cellepore, are still to be found in the North Seas, and one genus of the latter family, namely, the hydra or polype, is common on the shores of Greenland, which in several of its species likewise inhabits the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean. But in the cold regions their habits are different. They build no reefs, and like all zoophytes along the coasts of Scotland, where in many beautiful and diversified forms the order abounds, they live in a cellular tissue, reared on a single slender stem attached to stones. Thus persistent, in one remarkable direction, has Nature been, through all ages, in her structure and distribution of vegetable and animal life, demonstrating that, as the temperature of countries and epochs has changed, so in size, form, habit, and fecundity have her living tribes in both kingdoms, been altered and modified.

It is still a question among geologists, whence the source of all the calcareous matter of which these limestones are composed? The opinions are various, and some of them as novel as they are untenable. Recent writers on Geology, in America, consider the formation to be of igneous origin, and to be unstratified even.* Others regard it as cast out in a powdery state from submarine volcanic foci, and spread over areas, greater or less, of the sea-bottom by the action of currents and other causes, when the shells and corallines became entangled in the mass. The opinion has also prevailed that the whole has been derived from the destruction or waste of the primary rocks; while others, and they are a very numerous class, maintain that it is the result of animal secretion from the waters of the ocean, where, existing either in its elements or suspended in combination, marine animals possess the power of elaborating the lime into concrete rocks and coral reefs.

With regard to the two first views, there can be little doubt that the interior of the earth contains, in its vast storehouse of primary materials, lime in sufficient quantity for forming any extent and depth of limestone rock established on its surface. But many reasons could be assigned against either of these being the mode in which the deposit was formed, or the manner in which the animal remains became incorporated with the mass. Nor can we well seek for a solution of the difficulty in the waste and *débris* of pre-existing calcareous rocks; for, as far as our

* Dr. Emmon's *Geology of the Second District of New York*, p. 38.

knowledge extends, such rocks are of comparatively limited extent among the primary series. The beds of limestone in the grauwake and silurian groups greatly exceed those discovered in the older strata. They are still more largely developed in the carboniferous system, while, as a general principle, it may be farther held, that the calcareous matter is more abundant in the several systems above the coal measures than in those which are beneath them. The learned have not yet determined whence the saltness of the ocean is derived, nor how, after so much evaporation, it is always maintained at the same degree of saltness. So with the secondary cause or derivative source of the calcareous matter on the dry land, or in the waters of the ocean, whence generation after generation, epoch after epoch, marine animals have derived their sustenance, their shelly coverings, and the matter of the rocks in which they find their shelter—and, finally, their tomb! Doubtless, what is carried into the sea, and there dissolved, will be formed anew into strata, whether by mechanical or organic agencies; and, as geology pretends not to solve all the mysteries of nature, her discoveries in this field of research, in simply detecting the mode of formation, and the analogy betwixt the organic constituents in the new and the older limestone rocks of the earth, may be reckoned among the most interesting and marvellous revelations of science.

The history of coral reefs at present constructing in the southern hemisphere, under the active instincts and exhaustless energies of these puny architects of nature, is of vast importance in a nautical as well as scientific point of view. The extent of such structures is prodigious. The incredible rapidity with which they are executed is equally striking. Within a certain oceanic belt, and with no limits as to longitude, they rise in every part of the astonished mariner's track, now startling him with the form of a new island, now interrupting his course with their long line of breakers, now entangling him in meshes of reef, through which with difficulty he can thread his way. "It is not," says Darwin, in his interesting account of the Keeling Islands, "that the ocean spares the rock of the coral: the great fragments scattered over the reef, and accumulated on the beach, whence the tall cocoa-nut springs, plainly bespeak the unrelenting power of its waves. Nor are there any periods of repose granted. The long swell, caused by the gentle but steady action of the trade-wind always blowing in one direction over a wide area, causes breakers, which even exceed in violence those of our temperate regions, and which never cease to rage. It is impossible to behold these waves without feeling a conviction that an island, though built of the hardest rock—let it be porphyry, granite, or quartz—would ultimately yield and be demolished by such irresistible forces. Yet these low, insignificant coral islets stand and are victorious; for here another power, as antagonistic to the former, takes part in the contest. The organic forces separate the atoms of carbonate of lime one by one from the foaming breakers, and unite them into a symmetrical structure. Let the hurricane tear up its thousand huge fragments, yet what will this tell against the accumulated labour of myriads of architects at work night and day, month after month. Thus do we see the soft and gelatinous body of a polypus, through the agency of the vital laws, conquering the great mechanical power of the waves of an ocean, which neither the art of man, nor the inanimate works of nature, could successfully resist."*

The corallines only work at a certain mean depth of a few fathoms beneath the waters. They generally commence on some submarine volcanic rock, on which they

* *Journal of Researches, &c.* By Charles Darwin, Esq., p. 547.

construct a line of reef until it reaches the surface. As generally happens, the foundations, through the oscillatory movements of the crust subject to the volcanic action, subside and carry down the building again below the waves. Here the creatures renew their operations, which may be successively repeated. In this manner a great thickness of rock is often produced, and a lamellar structure, or divisional planes at the different off-sets, thereby communicated so as to give the appearance of stratification. The reef widens on both sides of the first wall, according to the nature of the bottom, by bringing up new tiers of mason-work. A considerable extent of surface is thus given to the reef, which, according as it is lagoon, encircling, or barrier, is increased by successive increments, as determined either by the instincts of the creatures themselves, or the conditions of the localities in which they carry on their operations. The origin and growth of the lagoon form of islands are thus described by the same author:—"It may be said, granting the theory of subsidence, a mere circular disc of coral would be formed, and not a cup-shaped mass. In the first place, even in reefs closely fringing the land, the corals do not grow on the shore itself, but leave a shallow channel; secondly, the strong and vigorous species, which alone build a solid reef, are never found within the lagoon: they only flourish amidst the foam of the never-tiring breakers. Nevertheless, the more delicate corals, though checked by several causes, such as strong tides and deposits of sand, do constantly tend to fill up the lagoon; but the process must become slower and slower, as the water in the shallow expanse is rendered subject to accidental impurities. A curious instance of this happened at Keeling Island, where a heavy tropical storm of rain killed nearly all the fish. When the coral at last has filled up the lagoon to the height of lowest water at spring-tides, which is the extreme limit possible, how afterwards is the work to be completed? There is no high land whence sediment can be poured down, and the dark-blue colour of the ocean bespeaks its purity. The wind, carrying calcareous dust from the outer coast, is the only agent which can finally convert the lagoon island into solid land; and how slow must this process be!" *

Thus are islands formed,—thus is the massive framework of the globe, year by year, and age after age, increased and rendered solid. The great barrier which fronts the N.E. coast of Australia is probably both the grandest and most extraordinary reef now existing in any part of the world. It is described by Flinders as having a length of nearly one thousand miles, and as running parallel to the shore, at a distance of between twenty and thirty miles from it. The great arm of the sea thus included has an average depth of between ten and twenty fathoms, which increases towards one end to forty and even sixty; and all this wide interspace is probably now silting up with the calcareous mud and breakage of the reef, and in due time destined to become one extended deposit of limestone. The Keeling or Cocos Islands, situated in the Indian Ocean, and about six hundred miles from the coast of Sumatra, are many hundred miles in extent, and entirely of coral formation. At the distance of little more than a mile from the shore, no bottom is found with a sounding line of 7,200 feet long; and which, upon elevation, would therefore present the remarkable appearance of a lofty submarine-formed mountain, or high range of table-land, caped with limestone. The island of New Caledonia is nearly in length 480 miles, with an average breadth of 60, and consists of coral, where a double line of reef projects 140 miles into the sea, while another line fronts the west coast of

* *Journal of Researches*, p. 559.

about 400 miles long. Again, in the middle of the Indian Ocean, are situated the Laccadive, Maldive, and Chagos line of atolls, or lagoon islands, of which the Maldives constitute one single mountainous island, bordered by reefs, and very nearly of the same actual figure and dimensions with New Caledonia. And not to multiply instances, where they are innumerable, suffice it to state, that throughout the greater part of the East Indian Archipelago coral reefs abound along the shores of the mainland, as well as of the islands with which it is studded; some with proofs of recent elevation, and others appearing as a grand circle of breakers, without a single spot of land or rock, though in due time certain to appear, through the ceaseless conflict of the storm-loving polypi.

We feel surprised when travellers relate accounts of the vast extent of certain ancient ruins, but how utterly insignificant are the greatest of them when compared to the piles of stone accumulated in these seas by the work of minute animals, and every particle of which has been subjected to the power of organic arrangement. These little creatures are enabled to separate from the sea-water a proportion of lime, so minute as to be almost inappreciable, in the quantity present, by the most careful analysis. They secrete the stony coverings on the outside of their soft bodies. The figures of these incrustations are impressed and embalmed in the solid rock; and some of them form themselves into compounds resembling trees, with root, stem, and branches, composed of separate and detached particles. A Layard wonders at the figures of men, war-horses, and strange animals recovered fresh from the chambers and walls of Nineveh and Khorsabad. Botta is filled with rapture as he paints them anew in his splendid work; and Bonomi, or a Rawlinson, has scarcely words by which to convey his admiration of their beauty and interest. It is thus, we may suppose, with the geologist, when he gazes on the ruins of an ancient world—on the broken escarpments and walls of limestone, impressed on every part with strange organic forms, and recalling to the imagination a period when Great Britain was emerging above the waters, encircled on all sides with coral reefs, and surrounded with an ocean swarming with myriads of island-building corallines. The scale of erection here is one of boundless dimensions, encompassing in one and the same age the terraqueous globe, and, in point of antiquity, carrying him into epochs of time for which the historic calendar has no scale of measurement. What an elaborate combination of marvels in the structure of the lily-stone or encrinite, composed of thirty thousand articulating joints, inwoven every one of them with cartilage, and all as flexible in the *moniliformis*, and the other species, as the necklace jewel from which it derives its name, and piled on each other like the masonry of an elegant Gothic shaft. The pentacrinite, of which there are two living species, consists of 150,000 minute pieces of calcareous matter, articulated and lubricated in like manner, all moved at the will of the creature by a muscular system attached to every individual bone, rendering it, in the extreme organs or fingers, capable of contraction and expansion in every direction; at one time spreading outwards like the petals of an open flower, and at another rolled inwards over the mouth like an unexpanded bud. The actinocrinus, or spiny encrinite, and the apricrinus, or pear-like encrinite, possess forms of no less singular beauty; the one invested all over the erect stem with a series of spines or flexible branches; the other exhibiting in miniature the palmated crown of the palm-tree, and spreading its frond-shape tentacula with similar elegance of form. "When we consider," says Dr. Buckland, "the profusion of care, and exquisite contrivance, that pervade the frame of every individual in the genus of

pentacrinite, forming but one of many members of the almost extinct family of crinoideans—and when we add to this the amount of analogous mechanisms that characterise the other genera and species of this curious family—we are almost lost in astonishment at the microscopic attention that has been paid to the welfare of creatures holding so low a place among the inhabitants of the ancient deep; and we feel a no less irresistible conviction of the universal presence and eternal agency of Creative care, in the lower regions of organic life, than is forced upon us by the contemplation of those highest combinations of animal mechanism which occur in that paragon of animal organisation, the corporeal frame of man."*

Nor was nature stinted in her production of these and other elegant forms of coralline life.. Every one of those named consists of several species. The encrinite family prevailed over all, swarmed in every latitude, and filled every sea with the products of their labour. Their remains are found in every stratum of a calcareous character, and masses of limestone, from fifty to a hundred and fifty feet in thickness, are frequently seen to be entirely composed of them. Entire specimens, however, are rarely to be met with, in consequence of the complex structure of the skeleton, and the perishable nature of the enveloping membrane, the separate pieces being disjointed, and having floated about after the surrounding cartilage was decomposed. They are sometimes mixed in other beds of limestone, and in shale, occasionally with shells, whose profusion in these cases determines the character of the beds. These shells, among the order Conchifera dimyaria, of the genera modiola, mytilus, and nucula are the most abundant; and in C. monomyaria, avicula, inoceramus, and pecten; in that of Brachiopoda, leptæna, lingula, orthis, productus, spirifer, and terebratula; of Gasteropoda, buccinum, euomphalus, natica, nerita, and turbo; the bellerophon is the sole representative of the order Heteropoda; and in that of the Cephalopoda, goniatites, nautilus, and orthoceras, are not only abundant, but are all remarkable for their size and elegance of form, the orthoceratites being frequently, in the quarries of Bo'ness and Closeburn, found of the gigantic dimensions of five to six feet in length by a foot in diameter.

The fishes of the carboniferous age were also very abundant, consisting of several new types, and some of them of enormous bulk. Creatures allied to the family of sharks now for the first time appear, armed with teeth and jaws of fierce aspect, and covered with enamelled plates, through which a bullet could scarcely penetrate. Thus in the order of placoids no less than twenty-eight new genera, and a hundred species of the finny race, exist in the rocks of the period; of the ganoid order there are five genera, and twelve species; and of the sauroids, or the approaching reptilian caste of organic structure, there are about thirteen genera, and twenty-four or twenty-five distinct specific forms. The estuary limestone of Burdie-House, near Edinburgh, is a perfect museum of organisms, of the richest and rarest kinds, vegetable and animal, from the smallest microscopic to the most gigantic of the marine tribes. Here are found the finest specimens of the *Megalichthys Hibberti*, whose teeth are four to six inches in length, the scales, with which it was densely covered, of more than an inch in diameter, and all brightly enamelled, and a body supposed to have been at least fifty to sixty feet long. Here likewise are interred the remains of another equally huge and voracious animal, the *Gyracanthus*, along with coprolites, or the fœcal excrement of the genus, composed of the animal matter they fed on, and so numerous in

* *Bridgewater Treatise*, v. i. p. 442.

some spots as to form almost the entire mass of rock. The remains of the *Palæoniscus* are very numerous, and in the most perfect state of preservation, every organism in its place, and the whole trout-like form of the body lying imbedded in the grassy calcareous matrix, once the slime of the river that nourished them. The fronds of the ferns and other water-plants are spread out, in their most delicate fibres and tracery, on the thinnest divisional planes of the limestone; and so abundant often are they as to conceal every appearance of stone under their dense arborescent foliage. The plants are all of a terrestrial or fluviatile kind, and so perfect and entire as to warrant the inference that they have not been tossed and drifted about in an ocean, nor transported from a distance, but have perished *in situ*, and dropped amid still waters. There are neither coals nor marine shells in this deposit. Hence the presumption of its being a fresh-water, or estuary limestone. It may have been a lake, joined by a shallow neck to the borders of an ancient sea, whither the megalichthys, resembling the crocodile family in bulk, and the gyrocanthi, akin to the sharks in voracity, may have penetrated in quest of food, or indolently reposed by the umbrageous shades of its slimy margin.

According to the relation now given, the physical features of Great Britain, as well as of the earth generally, would be very different from what they now are. The period in question was one not only of prodigious affluence in vegetable produce, but likewise of unprecedented exuberance in marine animal life, when all these northern latitudes were in the condition in which the coral districts of the Pacific are at present. Every coal-field was first the bed of a coral-reef sea. The islands and mainland were densely covered with groves of bananas and cacti, the fern, club-moss, and pine tribes, all of giant stature, and all encircling lakes and bays swarming with myriads of tropical creatures of corresponding activity and diversity of character. The whole of our seas, from Greenland southwards, through the central division of Scotland and England, the south-eastern parts of Wales, and large provinces in Ireland, over all the north-eastern districts of France, the Netherlands and Germany, were interlaced, separated into lagoons, and walled up by huge barrier-reefs. These reefs now constitute our mountain and encrinital limestones, the most valuable for building and all rural purposes. There, indeed, scarcely exists a doubt that the family of polypi, now rearing their wonderful structures in the Pacific, were the artificers in the olden times of all those masses of limestone which underlie and are intermixed in every coal-field, branching out and in among the metals, and an infallible sign that wherever we have the one mineral the other is not far distant. The animal and vegetable products of the age are entombed in the same basins, and are the sure indices, in their altered condition, of the presence of each other in the same geologic system.

3. The geographic distribution and economic history of coal. Like all the early formations of which we have been treating, the carboniferous sytem is one of universal diffusion. It prevails, subject to local irregularities, in every quarter of the globe, under every clime; and, unrestrained by mountains or seas, the coal metals constitute a treasure-fund available for all nations.

The area of the coal measures in Scotland may be estimated at nearly one hundred miles in length, by an average breadth of thirty-three miles, extending east and west from St. Andrews to Ayr, and north and south from the Ochils to the Lammermuirs. This space is divided into a great many independent basins, determined in their size and direction by the older surrounding porphyries, and again broken up and subdivided by the eruption of the more recent greenstones

and basalts. The coal metals, in their workable beds, are bounded by the old red sandstone of Stratheden in Fifeshire, never descending into the vale, and showing their general northern out-crop along the slopes of the Cults, Lomond, Cleish, and Saline hills. The eastern part of the Fife coal-field is one of the most disturbed and complicated districts in Britain; where, in a space measuring about twelve square miles, of which Largo Law forms the centre, the trap covers nearly one-half of the surface, and penetrates the metals in every direction. The consequence of this intrusion of the trap is, that the faults and dislocations, and the variations of the stratified rocks in dip and position, are beyond calculation: the mountain limestone, instead of being found only at the margin of the basin, presents itself at intervals over the whole; and the coal-field, instead of forming one extended basin, is separated into twenty or thirty detached portions, which are distributed over the district with the most capricious irregularity. Numerous slips, dykes, and bosses have elevated parts of the formation far above others, which, having been afterwards swept away by currents of water, have occasioned great diversity in the number of seams, even in contiguous localities, and rendered it often a matter of the greatest difficulty to recover the bearing of the once united strata. These remarks are applicable, more or less, to several other districts; more especially to the remarkably disturbed outline of country betwixt Kirkaldy and Lochgelly, the neighbourhood of Dunfermline, Carnock, and Clackmannan; and, again, to the Stirling, Bannockburn, and Campsie coal-fields, where the undulating surface is everywhere diversified by dykes and outbursts of trap, occasioning innumerable ravines and divergent valleys, and stamping the whole neighbourhood with the well-known physical features of the coal formation. The following statement will show the variable numbers and thickness of the seams in the different localities, arising chiefly from disturbing causes, and which have so much affected their original contiguity and more general uniformity in the mass.

The coal metals, above the mountain limestone, commence on the north-east at Drumcarro, bearing westward to Ceres, where seventeen beds occur, one of which is sixteen feet thick—not now wrought—and the average of the whole about seventy feet thick of the pure carbonaceous matter. The adjacent basins on the south-east are, Lathallan, Lathockar, Falfield, and Largoward, where there are eight beds, thirty-two feet thick in all, one being thirteen feet. At Earlsferry, near Elie, beyond the trap of Largo Law, there are seventeen seams, as at Ceres, nearly sixty feet thick, and all dipping to the west; while in the St. Monance and Pittenweem basin there are the same number of seams, but with an aggregate thickness of eighty-two and a half feet of coal. On the western side of Largo Bay the metals dip to the south-east, containing in the Wemyss and Kirkaldy coal-basin twenty-nine, in some places thirty-four, workable beds of coal, varying in thickness from two to twenty-one feet, and measuring in the whole 119½ feet thick. A smithy-coal occurs here, only eighteen inches thick, but of comparatively great value. A breadth of ten miles of sea, comprehending Largo Bay and a part of the Forth, divides these coal-fields from those of Earlsferry; and as the inner beds of each terminate at the shore, and dip towards each other, and towards the water which divides them, the warrantable inference is, that other beds crop out under the Forth in the intervening space of ten miles. It has, therefore, been assumed that the real number of beds reaches to or exceeds forty. It is also very probable that they meet under the water, forming a trough, which is prolonged across the Frith, and re-appearing in the Musselburgh basin on the opposite side. The metals

at Dysart, dipping under the sea, are wrought nine hundred feet below the surface.*

Table, showing an approximation of the quantity of Coal that is wrought, and is still at work, on the Wemyss and Dysart coal-fields—the richest and deepest coal-mines in Scotland. †

	NAME OF SEAM.	Depth from surface at east end of West Wemyss.	Thickness of seams.	Number of imp. acres wrought, 1853.	Number of tons raised up to July, 1853.	Number of imp. acres to work.	Number of tons still to work.
		Fathoms.	Feet. Ins.				
1	Wall Coal . .	0	2 9	60	124,240	300	621,200
2	Barncraig . . .	17	6 0	229	581,389	732	1,860,012
3	Coxtool Upper .	15	2 0	10	15,060	300	451,800
4	Ditto Under . .	4	3 0	50	127,050	600	1,524,600
5	Den Coal . . .	9	2 0	. . .	. . .	400	564,750
6	Chemis	12	9 0	552	1,870,176	500	1,694,000
7	Bush	10	3 6	53	106,000	636	1,242,000
8	Parrot or Cannel	30	1 9	60	140,362	100	233,936
9	Wood-coal . . .	5	3 0	29	85,833	*say* 29	85,833
10	Earls Parrot . .	14	2 0	. . .	. . .	600	1,524,600
11	Bowhouse . . .	13	7 0	86	291,368	1000	3,388,000
12	Brankstone . .	5	2 5	9	25,416	1500	2,961,107
13	Coal-more . . .	11	1 9	. . .	. . .	1500	2,223,000
14	Coal-mangee . .	11	2 4	. . .	. . .	1500	2,859,000
15	Dysart Main Coal	36	20 0	31	104,904	4000	20,328,000
16	Ditto Seven Foot	10	3 6	. . .	. . .	4000	10,164,000

These interesting calculations are made on the assumption of only 14 cwt. of saleable coal per cubic yard. Some of the data are simply approximations. In the thicker seams one half is allowed for pillars; and in the thinner seams, which can always be wrought with less pillar, or long wall, from one third to one-fourth is allowed for waste and faults. The Barncraig is calculated at four and a half feet thick, coal being left for a roof; the Chemis at seven feet thick; and the Dysart main coal has been estimated one half at twelve feet, and the other half at six feet only, as the seam is thinner on the eastern division of the estate, and a considerable portion is allowed for roof, pillars, and waste.

A bed of limestone, varying from five to fourteen feet thick, intersects the district from Pittuchar, near Leslie, to Ravenscraig Castle, where it projects into the sea, resting upon bands of ironstone. This limestone occurs pretty high up in the series of the coal metals, having eleven beds of coal beneath, and generally only two or three above. Accordingly, to the west of this line, the average number of seams is not so great as on the eastern side, leaving us to infer that the upper portion of the coal-field has been here swept away amidst the convulsions and disturbances that have so much prevailed over the district; and hence also it is, that in the western locality there is no trace of the upper red sandstone, which

* *Report on the East Coal-field of Fife*, by D. Landale, Esq.

† Drawn up by Mr. Thomas Bywater, Wemyss Castle, and Mr. John Kerr, Overseer of the Works.

forms a marked feature in the petrology of the rocky shore from Kirkaldy to Largo Bay. Lochgelly, Capledrae, Halbeath, Fordel, Dunfermline, and Carnock coal-works are all included within the denuded area, varying in their number of seams from four to fourteen, some of which are from ten to sixteen feet thick, and having an aggregate thickness of thirty-five feet. Beautiful specimens of organic remains occur in some of the basins: spines, scales, teeth, and other fragments of fishes—all brightly enamelled, and some of the teeth of enormous dimensions, fluted, striated, and as sharp and polished as in the living animal. The Wellwood and Dunfermline coal, though of no great thickness, are extremely fine in quality, possessing much of the soft texture and caking qualities of English coal. Two seams only are wrought; one four feet, and the other five and a half feet thick. Much of the sandstone here is of a bluish-black colour, arising probably from carbonaceous matter discharged from a bed of anthracite which occurs to the westward, effected by the agency of trap dykes, or other kindred sources of heat. At Craigluscar, about three miles north of the town, there occurs a remarkable intermixture of trap and limestone, in various alternations, and where the calcareous matter communicates to the rock an extremely dark lustrous aspect. In the Elgin Colliery there are twenty-seven beds of coal, some of which are extremely thin, the main seam being five feet two inches, and the total thickness of the deposit fifty-six feet. The Clackmannan coal-field extends from the Forth to the Ochils, bounded on the east by the Cleish and Saline hills, and the beds in several places are much interrupted by slips or faults. There is one fault, which occurs a little to the south of the Devon, that occasions a shift in the strata from 700 to 1230 feet; and in Law Hill, near Dollar, a greenstone trap has completely charred all the coal in the vicinity. Some of the beds abut against the Ochils, where they are almost vertical, rubbed, and crushed, and present all the phenomena of the most violent mechanical action through the upheaval of the trap. The coals generally, however, are of excellent quality, consisting of twenty-four seams, which vary from two inches to nine feet thick, and average about sixty feet in all. Fire-clay, clay-ironstone, and black-band are very abundant in the district. The cannel or parrot variety of coal occurs in most of the basins now enumerated.

The coal-field of the Lothians is engirdled along its east, south, and west outcrop by a belt of old red sandstone, which is succeeded by the grauwake and silurian rocks of the Lammermuirs. The metals generally dip from these older formations towards the sea, any deviations in the interior of the basin being produced by the eruption of the igneous rocks. The coal measures extend from Aberlady Bay to near Linton, in which there are no less than fifty-two slips, whereby the strata are depressed 5169 feet towards the north; while again, in the same direction, they are raised by thirty-seven slips, or steps of elevation, 2412 feet, the difference being 2767 feet, or nearly the maximum height of the hills on the south.* The strata are not much inclined or shifted from their original horizontality, which shows the change of level to have been produced by a simultaneous subsidence over the whole area of the field, occasioned perhaps by the ejection of the matter of the igneous rocks, and which in dykes, ridges, and hills forms no inconsiderable mass. North Berwick Law, Traprain Law, the Bass Rock, Arthur's Seat, the Braid and Corstorphine hills, all lie on the verge, or rise within the limits of the coal-field. There are about sixty seams of workable coal in the more central division of the basin, one of which is thirteen feet thick, the rest generally under ten, and all of them thin

* *Report of Mid-Lothian*, by D. Milne, Esq.

out towards the south and west out-crop of the metals. The aggregate thickness is estimated at 126 feet, attaining its maximum towards Niddry, Dalkeith, Gilmerton, Tranent, Musselburgh, Prestongrange, Elphinstone, and Cowdens. The encrinite, or mountain limestone, underlies the whole series of coal seams now described, encircling Edinburgh on the north, and extending westwards by Cramond, Abercorn, and Blackness, to Falkirk. The coal along this line, never of any great extent, is nearly worked out: the beds chiefly belong to the under series, accompanied with an enormous mass of sandstone, shale, and other strata, about two thousand feet thick, and which has been everywhere invaded or overlaid by the trap.

A low range of trap hills, extending from Bathgate to Linlithgow, divides the Falkirk and Stirling coal basins from those now described on the east, and from the extensive mines of Lanark on the south-west. The Bathgate coal basin possesses points of great interest to the mineralogist. The encrinite limestone which is wrought at Bowden Hill under the trap is about sixty feet thick, extending N.N.E. to Linlithgow. A fresh-water bed occurs in the adjoining parishes of East and Mid Calder; and at Kirkton there are ferruginous or bituminous beds of shale mixed with translucent silex, laminæ of pure limestone, porcelain jasper, and the remains of *Europterus Scouleri*. A rich black-band ironstone is wrought at Polkemmet, and a still more remarkably rich bituminous shale,* termed by the workmen a cannel coal,

* While these pages are passing through the press the question is raised, in the Court of Session, as to the mineral qualities of this bed, which has an average thickness of eighteen inches, and yields a more than ordinary proportion of inflammable gases. The pursuers in the action are Mrs. Elizabeth Honeyman and her husband, William Gillespie, Esq., of Torbane Hill; and the defenders are Messrs. James Russel and Son, coalmasters at Blackbraes. The witnesses on both sides consist of the most eminent geologists, chemists, microscopists, scientific and practical mining engineers in Great Britain; and, having taken part in the trial, we have had access to the conversation, opinions, and reasonings of both parties, debating the question whether it is to be classed with the coals or shales, with the greatest ability, and manifesting the most intense interest in the merits and results of the trial.

Professor Ansted, as first witness, said, that viewing the mineral geognostically in the field, "he considered it as technically allied to the *underclays* of the coal measures; and as a commercial definition of the substance, he would designate it either as an indurated mineral pitch or asphalt, combined very closely with clay impurities, or as a clay largely impregnated with mineral bitumen." Professor Fleming decided, upon a careful examination of the mineral, that "it was nothing else than a good cannel coal, containing in abundance the various coal plants, visible to the naked eye, usually found in the coal measures." Mr. Hugh Miller, the author of the *Old Red Sandstone*, said "he found the Torbane mineral to differ from all coals he was acquainted with, in the circumstance that it had not a fixed carbonaceous base, and had, what all true coals wanted, a base of earth, which remained in the same bulk and form after the consumable parts were burnt out, as shales did." Among the chemists, Dr. George Wilson said, that "he considered the mineral to be a clay, largely impregnated with bituminous matter, and that, after repeated careful analysis, the results were: of carbon in coke, 4·13; volatile matter, 68·12; ashes silicate of alumina, 27·75; mean specific gravity, 1·247; and that, after the volatile matter has been expelled, there remains in the retort a black mass, which, when heated in the open air, is found to consist of 87·05 per cent. of earthy ingredients, principally silicate of alumina (clay), the remainder being carbon." Professor A. Fife "had analysed all the cannel coals in Scotland, with a view to their gas-producing qualities, and considered the Torbane mineral to differ in no respect from the ordinary cannel coals, except its being of a very superior quality." Comparing its constituents with the Capeldrae cannel coal, he found them to be as follows:—

TORBANE HILL MINERAL.		CAPELDRAE.	
Carbon	60·25	Carbon	56·7
Hydrogen	8·8	Hydrogen	6·8
Oxygen	3·6	Oxygen	8·8
Nitrogen	1·5	Nitrogen	1·9
Sulphur	0·3	Sulphur	0·25
Ash	25·6	Ash	25·4

J. S. Bowerbank, Esq., author of *A History of the Fossil Fruits and Seeds of the London Clay*,

is extracted in great masses from the pits of Boghead, Bathvale, and Torbane Hill. There are four seams of coal, varying from six inches to three feet thick, intermixed with fire-clay and nodular ironstone. Sigillaria, stigmaria, lepidodendra, and other coal plants, are extremely abundant in all the beds.

Near Carron, in the Falkirk basin, the coal consists of seven or eight beds, generally thin, and of an aggregate thickness of twenty to twenty-five feet. The metals are worked at a great depth, nearly six hundred feet, where they dip under the Carse clay, and vast accumulations of sand and gravel, which here form interesting objects of attraction to the antiquary, as well as the geologist. Similar alluvial formations cover the coal-field around Lecropt, Denny, Bannockburn, and Kilsyth: the seams generally rise towards the Campsie hills, extending along their sides, and are often overlaid or completely insulated by the trap, which in some places has so charred the coal as to convert it into anthracite, or coke. A manufactory of alum, copperas, and Prussian-blue has been established at Campsie. The material is derived from a bed of alum-slate, which lies above the coal. When the coal is removed the air decomposes the slate, causing it to effloresce and to resolve into a soft, unctuous mould of earth. The line of railway betwixt Edinburgh and Glasgow runs along great part of this coal-field, cutting the strata at right angles often; in other places the section is parallel to the beds; and the

and other works on Fossil Botany, "had carefully examined thin sections of the mineral substance by microscopic powers, varying from 160 to 660 linear, by both transmitted and direct light; that it had no vegetable structure, and, therefore, he was of opinion that the substance cannot with truth be designated coal; but that, as a substance, it should be classed with the resinous and argillaceous shales, consisting of resinous and earthy matter, and not, like coal, of organised carbonaceous matter and bitumen." Professor Balfour described the structure of the mineral, as exhibited by the microscope, "as a vegetable structure, of which there were three kinds in coal,—the woody fibre, the scalariform, and the cellular tissue,—all of which were found in the Torbane Hill mineral. Shales did not exhibit any traces of vegetable structure." J. Quekett, Esq., Professor of Histology in the Royal College of Surgeons, London, "has examined by the microscope most of the known coals in England and Wales,—about seventy varieties,—in all which the tissue is woody; discovered no organised structure in the substance of the Torbane mineral, while, in its general structure, it was different from anything he ever saw in his life before. The basis of the mineral is a porous slate, the pores or interstices of which have been filled with an inflammable material somewhat resembling bitumen, but yet differing from this substance in many particulars."

Several other eminent scientific witnesses, on both sides, bore corresponding testimony to the above. The counsel, all of the highest standing at the Scottish bar, next addressed themselves to the jury, bringing, in illustration of their conflicting views, all the wit, humour, logic, eloquence, and law of the profession. The court, through the presiding judge, then went over the various points of the evidence, declaring its inability fully to appreciate its scientific import, and yet valiantly describing the scientific distinctions as "crotchets." A respectable and intelligent jury, after six days' trial, found a verdict in behalf of the defenders, resting chiefly on the terms of the lease, but also virtually implying that the mineral in question was *coal*. Another jury, presided over by other judges, will have the matter in dispute before them anew; when, stripped of all its legal and commercial adjuncts, the Torbane Hill mineral will receive its fixed and true place, whatever that may be, as one of the richest and most valuable inflammable substances yet discovered in the bowels of the earth.

The undisputed and permanent mineralogical characters of this interesting substance are—specific gravity, about 1·167; structure, amorphous; colour, dark brown; streak, brown, earthy-looking; fracture, semi-conchoidal; translucent on the edges, very inflammable, argillaceous or bituminous odour; white soft ash, and yields no coke. In all true coals there is a preponderance of fixed carbon over ash—varying in degree, but constant, and forming coke. In the disputed mineral the reverse is the case. In Professor Fife's analysis the carbon is not fixed, but is a product, as in oils. Our first impressions, therefore, are only the more confirmed by the conflict of opinion elicited in this legal discussion—that the mineral in question must be classed with the shales, and is not a COAL.

intrusive rocks are shown in the most interesting manner, in every variety of position, form, and disturbance.

The Lanark coal-field is bounded on the south and west by the Pentlands and Renfrew trap hills, and embraces a vast extent of country, diversified by the windings of the Clyde, and where some of the richest minerals are lying in the water-shed of the river. Within the area of this field there are a great many mines—an inexhaustible repertory of coal and ironstone. The city of Glasgow is built over the metals; and, being of comparatively easy access in the vicinity, they form the chief source at once of its stirring activity and accumulating wealth. The many ravines and elevations in the different parts of the city, the undulating contour of country north and south, the outbursts of trap at the Necropolis and other localities, and the various dykes of the same igneous formation that shoot everywhere around, are all clear indications of the mineral treasures beneath, and of the elevatory forces that have arranged them into convenient sections for the miner. Immediately to the west of Glasgow, on the north side of the Clyde, the coal is not abundant; the deposit seems to belong principally to the lower part of the series, or mountain limestone; nor are the relations of the strata there very well ascertained. Fossil trees frequently occur in the sandstone: a fragment, three feet long, and twenty-six inches in diameter, with four long roots inserted in the rock, was at one time exposed in a quarry north of Sauchiehall-street; and four others, situated in a line at nearly equal distances, were to be seen in a quarry north from the Kelvin aqueduct.*

The Hurlet and Quarrelton coal-field is five miles south-west from the city, on the opposite side of the river, where the coal, though considerably deteriorated by masses of iron pyrites, is of great thickness at Quarrelton, varying from fifty to sixty feet; and in one place ten beds, ninety to a hundred feet thick, are found together,—perhaps the thickest mass of bituminous matter ever discovered. A bluish amygdaloidal greenstone, a hundred feet thick, has penetrated the basin, and overlies great part of the minerals; and, in consequence, local authorities have inferred, as an explanation of the phenomenon, that the beds of coal were first raised by a vertical, and then pushed over each other by a horizontal motion. A thin bed of alum-slate occurs at Hurlet, manufactured into alum and copperas, as at Campsie; and as the strata, on both sides, dip towards the Clyde, thus causing it to follow the bottom of a trough or basin, there can be little doubt that the alum-slate is an extension of the bed which occurs at Campsie. At Maxwelton, Blackhall, Nitshill, and Hallhill, which surround Paisley, and form the southern boundary of the Clyde basin, the beds of coal vary from six to sixty-six in number, from a few inches to ten feet in thickness, and in the aggregate from twelve to twenty feet of good, workable metals. The mines on the east and south-east are wrought in the parishes of New Monkland, Airdrie, Shotts, Bathgate, Bothwell, Hamilton, Carluke, and Carstairs, where, in general, there are eight or nine workable seams, in some places upwards of thirty, with a total thickness of from twenty-five to thirty-seven feet.† The whole field abounds in black-band ironstone, varying from a foot to a foot and a half, and in several places a clay-ironstone, or ochreous shale, yields the ore in considerable supply. The Airdrie and Gartsherrie black-band yields from 34 to 39 per cent. of iron, and contains so much carbonaceous matter as nearly to com-

* Nicol's *Guide to the Geology of Scotland.*

† Craig's *Essay on the Carboniferous Formation of Lanarkshire.*

plete the process of calcination, with only a small expenditure of coal. The quantity of coals brought to Glasgow, in 1836, from thirty-seven pits in the vicinity, amounted to 561,049 tons, of which 124,000 were exported to the Highlands and adjacent places on the Clyde; thus leaving for the use of families and public works in the city and suburbs, 437,049 tons of coal. The population since that period has nearly doubled, and the public works have increased perhaps in a still higher ratio. Hence the present consumption will amount to about 874,098 tons. But, as exhibited by the books of the River Trust, there were exported, for the year ending the 30th June, 1852, from Glasgow, 200,560 tons of coal, which, added to the quantity consumed in the city and suburbs, shows that the coal-fields surrounding the western metropolis of Scotland yield an annual product of *one million seventy-four thousand five hundred and fifty-eight* tons of coal, over and above all that is consumed at the pits, the blast furnaces, and the numerous towns and populous villages embraced within their area, or situated on their confines.

The coast from Port Glasgow to Ardrossan consists, for the most part, of the old red sandstone, which in several places is of great thickness, generally fine-grained, though occasionally conglomerate, and usually of a deep brown-red. The interior, as well as the north-west of Renfrewshire, is much covered with trap rocks, of the felspar-porphyry formation, and underlying the coal on both sides, separates the Clydesdale from the Ayrshire coal basin. The district is very rich in this useful mineral. The amount of coal shipped at the two ports of Irvine and Troon, during the currency of the year 1852, was little short of *three hundred thousand tons*—that of Troon alone being 245,300 tons. Near Ayr, one bed at Taiglum is eleven feet thick; the Irvine beds are five in number, three of which being three feet each, and two seven, making in all twenty-three feet of excellent workable coal; while in the north-west, in the vicinity of Ardrossan and Dalry, there are nineteen feet of coal in six beds, from two to four and a half feet thick. The shipments at Ardrossan, for the same period, amount to 63,744 tons. Anthracite occurs, in a bed of four to five feet thick, at Riccarton, south of Kilmarnock, resting on sandstone. The whole field abounds in ironstone, in beds varying from six inches to nearly two feet thick, yielding a very high per centage of iron, and is surrounded by thick masses of the encrinite or mountain limestone, which crops out and is extensively worked at various places along the edges of the basin.

The remainder of the western coal measures is broken up into small detached basins, generally separated by igneous rocks, but frequently containing numerous seams of great aggregate thickness. The basin of Dalmellington occupies the valley of the Doon, consisting of seven beds of coal, of which one is nine feet thick. Another small isolated basin occurs in the old red sandstone, by which it is completely environed, near Dailly and north of Girvan, where the coal seams have an average thickness of forty feet. The Cumnock and Muirkirk basins lie to the north-east, surrounded on all sides by trap hills, of which Corsancone forms the apex, raising the western portion of the metals at New Cumnock about a thousand feet above the sea. Around Mansfield there are six beds, about forty feet thick three of them being respectively nine, eleven, and twelve feet; this basin is ten miles long by five broad, and at the highest point the coal metals lie on the surface, with very little dip or inclination towards the interior. On the north-eastern side, between Mauchline and Muirkirk, there are eight beds, one nearly ten feet, and the whole about forty-four feet thick. Lower down in the valley of the Nith, the Kirk-

connel and Sanquhar coal-field stretches in a south-easterly direction, having a length of seven by a mean breadth of two miles, and containing twelve seams of coal, three of which average four feet thick; it is intersected by numerous faults and greenstone dykes, which have greatly crushed and charred the metals, and in one place changed them into columnar anthracite. The coal measures stretch from near the town of Annan, along the shores of the Solway, to Cannobie, where the coal is wrought at Byreburn on the Esk, below Langholm, but now nearly exhausted. A greater thickness of the valuable mineral occurs on the Rowanburn, a tributary of the Liddel, about a mile to the south-east, where there are three or four seams wrought with profit. But although extended along the entire water-shed of this border river, and beyond Carter Fell towards the Cheviots, no workable beds occur eastward of Lawston, where the strata are thrown up by the trap with a westerly dip, and which all belong to the under series of the carboniferous system. The encrinite limestone crops out in various localities around the coal-field, of great thickness and purity, skirting the northern side of the basin from Ecclefechan to Langholm, and, running in long ledges or broken up into large tabular masses, forms a very picturesque scene in the trough of the Esk, near the water-mill adjacent to Armstrong's Tower, of border renown. A narrow belt of the old red sandstone, of the upper or yellow series, succeeds the limestone a little to the north, resting upon the grauwake. An interesting junction of the three formations—sandstone, trap, and grauwake—may be observed in the gorge of the Esk, about a mile below Langholm, near the bridge, where the trap has considerably altered and uplifted the sedimentary rocks; while, to the north-east, the sandstone has been elevated more than a thousand feet, capping the summit of Whitock Hill, and furnishing material for the beautiful monument there erected in honour of Sir John Malcom, of Indian celebrity.

The general results to be deduced from this description of the several coal basins of Scotland are as follows—results highly important in a geological, but still more in an economic point of view:—Taking, as already stated, the length of the great central basin at 100 miles, and its breadth at 33 miles, and deducting for the area of the Firth of Forth under water 360 miles, there remain about 2874 square miles of the coal measures, or of the strata classed in the coal formation. But deducting the portion which underlies the mountain limestone, extending from St. Andrews to Drumcarro, and from Pittenweem to Crail, and making allowance for the intrusive rocks which prevail largely in every district, probably not more than one-half of the superficial area of the coal measures, or 1436 square miles, can be regarded as available for working coal. The average number of good coal seams is twelve, and their total average thickness about thirty-four feet, and making allowance for faults and dykes, there are nearly, at a rough estimate, fourteen million cubic yards of coal in each square mile. The average weight of a yard, or of three cubic feet, is one ton; in the 1436 square miles there will be about eighteen billions of tons; and, therefore, according to the estimated thickness of the whole coal basins at thirty-four cubic feet, the amount of the valuable mineral inclosed in the several coal basins of Scotland cannot be regarded as less than *one hundred and eight trillions of tons*—a quantity sufficient, even at the present high rate of annual consumption of about six millions of tons, to supply the increasing wants of the country for two thousand years.

The clay ironstone and black-band may be regarded as nearly co-extensive with the coal measures. There are few coal basins, at least, in which one or other of these

forms of the iron ore have not been discovered and wrought. The number of hot-blast furnaces in operation in Scotland during the years 1852 and 1853 are, according to the returns now before me, 102, of which the Gartsherrie works have the greatest number. The average produce of pig-iron, of each furnace, is about sixteen tons a-day; thus yielding a total annually of 509,184 tons weight of pig-iron, or of metal in a state for commercial purposes. This vast product, raised from the coal-fields of Scotland, has been chiefly owing to the successful researches made for the black-band ironstone within these twenty years, and the improved methods of smelting the ore by means of the hot-blast furnace. The present market-price of pig-iron is from £2 16*s.* to £3; hence the total annual value will be about one million and a half pounds sterling. The value of the coal at the rate of 6*s.* a ton will be considerably above this amount, or about £1,700,000 a-year. The lime cannot be estimated at much less. Thus, in all, the commercial produce of coal, iron, and lime raised from the coal measures of Scotland will be little short, in annual value, of five millions of sterling money. The whole mineral produce of the kingdom in 1814 was only about £1,600,000, and of which amount the three substances mentioned constituted the proportion of £1,440,000.

While the coal metals, with their constant associates, lime and ironstone, are now ascertained to exist in every continent and in all the larger islands, the boundaries of many of the coal-fields have been measured, and a comparative estimate of their minerals determined. In proportion to their extent the richest mines in the world are those of Great Britain, which occupy a space of nearly 8,000 square miles of workable coal. The American coal measures, in the States alone, cover an area of about 133,000 square miles; a single coal seam, of an average thickness of ten feet, occurs in Pennsylvania, which spreads uninterruptedly over an extent of 14,000 square miles; while the coal-basin of Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky, is not much inferior in superficial dimensions to the whole of England. A computation of the quantity of vegetable matter, in a given portion of coal, has been made, and the result is, that a cubic yard of coal weighs upon an average one ton—a bed of coal of one acre in extent and three feet thick contains 4,840 tons—and the produce of 1,940 acres of forest trees is absorbed in one acre of coal. Multiply the 8,000 square miles of the coal-fields of Great Britain, or the 133,000 square miles of the coal-fields of the States, by the denominator given, and the number of tons in a single bed of three feet thick is prodigious, showing how inexhaustible are the stores of the useful combustible for generations to come. But instead of one bed, the coal-basins range from ten to nearly a hundred seams of the mineral, and instead of three feet thick, many of the seams are from ten to twenty feet in thickness; and thus, taking the computation all the world over, no intelligible array of figures can represent, as no human mind can grasp the conception of, the infinitesimal results in weights and measures of the all-bountiful gift stored up for man's use and improvement in the stony chambers of his habitation.

The author has elsewhere* related, on this subject, "that it does not appear, from any well authenticated records, at what precise period man availed himself of this useful mineral, either for the purposes of art, or of domestic comfort. The early history of nations is traditionary; but there is no tradition from very remote times, in any of them, as to the discovery of coal—no philosopher speculating about

* *The Course of Creation*, p. 120.

the importance of the fact, and its bearings on the progress of civilisation. . . . . What the Romans termed *lapis ampelites,* is generally understood to mean our cannel coal, which they used not as fuel, but in making toys, bracelets, and other ornaments; while their *carbo,* which Pliny describes as 'vehementer perlucet,' was simply the petroleum or naptha, which issues so abundantly from all the tertiary deposits. Coal is found in Syria, and the term frequently occurs in the sacred writings. But there is no reference anywhere in the inspired record as to digging or boring for the mineral, and no directions for its use. In their burnt-offerings, wood appears uniformly to have been employed. In Leviticus the term is used as synonymous with fire, where it is said that 'the priests shall lay the parts in order upon the wood, that is, on the fire which is upon the altar.' And in the same manner for all domestic purposes, wood and charcoal were invariably made use of. Doubtless the ancient Hebrews would be acquainted with natural coal, as in the mountains of Lebanon, whither they continually resorted for their timber, seams of coal near Beirout were seen to protrude through the superincumbent strata in various directions. Still there are no traces of pits, or excavations into the rock, to show that they duly appreciated the extent and uses of the article. Their term נחל, which properly signifies charcoal, appears to have passed into the northern languages, as in the Islandic *gloa;* the Danish *gloe;* the Welsh *glo,* a coal—*golen,* to give light; the Irish *o-gual;* and the Cornish *kolan:* terms all expressive of the act of burning, or of giving light.

"For many reasons it would seem that, among modern nations, the primitive Britons were the first to avail themselves of the valuable combustible. The word by which it is designated is not of Saxon but of British extraction, and is still employed to this day by the Irish in their form of *o-gual,* and in that of *kolan* by the Cornish. In Yorkshire stone hammers and hatchets have been found in old mines, showing that the early Britons worked coals before the invasion of the Romans. Manchester, which has risen on the very ashes of the mineral, and grown to all its wealth and greatness under the influence of its heat and light, next claims the merit of the discovery. Portions of coal have been found under or imbedded in the sand of a Roman way, excavated some years ago for the construction of a house, and which, at the time, were ingeniously conjectured by local antiquaries to have been collected for the use of the garrison stationed on the route of these warlike invaders of Mancenion, or the Place of Tents. Certain it is, that fragments of coal are being constantly, in the district, washed out and brought down by the Medlock and other streams, which break from the mountains through the coal strata. The attention of the inhabitants would, in this way, be more early and readily attracted by the glistening substance.

"Nevertheless, for long after, coal was but little valued or appreciated, turf and wood being the common articles of consumption throughout the country. About the middle of the ninth century a grant of land was made by the Abbey of Peterborough, under the restriction of certain payments in kind to the monastery, among which are specified sixty carts of wood, and, as showing their comparative worth, only twelve carts of pit-coal. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, Newcastle is said to have traded in the article; and by a charter of Henry III., of date 1281, a license is granted to the burgesses to dig for the mineral. About this period, coals for the first time began to be imported into London, but were made use of only by smiths, brewers, dyers, and other artizans, when, in consequence of the smoke being regarded as very injurious to the public health, Parliament petitioned

the King, Edward I., to prohibit the burning of coal, on the ground of being an intolerable nuisance. A proclamation was granted, conformable to the prayer of the petition, and the most severe inquisitorial measures were adopted to restrict or altogether abolish the use of the combustible by fine, imprisonment, and destruction of the furnaces and workshops! They were again brought into common use in the time of Charles I., and have continued to increase steadily with the extension of the arts and manufactures, and the advancing tide of population, until now, in the metropolis and suburbs, coals are annually consumed to the amount of about three millions of tons. The use of coal in Scotland seems to be connected with the rise of the monasteries, institutions which were admirably suited to the times—the conservators of learning, and the pioneers of art and industry all over Europe—and in whose most rigorous exactions evidences can always be traced of a judicious and enlightened concern for the general improvement of the country. Under the *régime* of monastic rule at Dunfermline, coals were worked in the year 1291,—at Dysart, and other places along the coast, about half a century later; and, generally, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the inhabitants were assessed in coals to the churches and chapels, which, after the Reformation, have still continued to be paid in many parishes. Boëthius records that, in his time, the inhabitants of Fife and the Lothians dug 'a black stone,' which, when kindled, gave out a heat sufficient to melt iron."

Thus tardily have all our most obvious discoveries been made, and their uses applied. The pits from which the black stone was dug are still to be seen near Crail, and other places along the coast of Fifeshire, penetrating the surface only a few feet, and merely the out-crop of the metals touched. The ground itself had first to be cleared of its massive forests, sufficient for ages to supply the wants of the inhabitants, while art was young and the inventive sciences little understood. The social movement now in progress is mainly the result of both being carried to a pitch of which our forefathers never dreamed. The pressure in the moral may be compared to the expansive forces in the physical world,—all latent a few years ago, but now in such vigorous activity, in the various appliances of steam, mechanism, and electricity, as to change the whole aspect of society, and to convert the wilderness into a garden. They are mutually assistant to each other: the march of civilisation advances apace, and the resources of the mine are more and more available; the treasures of the earth, hidden and unknown for ages, are fully appreciated, and their practical benefits ascertained. The arrangements of a far-seeing Providence are clearly discernible in the mighty operations and vast intellectual achievements already realised; the relics of distant ages have become, not the toys of the antiquary, but the giant levers of the man of science; and, as there are no limits to the resources, so will the genius of coming generations be stimulated to new exertions, and rewarded with new means of comfort and improvement.

The doctrine of final causes here receives one of its most striking verifications. No truth in history is better established than that the whole earth has been given to man as the theatre on which is to be fulfilled the revealed destiny of his race,—when civilisation shall be co-extensive with its boundaries, when the arts and sciences shall be as widely cultivated, and when pure and undefiled religion shall prevail in all its borders. The old branches of the human family are in rapid decay: the pioneers of a higher moral and intellectual development are everywhere planting themselves in their desolate places. The mineral stores underground furnish the principal means of their conquest, occupancy, growth, and

permanent establishment in their new fields of location. Not an island or continent on the terraqueous globe, and within its habitable domains, that is not of the easiest access to civilised man. The fuel and the metals that enable him to speed his way and consolidate his power, he digs from the bowels of the earth. Garnered up in ages long past, and, as *designed* on purpose to meet the requirements of his lot, he finds them in every region where his enterprising spirit leads, whether he is to promote the cause of truth while yielding to his own propensities, or to accelerate the spread of knowledge by the ingenuity which prompts him to extend his own dominion. When the gold and the silver mine is exhausted, and the feverish excitement that drove him to his new settlements is past, the more peaceful occupations of life will be pursued, the cultivation of the soil become his enjoyment, towns and cities arise on every side, and amidst all the busy appliances of commerce and the arts, the school and the church will appear. The grandest achievement of his moral destiny will be thus accomplished—the ends of the earth brought together—the promise again realised—"I will bring thee to a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass: when thou shalt lay up gold as dust, and the gold of Ophir as the stones of the brooks."

THE NEW RED SANDSTONE AND SUPERINCUMBENT STRATA.

The series of rocks which immediately overlie the coal measures is termed the New Red Sandstone, in contradistinction to the Old Red, which is subjacent to the coal, and belongs to an anterior geologic age. The irregular expanse of sea left in the regions of Britain by the broken masses of land, produced by the uplifted carboniferous rocks, was filled by the detritus of the period, and afterwards consolidated into a succession of sandstones, clays, marls, and limestones. This formation occurs in Ireland, but not abundantly, and only in the north-eastern part, which may be regarded as an extension of the Lammermuirs. In Arran, and on the west coast of Ayrshire, on the southern slope of the Lammermuirs, around Dumfries and Langton, is a large tract of these rocks, spreading into the plain of Carlisle, the vale of Eden, and against the west face of the Cambrian mountain limestone. The new red sandstone and the superincumbent strata occupy nearly the whole superficies of the central, eastern, and southern districts of England. It is largely developed in America, on the continent of Europe, and especially in Russia, whence, from the vast extent occurring in the district of Perm, it has been denominated the Permian System, and is generally described as such in works on geology. The formation is found in Scotland only in patches, at remote intervals, round its borders; and, in some of the localities, the position of the sandstones is by no means a settled point, whether as belonging to the coal measures, to the old, or to the new red series.

There are great diversities in the number, mineral qualities, component elements, and external appearance of the strata belonging to the new red sandstone. Indeed, so very different are they, that nothing but their relative position, and the substances with which they are associated, can determine the true systematic character of some of the beds. In Germany, France, and England, there is often the widest distinction, which has given rise to different systematic arrangements, as well as to a different nomenclature, dependent only on some prevailing local peculiarity; and teaching the important fact, that it is by general types, and not by any conventional series of strata, that rocks are to be identified in different countries.

A deep red variegated sandstone, magnesian limestone, gypseous marls, sometimes beds of crystallised gypsum, and occasionally rock-salt, may be considered as the characteristic mineral substances composing the system. The whole series of beds, too, are generally fine-grained, thinly laminated, and easily split up into slaty flags, and the different strata are usually separated by soft unctuous clays, or calcareous marls.

As the period appears to have been comparatively barren both in animal and vegetable life, so the mineral wealth of the system cannot be highly estimated, forming a remarkable contrast in this respect with the coal measures. The magnesian—or, as it is likewise called, the dolomitic limestone—yields, under chemical treatment, the magnesia of the apothecary; and, although the soils connected with this rock are neither rich nor genial in their appetency for the cereals, yet a certain admixture, when reduced to quicklime, is not unfavourable to some of the grasses. It furnishes in some localities a beautiful and durable building-stone, of which, from the quarries in Bolsover Moor, in Derbyshire, the new Houses of Parliament are constructed. The flaggy schists are employed extensively for lithographic purposes, the admired German blocks being chiefly derived from these beds. The gypsum and rock-salt of commerce are likewise dug from this formation, sometimes alternating with the other strata, in thin stratified beds, or occurring in basins, in irregular masses, from twenty to a hundred and twenty feet in thickness. The Chester, Worcester, and other salt-pits in England,—also those in Spain, Germany, and Austria,—the celebrated mines of Cracow, in Poland,—

"Where, scoop'd in the briny rock, long streets extend,"—

and the recently discovered beds in Ireland,—are all situated in the new red sandstone; and all as yet form the subject of controversy, whether these saline crystallisations owe their origin to deposition in water, or to the vaporising influence of heat. With the exception of an ore of copper, wrought to some extent in Germany, termed *kupfer-schiefer*, no other metal is derived from the system.

When compared with the carboniferous system, so rich in organic remains and in mineral treasures, the new red sandstone indicates one of those vast changes in the course of nature which demonstrates a direct interposition of creative power. The superabundant flora of the past age becomes suddenly extinct. The materials of three to four thousand feet of solid rock are collected, without a particle of coal being contained in the mass. The myriads of creatures which filled the seas, and whose remains form the mountain limestone, all ceased to exist, with the exception of one or two families of zoophytes and testacea. Instead of the black-band ironstone, the source of our chief metallic wealth and power, gypsum and rock-salt are produced, and stored up in a few rare localities. The formation is widely spread over every quarter of the globe; and the changes in the vegetable and animal economy, as indicated by the changes in the mineral kingdom, appear to have been equally universal.

But once again, in the altered state of things, nature was preparing for new forms of life and new types of animal existence, while she was parting with so many of the old races, which had so admirably subserved the purposes of their creation. One remarkable change in the laws of functional structure is here, for the first time, observable; namely, the substitution in fishes of the *homocercal* for the *heterocercal* form of the tail-fin. This organ in the fishes of all the former epochs of the earth's history is unequally lobed,—as still preserved in the shark and sturgeon,—in conse-

quence of the vertebral column extending to the extremity; whereas, from this period downwards, and in all existing families, with the exceptions noticed, the backbone terminates *within* the fin, and thereby causes it to be equally lobed, as seen in the cod, herring, and salmon. The impressions of bird and reptilian foot-marks are also very abundant in this series of rocks. Here, likewise, are the first traces of oviparous quadrupeds, in the remains which have been found of the protosaurus and phytosaurus. The foot-prints in some places, especially in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Virginia, are very abundant, consisting of small toe-like scratches, deep, palmy impressions, and large tridactyle hollows, which measure eighteen inches in length, by fourteen in breadth; and in some localities, so numerous are these curious lithographs, as to indicate a place of general resort, probably upon the retiring of the tide in quest of prey, where lines and tracts are observed to cross and re-cross each other in every direction. Many of the strata are covered with the ripple and other water-marks, suggestive of the retreating wave and shelving shore; and very frequently they are indented with little circular spots, imputed to the pattering of the rain. In the Stonesfield slate, near Oxford, and in the sandstones of Sussex and Dorsetshire, the trail and petrified castings of marine worms, perfectly preserved, have been detected, impressed on the sand while it was yet soft on the sea-shore. Nor, among these singular hieroglyphics, are the least singular the tubular cavities in which the molluscs themselves must have resided, the forms of the creatures being distinctly traced at the upper extremity of the holes still preserved in the rock. The fossil impressions in the sandstone of Dumfriesshire are equally well defined in the only two localities in which they have been found; namely, Cocklemuir, in the parish of Lochmaben, and Locherbriggs quarry, near the town of Dumfries. They consist, in the former locality, of the foot-prints of some four-footed reptilian, where the alternate movements of the right and left pairs are parallel, and at regular distances from each other. The impressions are about two inches in diameter, by half an inch in depth; and in the other locality they have obviously been produced by the passage of birds over the soft sand, generally small, but perfect in their outline, and even the scratchings of the sharp claws distinctly legible. What a curious reading all this, in these chronicles of ancient geologic times! How singular the preservation of such ephemeral impressions as the trail of a worm, the tread of a reptile, the foot-print of a bird, mingled with indicia of the state of the atmosphere, the direction of the winds, the ripple of the waves, and the flow of the tides! Preserving something of the old, and introducing so many new traces of organic life, especially those of birds and oviparous quadrupeds, the new red sandstone has been regarded as the transitional boundary between the lower and upper secondary strata, and serves to mark a period of comparative inactivity in the physical causes by which, from time to time, the state of the mineral, vegetable, and animal departments of nature have been so much influenced, modified, and finally changed.

Accordingly, one of these changes, upon a great scale, appears to have taken place upon the introduction of the next series of superincumbent strata. These are termed the lias, oolite, wealden, and chalk groups, in which we have not only a different set of rocks, but also different races of plants and animals. Instead of magnesian limestone, there are dark argillaceous and calcareous beds of rock; for variegated gypseous and saliferous marls, there are blue pyritous clays; and in place of red and mottled sandstones, there are bands of coal, and dark-coloured bituminous shales. Nor in the organic products are the differences less striking. The sea

now swarmed with new and strange forms of life, creatures sixty to a hundred feet in length—the icthyosaurians and plesiosaurians. The land was again covered with a rich vegetation, generally different, but approaching to the rank luxuriance of the carboniferous age, and accompanied with animals of corresponding bulk—iguanadons, hylæosaurians, and pterodactyles—fit to swim in the slimy lagoons, or to perch on trees, in search of food and prey. And everywhere in the waters there were coralline and shelly bodies, many of them infinitesimally small, but so inconceivably numerous as to form, by their skeletons alone, masses of rock several hundred feet thick, and thousands of miles in extent. These teachings of geology forcibly, again, support the truths of Natural Theology, showing in such vast changes the direct interposition of Divine might; and, in the beautiful adaptive arrangements thence arising, the constant superintendence of the great First Cause.

This series of rocks, comprising under each group a great diversity of strata, is widely extended over the midland and southern districts of England, the central regions of France, and stretch some of them in one continuous belt along the whole northern outskirts of Switzerland, into the heart of Germany. They are only found in Scotland in the western islands, skirting portions of the north-western shores of the mainland, and at intervals along the eastern coast from Helmsdale to Elgin. The *Lias*, the oldest of the series, simply means layers, from its thin, flaggy beds of limestone and bluish shales, and exists in considerable thickness in the islands of Mull, Egg, and Skye. The *Oolite*, or roe-stone, immediately succeeds the lias in each of these localities, containing beds of imperfect coal, which have been overflowed and hardened by igneous rock; there are, likewise, considerable beds in Caithnessshire, and among which is the Brora coal deposit, consisting of several thin seams, mixed with bands of limestone, containing large petrified trees. The *Wealden* is derived from the term "wolds,"—literally, the wood or forest district of Sussex and Hampshire,—and is found at Linksfield, near Elgin, in a series of blue, laminated clays, sandstones, and impure limestones, all more or less charged with oxide of iron, which gives a variegated tint to the formation. The *Chalk* deposit is of still more limited extent than any of the above, or can scarcely be said to exist at all as a rock in Scotland, there being only two places—Banff and Mull—where the characteristic flints occur. They are, however, in sufficient quantity, and lie in such positions, to show that they could only have been derived from a bed of chalk *in situ*, whose softer materials have yielded to the influence of time, and been washed out by the action of the sea. Among the more remarkable organic remains characteristic of the wealden and inferior systems, teeth, spines, and bones of the ichthyosaurus and plesiosaurus, have been detected in great abundance in the deposit of Elgin. Along with leaves, branches, and stems of trees in the lias and oolite of Skye and Caithness, there are large casts of shells belonging to the ammonite and echinida (sea-urchins) marine families; likewise the gryphæa, cidaris, trigonia, and ostrea are very common in the latter localities. The remains of *Cycadeæ*, allied to the existing cycas revoluta, and pine-apple; *Coniferæ*, resembling the yew and pine; a great variety of ferns, allied to the types of the coal measures; besides, *Lilaceæ*, and other undescribed genera, are all there to attest the existence of a warmer, if not even of a tropical climate, during the currency of the period when gigantic lizards and a luxuriant flora inhabited these northern parts.

The detached portions of rock in so many and widely separated localities, in which these interesting remains are preserved, derive additional importance from the consideration, that they serve as memorials of the successive increments of the

land, of the ceaseless inroads of the sea, and of the severance of places once united. When we find that these groups of strata were all formed under water, and successively arranged from Caithness to Dover, and from Skye to the Isle of Wight, in the same geologic periods, the imagination is stretched not a little to recall the physical conditions which admitted of their deposition, at the extreme points of the island, and the altered circumstances under which a few fragmentary outliers are all that remain to indicate their existence. The lias of Skye, the oolite of Brora, the wealden of Elgin, and the chalk-flints of Banff and Mull, are identical in their mineral constituents with the rocks of Yorkshire, Oxford, Bucks and Portland, and show, all of them, indications of the same fossil remains: when animals allied to the tortoise, the crocodile, and the gavial of modern times prevailed in every part of our seaborders and rivers, and when Scotland, by its older rocks and their earlier elevation, constituted the largest portion of the mainland of Great Britain.

THE TERTIARY SYSTEM OF ROCKS.

The tertiary system constitutes the last great sub-division of the rocky strata of the earth, and consists of a series of clays, sands, gravels, marls, and limestones. The beds are all more or less indurated, or composed of true layers of rock; some of them furnishing an excellent building-stone, and others so loosely aggregated as to decompose on exposure to the weather. They lie immediately above the chalk, and generally within the hollows produced by the abrasion and upheaval of the chalk formation. The period has been one of considerable disturbance, when the land and sea were repeatedly interchanging places; and the system, in consequence, is made up of alternate beds of marine and fresh-water deposits, containing innumerable organisms characteristic of each. The London clay constitutes the lowest portion of the series, whence, as the centre point in England, the strata range in every direction from Hungerford to Norwich, along both sides of the Thames, and occupy an average breadth of thirty to forty miles. They extend into Hampshire, where the basin is of considerable extent, forming, in the Isle of Wight, nearly the half of its surface, and resting on the vertical edges of the chalk beds. The tertiary system is amply developed in the basin of Paris, in the district of Auvergne, over large tracts in Switzerland, where it is elevated many thousands of feet on the sides of the Alps; it diverges through most of the states of Central and Southern Europe, the Italian shores of the Mediterranean, and along the southern range of the Himalayas, where it attains an altitude of twelve to fourteen thousand feet.

The existence of the tertiary formation in Scotland has only very recently been established, and under circumstances which greatly enhance the interest of the discovery. It was scarcely surmised that our island was the theatre of volcanic action so lately as the tertiary period indicates. But the fact is now placed beyond doubt. The Duke of Argyll has adduced the evidence of vast subterranean operations, in actual volcanic materials, in the island of Mull, as well as of the highest probability of their occurrence among the other western isles. A paper on the subject appeared in the *Geological Quarterly Journal* for May 1, 1851, in which are given very minute and interesting details of this important discovery, and of which the following is an abridged account:—

"The island of Mull is deeply indented, in a direction nearly east and west, by

two long arms of the sea,—Loch na Kael and Loch Scridden,—forming the natural divisions described by Macculloch as the northern, the middle, and the southern trap districts. The northern division is of comparatively low elevation, and composed chiefly of terraces of trap. The middle division is a lofty and rugged tract, containing the fine summits of Ben Tulla and Ben More, the latter being one of the highest mountains on the western coast, and visible from a great distance among the Hebrides. The whole of the long and high promontory stretching westward from the flank of Ben More, and lying between Loch na Kael and Loch Scridden, exhibits great terraces of trap, piled one above the other, and terminates in that striking headland of Bourg or Gribon, whose lofty horizontal lines rise from the ocean, with almost perfect regularity, in a pyramidal form, until the final cap attains an elevation of about two hundred feet. The southern division has been long known for the magnificent coast scenery it displays; presenting a continuous line of mural precipices of great elevation, frequently based on and capped by basalts of every variety of form, and including extensive strata of the oolite and lias. Here occurs the headland of Ardtun, the scene of the discovery. The first public mention of the pictorial grandeur of the spot is from the pen of Dr. Samuel Johnson. Sir Allen M'Lean, in conveying him from the island of Inch Kenneth, to visit the ruins of Iona, selected this spot as a resting-place; and the Doctor mentions, that its columnar basalt, in whose broken shafts they sat, was pointed out to him as scarcely less deserving of notice than that of Staffa."

This basalt constitutes the lava of the district. It occurs in jointed columnar masses in various parts of the island, on both shores of the Sound of Mull, in far-famed Staffa, in Skye, and several of the adjacent islands, on the coast of Antrim, and forms the Giant's Causeway in Ireland. The cliff at Ardtun is one hundred and thirty feet in height, and, in a vertical section, presents the following descending order of beds, where the lighter scoriæ or pumice, the hard concrete lava, and the vegetable organic matter, repeatedly alternate with each other.

Uppermost basalt	40 feet
First leaf-bed	2 „
First ash-bed	20 „
Second leaf-bed	2½ „
Second ash-bed	7 „
Third leaf-bed	1½ „
Amorphous basalt	48 „
Columnar basalt to the level of low tide	10 „

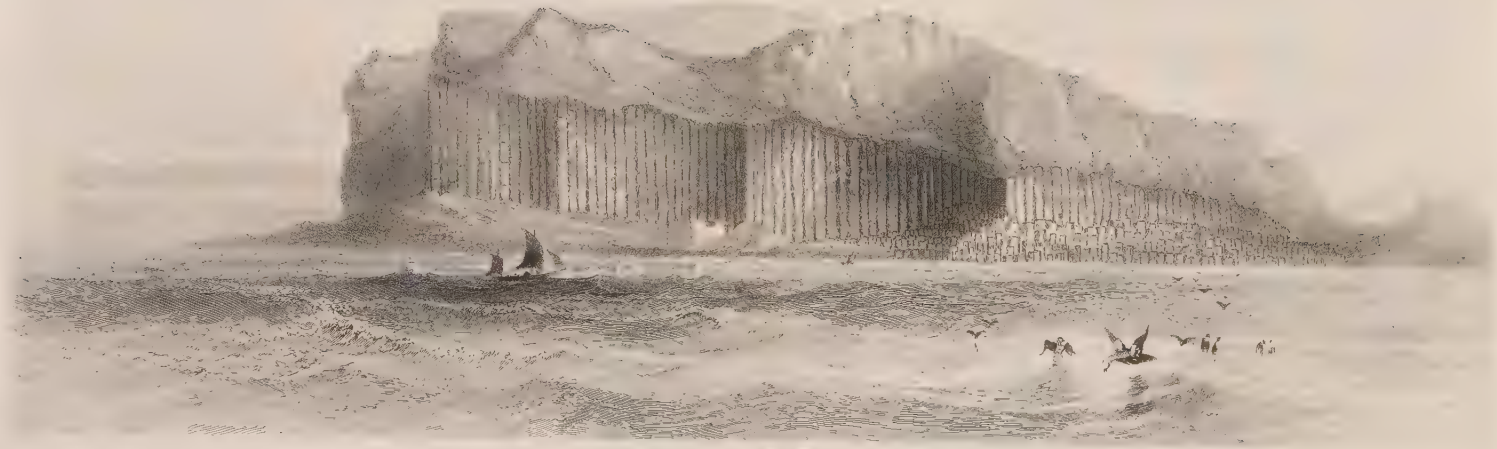
The geological epoch to which all the beds above that of the amorphous basalt belong is determined by the character of the organic remains. The leaves are of considerable variety, but all belonging to well-known existing families of the Dicotyledonous order. They are, therefore, remains of the tertiary period,—a conclusion farther confirmed by the position of the chalk flints in the tuff conglomerates with which they are associated.

"Further, these beds seem to me," says the noble Author, "to furnish indisputable evidence of subærial volcanic action, alternating with periods of repose. The second leaf-bed is the one which throws the clearest light on the circumstances of its formation. It is to be observed, in the first place, that the leaves are not torn or shattered: those of the large palmated planes, as well as those of the small buckthorn, &c., being fully extended, and showing unruffled surfaces. Leaves, violently cast from the trees on which they grew, would not have presented such appearances;

they do not even consist of the brittleness of dead leaves, when dry. Two other remarkable circumstances remain to be noticed: first, that no trunks of trees, no branches, nothing beyond the size of the merest twig, has been yet found associated with the leaves; secondly, that plants of a reedy texture—some of them at once recognisable as *Equiseta*—are associated in great abundance with the leaves, especially with that lower portion of the bed which almost exclusively consists of the vegetable remains. From all this the conclusion is obvious, that these leaves must have been shed, autumn after autumn, into the smooth still waters of some shallow lake, on whose muddy bottom they were accumulated, one above the other, fully expanded, and at perfect rest. It cannot have been a water agitated by tides or currents; for these would have swept such remains away, or left evidence in their disposition of disturbing agency. It cannot have been water of any depth; for it is well known that reeds, and especially the *Equisetum* and other kindred families, do not affect such situations. But there is another ground for this latter conclusion: the bed of ashes, or tuff, covering the leaves shows clearly, from the arrangement of its materials, that they cannot have undergone the sifting process inseparable from subsidence through water. The light pumiceous particles, and the heavy, flinty, white lapilli, are disseminated indiscriminately, without any reference to the order of gravity, although the former are composed of a substance which will frequently float in water, whilst the latter are particularly dense and heavy.

"All these circumstances taken together, as well as the absence of any fresh-water shells, or other organisms, indicative of a permanent lacustrine condition, seem to me to afford the strongest evidence, that the situation in which these leaves were overflowed by volcanic mud and ashes was one which may rather be described as a marshy terrestrial surface, than the bottom of a lake, properly so called. The hollow in which the marsh had originally been formed, and in which the first or lowest leaf-bed had accumulated, continued to be a hollow after the mud and ashes had overflowed it. Water again accumulated, and autumnal leaves were again cast upon its surface, in greater numbers and variety than before. An eruption, similar to the first, for a second time covered its deposits; still its condition remained sufficiently unchanged to admit a repetition of the same process, and once more it continued to receive the annual sheddings of a forest vegetation. But the third eruption must have been one of a very different kind: sheets of lava, of great solidity and thickness, were now poured forth upon the ground; and if surfaces completely vitrified, such as well-marked obsidian, be any indication of subærial exposure, such must have been the condition of this lava. The configuration of the country no longer remained the same, and so complete was the change effected by this and subsequent convulsions, that the spot which had so long been the receptacle of calm, stagnant waters, under the lee of some great forest, became as we now see it, cut into the sea-cliff of a naked headland, so peculiarly exposed to the surf of a stormy ocean, as well to deserve the description of its Gaelic name—'the Point of Waves.'

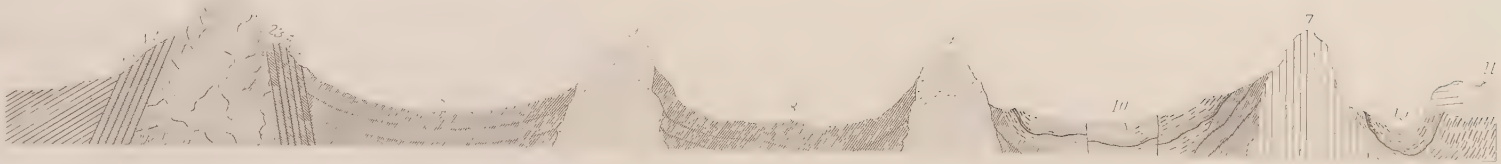
"No one who has followed this description of the Ardtun Head, and is acquainted with Staffa, will fail to recognise a remarkably corresponding feature. The lowest two members of the Ardtun series—the massive amorphous basalt, passing into and resting upon the columnar—offer a precise representation, on a smaller scale, of that wonderful front which lies opposite, at some five or six miles distance. The whole group of the Treshnish Islands, 'which guard famed Staffa round,' would seem, from their low tabular appearance, to belong to the same prolonged sheets of trap, and may represent the skeleton of that country now destroyed,



STAFFA

From the South West

E. Brandard



SECTION FROM THE MORAY FIRTH TO THE SOLWAY

from whose forests the Ardtun leaves were shed. It is not improbable that by future researches amid the conglomerates, and other stratified matters associated with the traps, in Mull and the neighbouring islands, portions of the more substantial parts of those forests will yet be found. It appears, from Dr. M'Culloch's account of the traps of the middle district of the island of Mull, that he did actually find the carbonised stem of a tree, whose structure proved it to be coniferous. His notice of the 'vein' in which it occurred is an accurate description of the tuff which covers the leaves at Ardtun; but he expressly says, that it occupied a perpendicular, instead of a horizontal position in the cliff; and the headland of Bourg seems to be indicated, although not very clearly, as the locality."

This interesting and valuable paper concludes with a description of the geological structure of the trap formation on the coast of Ireland, where similar alternating leaf-beds and lignites, with columnar and amorphous basalt, occur at Antrim and the Giant's Causeway. The account goes pretty far to establish the important inferences, that Scotland and Ireland were, at the period of the eruptions, portions of one and the same country,—that the western isles, all the marine interspaces, and the mainland, were united,—and that the Ardtun leaf-beds indicate the occurrence of changes, since the period of their deposition, not less great in climate than in the geographical forms of land and sea.

"The area of the Hebrides," says Professor Edward Forbes, "appears to have been a scene of igneous eruptions and disturbances of level from a very early geological period down to the age of the newer tertiaries. These beautiful and singular islands present a rich field for geological explanation, much as has been done among them. Their palæontology, one of the freshest and fullest mines for discovery yet remaining in the British Islands, may be said to be unexamined. The working out of the exact relations in age of the igneous with the stratified rocks of the Hebrides, and of the physical and vital phenomena, determined by the several eruptions within their area, will sooner or later be one of the most delightful and best rewarded tasks to which a competent observer can apply."*

The view of Staffa from the south-west, as represented in Plate I., Section 1., shows the broken columns at the base of the cliff, over which the waves are constantly dashed. The larger entire ones occupy the centre of the picture. The amorphous mass, of which the island is chiefly composed, rests on the top. The columns are very irregular in the number and position of their joints; but the order and symmetry, the richness arising from multiplicity of parts, combined with greatness of dimension and simplicity of style, render them far superior, in their general effect, to anything which architecture in its best efforts has ever produced. In the number of sides they vary, as all basaltic columns have been found to do, but the hexagonal and pentagonal are the predominant forms. The rock which forms the substance of the columns is of a dark greyish colour, and of a uniform texture, precisely similar to the amorphous mass above, which contains various amygdaloidal cavities, filled with radiated concentric spheres of zeolite, mesotype, stilbite, and other minerals, occasionally of great beauty and fineness. Staffa is of an irregular oval shape, about a mile and half in circumference, and presents an uneven tableland on the top, terminating on all sides in precipitous columnar cliffs. There are three caves, the largest of which is Fingal's, which is 227 feet long, by a variable height of forty-four to fifty feet, and an average breadth of forty-two feet—a natural

* *Geological Journal*, May 1, 1851.

hall of columns, of every form and variety, and in grouping and picturesque effect baffling description.

The Trap Islands of the Hebrides all contain, more or less, examples of the columnar structure, some of them on a scale of grandeur even superior to Staffa itself. They are divided, according to Dr. M'Culloch, into two principal groups,—Skye being the centre of the one, and Mull of the other. The Shiant Isles, the remarkable rocks at Loch Maddy and St. Kilda, the "Teneriffe of Britain," form the outskirts of this volcanic region, now in so many detached parts, but once more intimately connected. Ailsa Craig and Arran also display in several places the columnar structure, presenting some of the most magnificent colonnades anywhere to be found. In Skye, to the north of Ru-na-Braddan, the cliffs have a beautiful and imposing effect;—where the columns are arranged in the most perfect order, extending in an altitude of three hundred feet for many miles, with no superincumbent amorphous mass, as in Staffa, but the pillars, as they rise, are projected on the sky: thus producing great lightness of effect, as well as an endless diversity of elegance in the outline. St. Kilda is about three miles long, by nearly two in breadth, and consists chiefly of the high hill of Conochan, which is cut down, almost abruptly, from the summit to the very water's edge. The precipice is about thirteen hundred feet high, perhaps the loftiest cliff in Britain, unless it is exceeded by that of Foula, in Shetland; and yet is fearlessly ascended and descended, swung from, and searched in every direction, by the bird-catchers in quest of the sea-fowl, which in myriads lodge in its dizzy crags.

Geologists have long been familiar with the surturbrand beds of Iceland; that is, bituminised wood imbedded in the igneous rocks of that volcanic island, and whose age is determined by the botanical characters of the enclosed fossils. There are several layers of surturbrand, varying from a few inches to four feet in thickness, and separated by intervening courses of trap, partly as in Mull columnar, and partly amorphous. One of the separating masses of trap is about 450 feet thick, another 150 feet, and other portions alternating with thin bands of indurated vegetable clays or leaf-beds, exhibiting in the most perfect manner all the forms, veins, ribs, and fibres of the leaves. There are two principal varieties of the surturbrand, or bituminous wood—the one pale-brown, the other black and shining, like pitch-coal, sometimes united in the same fragment, and generally retaining the woody structure, and both varieties so fresh and well preserved, as to be cut by the natives into their common household utensils. The leaves, many of them, are described as belonging to the common poplar, whilst others are referred by Hornemann to the balsam species, a native of Siberia and North America; some are represented as closely resembling the willow, birch, and oak, the largest of which are about the size of a man's hand. Now, in reference to the leaf-beds and tertiaries of Mull, it is not doubted that the formation in Iceland,—the trap, with its enclosed vegetables,—is of very recent origin, part of a series of volcanic movements still in action, and, though ceased within the geographic limits of Scotland, that there the self-same causes, separated by a narrow interval of ocean, have been in continued operation in ejecting materials similar to those of Ardtun and the Giant's Causeway. The character of the two classes of phenomena is almost identical: a sympathy betwixt the localities is still maintained by the shocks of earthquake which from time to time visit our shores, and which are generally consequent upon the renewed energy of Hecla, or other Icelandic cones. And thus are we reminded of the comparatively short period of time, as of the close proximity in

distance, since volcanos existed in our own country, and when their subterranean fires, which have only retreated a few hundred miles, melted materials sufficient to form islands, to shatter and upheave mountains.

There are other indications of our geographical as well as insular position having undergone great changes in its temperature, botany, and zoology, since the termination of the tertiary period. This has been denominated the Mammoth Age, when the elephant race literally swarmed over Northern Europe, and whose remains are dug up, in countless numbers, in every field in England. Lions, tigers, hyenas, and the monkey tribes, all flourished in these latitudes. The boa-constrictor has his representatives in the fossil serpents of the London basin. Turtles, both of marine and fresh-water characters, were very abundant. Beavers, racoons, tapirs, and even the rhinoceros, had every one of them their representatives in similar or identical generic types of animal life. The *Elephas primogenius*, of which there are only two existing species, namely, the Asiatic and the African, and both limited to the tropics, once abounded over the island in vast herds, of whose enormous tusks hundreds are yearly dug up from the British strata, or fished out of the waters in the Channel, and along the south-eastern coast. Hippopotami and crocodiles are found over a large portion of Northern France, and of whose not very distant physical union with England there scarcely can exist a doubt. Of the vegetable tribes, *Cycadeæ*, palms, cocoa-nuts, and other intertropical families have been abundantly detected: the lovely acacia, the pungent condiments of the Japan and the Spice Islands, cucumbers, dates, and other luxurious fruits were indigenous to the soil and climate of Great Britain. A high temperature, it is reasonably conjectured, and an atmosphere perhaps more charged with carbonic acid, must have prevailed at a period when plants and animals so different from all existing races inhabited these, and still more northern regions; when the Scottish forests of palms and allied tribes were shedding their leaves over the volcanic muds of Ardtun; and when the subterranean fires of Arran and Skye, of Mull and Staffa, were rearing those magnificent colonnades of regularly constructed basalt, piles of natural architecture, in all their most elegant and massive combinations of effect.

THE METALS.

The metals constitute a class of substances, which are not more interesting from their application to the common arts of life, than from the facts which they contribute to the general principles of geological science. Their position and distribution in relation to each other and to the several rocks of the earth, form very interesting and instructive points of inquiry. The causes of their origin, their forms and structure, as existing among the bodies with which they are associated, and their probable amount in richness and quantity as indicated by the physical features of the districts in which they occur, are all matters of the greatest importance in a scientific as well as economic point of view. These natural stores of hidden treasures are not confined to any epoch or formation, nor to any tracts of country; they are found, more or less, in every part of the earth's crust; and in their most valuable products of iron, silver, and gold, are to be met with in the rocks of all ages. Only seven or eight were known to the ancients; but the class of metalliferous substances has been increased to more than five times that number within the present half century.

No class of bodies is better defined than that of metals. Their peculiar lustre, perfect opacity, great density, their extreme tenacity, and remarkable ductility, are properties which serve readily to characterise them, and which to the same extent belong to none of the other varieties of matter. They are believed to be simple substances, insoluble in water, and capable, when in a state of oxide, of uniting with acids, and of forming with them metallic salts. When a metal is combined with one or more substances, either earthy, combustible, or saline, it is then said to be *mineralised*. Lead, united with sulphur forms galena, or the sulphuret of lead; copper, united with carbon, is termed malachite; and iron, united in variable proportions with silex, alumine, and water, becomes hæmatite, or fibrous iron ore. The only metals that have as yet been found in the metallic state, and therefore termed *native metals*, are platinum, gold, silver, quicksilver, copper, antimony, palladium, arsenic, tellurium, bismuth, nickel, and iron; and all these, with the exception of platinum, palladium, and arsenic, have been discovered either in the rocks or soils of Scotland.

The metals and metalliferous ores are chiefly found in veins, of which they occasionally compose the only substance; but they are more often disseminated through the earthy or stony substances with which the veins are filled. Veins may be described as separations in the continuity of rocks, of a determinate width, but extending indefinitely in length and depth, and more or less filled with metallic and mineral substances of a different nature from that of the masses they traverse. Some veins are evidently fissures of mechanical origin, having been produced by elevatory forces, or by contraction of the rocks of igneous formation, or of such sedimentary deposits as have been subjected to the process of consolidation by the strong action of heat. They have been filled, in many instances, from beneath by the sublimation of metalliferous matter, through means of internal fires; while in others, from the surface, by infiltration, or the action of streams charged with various materials. But perhaps more frequently the veins are connected by a gradual mineral transition with the surrounding rock, and appear to have resulted from an electro-chemical separation, or segregation, of certain mineral and metallic particles from the enclosing mass while in a state of fusion or a soft condition, and their determination to particular centres. The separation of pure metal from solutions of metallic salts, by galvanic action, and from the ore by a modification of the same force—as in the case of the hot-blast furnace—exemplifies the nature of those changes by which native gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron, may be produced in the interior of the earth.

Some of the metals, as titanium, manganese, chrome, bismuth, and molybdena, are found disseminated in crystals, and forming beautiful streaks, of various colours, in the mass. They are sometimes diffused as a soluble powder through the substance of the crystal, rendering it opaque, bright or dark yellow, as in some of the Cairngorums; sometimes they occur as small spicular crystals, or curved lamellar concretions; and very often as pyrites they assume the form of cubes, or of reniform, botryoidal, and mamillary crystallisations.

The intrinsic and comparative value of metals arises from many causes, as their ductility, malleability, and powers of entering into combination with other substances. Some of the metals, as rhodium, iridium, palladium, tellurium, have been found in extremely small quantities, and can be applied only as alloys to other metals: they have for the most part, indeed, been only detected in the state of natural alloys. The ductility of the more useful metals and their comparative value, are in the following order: gold, silver, iron, platinum, copper, zinc, tin, lead, nickel, and cadmium.

Gold, which is likewise the most malleable of all metals, can in a single grain be extended, as a wire, into the length of seven hundred feet, which gives a thickness of only one thirty-thousandth part of an inch. The gold leaf, which is sold in books, is so extremely thin, that less than five grains can be beaten out so as to cover a surface of about 272¼ square inches; and the thickness of each leaf does not exceed the one three hundred-thousandth part of an inch. And yet such is the density of this metal, that the gross approximated amount of gold specie in the world—in all its forms of coins, medals, plate, and ornaments—is capable of being compressed into a mass of twenty feet square. Gold is always found in the metallic form, or as a pure native metal; though, as such, it is generally alloyed by small portions of other metals, as silver, copper, &c., while the main sources of its supply are from alluvial deposits, or the matrix of veins of quartz, or from the substance of the rocks themselves, generally of the older formation. It occurs in all countries, for, while the richest and scarcest of the useful metals, gold is almost universally distributed. It is curious to notice, in connexion with the recent unprecedented supplies from the *diggings* in America and Australia, and man's intense desire at all times for collecting gold, that Professor Jameson mentions in his work on Mineralogy, that there occurs an auriferous alluvial deposit on the coast of California, of fourteen leagues, and extremely rich in this valuable metal. This was published in 1816; and in his *Manual of Mineralogy*, published in 1821, the same eminent authority states that "in Ireland gold was collected a few years ago to the amount of one thousand ounces, and one piece weighed twenty-two ounces."* It occurred in the alluvial soil at Croghan Kinshela, in Wicklow.†

The metals which occur to any workable extent in Scotland, or which have been worked in former times, are mercury, cobalt, zinc, manganese, antimony, lead, copper, iron, silver, and gold. Several of these are found in such small quantities as to be of no economic value. They are interesting only, and deserving of notice, in a mineralogical point of view; and as they are confined to no particular system of rocks, any description of them must be equally desultory as to their geographical distribution.

Mercury is found in the native state of a metal both in primitive rocks and in those of the coal formation. It is said to occur in the former series in Isla, where it was found in a peat-moss, on the western face of the ridge of quartz-rock which traverses the island; the quantity collected having been two quarts by measure. But Dr. M'Culloch, upon whose authority the statement rests, did not himself find any, nor was he able to form any conjecture as to the source in the mountain whence it was derived.‡ "The only place," says Bishop Watson, in his Chemical Essays, "in Great Britain, so rich in metals, where quicksilver has been found is at Berwick-upon-Tweed." This discovery is said to have been made in digging out clay for the

* *Manual of Mineralogy*, p. 263.

† According to the accounts of early writers, the quantity of gold amassed by the ancients must have been prodigious. Thus, in 2 Chron. ix. 13, we are told that Solomon received 666 talents of gold (more than 27 tons weight) in one year; and in 1 Kings, x. 21, it is said: "And all King Solomon's drinking-vessels were of gold, and all the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon were of pure gold." Diodorus says, that the tomb of King Simandius was environed with a circle of gold, three hundred and fifty cubits about, and a foot and a half thick. Semiramis erected in Babylon three statues of gold, one of which was forty feet high, and weighed a thousand Babylonian talents. For these statues there was a table or altar of gold, forty feet long, and twelve feet broad, weighing fifty talents.

‡ *Western Islands*, vol. ii. p. 258.

foundation of a house in the street called Hyde Hill, upwards of a century and a half ago; the mercury was observed to exude from the small fissures or cracks which were formed in the clay as it dried. Williams, in his *Natural History of the Mineral Kingdom* (vol. ii. p. 378), and a writer in the *Commercial Magazine* (vol. ii. p. 204), take notice of the circumstance, by whom it was reported that the clay was still found to be impregnated with mercury, which ran out in small globules. Cobalt is more widely diffused, but also in very small quantities; it occurs in the silver mines of Alva, in Stirlingshire, in small veins in the limestone of the coal formation, at Bathgate, along with galena and blende, in the sandstone at Broughton, near Edinburgh; and likewise an arseniate of cobalt and black cobalt ore are found in the lead mines of Tyndrum, near Glenorchay, associated with copper pyrites, calc-spar, and barytes or heavy spar. There is also zinc, though very sparingly, in this locality, as well as in the lead mines of Wanlockhead. Manganese, which is abundantly diffused in rock-crystal, especially the amethyst species of quartz, is said* to occur as an ore in Aberdeenshire.

The ores of antimony are not numerous. A sulphuret of antimony, of a light grey colour, is found in considerable quantities at Glendinning, in Dumfriesshire, where it has been wrought for a great many years. It occurs in a vein, about twenty inches wide, traversing the grauwake and clay-slate of the district. It yields about fifty per cent. of metal, and has at times been very productive, several hundred tons of antimony having been extracted from the mine.

The ores of nickel are few and sparingly distributed. It occurs in capillary, and sometimes diverging, filaments of a yellowish colour, inclining to steel-grey. Nickel is always an ingredient in meteoric iron, and especially in those mysterious visitors termed *meteoric stones* or *aerolites*. The per-centages in these bodies is from 1·5 to 3·25. It is found in the mines of Leadhills and Wanlockhead; also in veins with nickel-ochre, galena, and blende, in the limestone of the coal-field of Linlithgowshire; and at Alva, in Stirlingshire, accompanying the ores of cobalt, silver, and copper. It has lately been discovered in considerable quantities in the chlorite schist of Argyleshire, on the farm of Carile-Chrata, near Inverary. It occurs along with small portions of the ores of copper and cobalt, and is extracted from the vein in about 11 per cent. of pure nickel.

Lead is very widely distributed in Scotland, being found in almost every district, and occurring in every system of rocks. Its ores are very numerous, but the sulphuret only, or galena, is wrought as a productive mineral. Beautiful carbonates, of blue, green, grey, and white colours, occur at the mines of Wanlockhead and Leadhills. The sulphate and phosphate, with other ores of lead, are found in the same locality; similar specimens, for cabinet purposes, are very abundant in the mines of Tyndrum and Strontian, in Argyleshire. Galena, or the sulphuret of lead, occurs at Monaltrie, Aberdeenshire, in granite; at Strontian, Coll, and other places, in gneiss; at Tomnachashin, on Loch Tay, in mica-slate, in connexion with greenstone and porphyry; at Wanlockhead and Leadhills, in clay-slate and grauwake; at Skimet Hill, in Caithness, and near the old castle of Wick, in grey micaceous old red sandstone; at Cumberhead, in Lanarkshire, and in the Lothians and Fifeshire in the sandstones of the coal formation. With respect to the minerals in these and other localities it may be remarked, that a general notion pervaded the Scottish proprietors, at a period well remembered in Scotland, of the extent and value of their

* Phillips' *Mineralogy*.

subterranean treasures. English, as well as German miners were generally the parties who pursued the researches in these instances, sometimes with more or less success, sometimes having their origin in visionary or perhaps fraudulent views, and only in a few cases with much advantage to the proprietors. The company at Leadhills sent exploring parties, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, over the whole country; often making advantageous contracts for themselves, and sometimes, as in the works on the East Lomond, carrying off the whole produce to England, without any share or remuneration left for lordship. The Blebo mines, in Fifeshire, near St. Andrews, attracted their attention in 1722, where there were found outliers or masses of ore "weighing ten to twenty-four stones of pure metal;" but in consequence of the hardness of the enclosing rock, and "the want of full-grown timber, especially oak," in the vicinity, the arrangements were not completed, nor the workings ever again resumed.*

Copper is found in the native state in many countries. In Cornwall, which is perhaps one of the greatest known depositories of copper and its ores, the native metal occurs in most of the mines. There are only two places in Scotland where it is found in this form, in Zell, one of the Shetland islands, and in Caithness, in the old red sandstone. But the ores are very numerous and highly interesting, from the forms of the crystals and beauty of their colouring. Their distribution is nearly as extensive as the ores of lead, and by the miner they are generally regarded as guides to each other. They have only been found remunerative for working, however, in a few localities, and some of the mines have been since abandoned.

Native iron occurs only in two forms, namely—massive, or in thin plates, but in either form is extremely rare. It is also, as a native metal, the product of volcanos, and has been found among the lava and scoriæ of the mountain of Graveneire, in the department of Puy de Dôme, in France. Iron, in the native state, likewise enters into the composition of those atmospheric bodies termed *meteoric stones* or *aerolites*. These singular concretions are common to all parts of the world; they are supposed by some to be formed in the atmosphere, where their constituent elements, existing in a state of vapour, are caused to unite by electric or magnetic action; by others, as Mrs. Somerville, Professor Silliman, and Baron Humboldt, they are regarded as heavenly bodies, projected from the moon, or even more distant worlds, and which the attraction of our planet has caused to deviate from their previous path, and to speed with the rapidity and force of lightning to the ground. But from whatever source meteoric stones may come it is highly probable that they have a common origin, from the uniformity, or rather the perfect identity, of their composition. The most remarkable, in point of size, of which any record has been preserved is the Siberian mass, found on the banks of the river Janisei, and weighing 1680 Russian pounds; the one discovered in the vice-royalty of Peru, in South America, which weighed about fifteen tons; and another which was found in the desert of Sahara, in Africa, exceeding three thousand pounds in weight. These bodies have all the metallic lustre, are possessed of great malleability and flexibility, and consist of nearly pure iron, with a small trace of nickel, and sometimes of cobalt. The fall of aerolites is now observed to be a phenomenon of very frequent occurrence; hardly a year passes without some instances being noted; and, as Humboldt remarks, they afford the only direct experimental knowledge we possess, if his theory of their origin be adopted, of any of the specific properties or qualities of matter not belonging to our globe.

* M.S. Reports of Blebo and Lomond Lead Mines.

The almost universal presence of the ores of iron, and the infinite variety of its combinations, are too well known to require description. There are about seventy, at least, different species described in works on mineralogy. The diffusion of the mineral in clay-ironstone and black-band belongs to a different part of our sketch, and both have been referred to as members of the carboniferous system.

The metal of silver is generally disseminated in veins among the primary and transition rocks. It is often found in the native state, but most frequently in ores associated with arsenic, cobalt, lead, &c. The most common form of the ore is sulphuret of silver, which is a combination of metallic silver and sulphur. Masses of pure silver, 200 lbs. in weight, have been found in Norway. The rich silver and gold mines of Mexico are in porphyritic rocks. The localities in Scotland in which this metal occurs are, for the most part, pervaded by the same character of rocks—as at Alva, Airthrey, and Dollar, among the porphyries of the Ochils; at Lynedale, near Linton, among the clay-stone and felspar rocks of the Pentlands; near St. Mary's Loch, in Selkirkshire, where trap dykes are found to intersect the schistose beds of the district; and also at Wanlockhead and Leadhills, where the grauwake and clay-slate are traversed in every direction by felspar rocks, forming irregular beds or veins, from one to thirty feet wide. The quantity of silver found in these places has been variable: in some, mere traces in the lead ores; at Wanlockhead, in the proportion of eight to ten ounces to the ton of lead; at Leadhills, the proportion is even greater, but never been found worth extracting; while at the Woodhill, in the Ochils, after a trial of only a few weeks, made by Sir John Erskine, about 1715, £10,000 to £50,000 worth of silver is said to have been obtained, "besides much ore which was supposed to have been purloined by the workmen." It appears from the registers of the mines kept at Alva, that there are not fewer than fourteen or fifteen veins discovered in the hills there, which, from the trials made, were found to contain specimens of silver, lead, copper, iron, and cobalt. Along the same range, in the Gloom Hill, near Castle Campbell, and to the westward of Alva, at Blairlogie and Airthrey, considerable quantities of silver were extracted about the same period, in combination with ores of lead, cobalt, and copper.* About the year 1607, when the silver mine of Hilderstone, near Linlithgow, was discovered the most flattering expectations were excited. The King's Advocate, Sir Thomas Hamilton, of Bynnie or Byres, was proprietor of the land, but his majesty took formal possession of the mine, and appointed commissioners to raise and send ore to the Mint in London, to have its value assayed. By an act of council in that year, Sir Bevis Bulmer and others, were empowered to go to the mine, accompanied by Sir John Arnot, Deputy-treasurer, and Thomas Achieson, Master of the Mint, there to raise ten tons of the various ores and metals; and these very ten tons of "red mettle" were refined in the Tower of London. The mine was worked for three years by the Crown, under Bulmer's directions; when, in 1613, Sir William Alexander, Thomas Foullis, and

* "The vein at Alva made its first appearance in small strings of silver ore, which, being followed, led to a very large mass of that precious ore. Part of this had the appearance of malleable silver, and was found, upon trial, to be so exceedingly rich, as to produce twelve ounces of silver from fourteen ounces of ore. In the year 1767, Lord Alva, of some of the remains of the ore in his possession, caused a pair of communion cups to be made, for the use of the church of Alva. On these the following inscription is engraved: 'Sacris in Ecclesia, S. Servani, apud Alveth, A.D. 1767, ex argento indigeno, D.D., *e.q.*, Jacobus Erskine.'"—*Statistical Account.*

Paulo Pinto, a Portuguese, got a grant of the mine of Hilderstone, on paying a tenth of the refined ore.*

The history of gold in Scotland—the richest of all the metals, from its ductility and other properties—is involved in great obscurity. The system of rocks and quartzose veins, in which it is found in other countries, constitute two-thirds of the superficial area of the island of Great Britain. The rivers that debouch from the mountains—the great chains of the Grampians, Lammermuirs, and Lowthers—flow for the most part through narrow ravines, charged with the debris of the rocks, before they expand into the broad alluvial plains that receive their waters in their passage to the sea. If the all-coveted metal exists in any abundance, therefore, within the boundaries of ancient Caledon the facilities for its extraction, either from the rocks or from the soil, are of the most convenient nature. Early inhabited by a hardy pastoral race in the Highlands, and, from very ancient times, occupied in the Lowlands with boroughs and an enterprising commercial population, there can be little doubt that the auriferous deposit would be highly prized and eagerly sought after; and that, if ever found in any considerable quantities, the discovery could not fail to be noticed in the annals of the period. The leading historical authorities, however, have related very little on the subject; and their references are all of the obscurest and briefest kind. Tradition, as on all other points, has preserved mythical representations of the precious idol, which appears to have existed in every locality, to have had a temple in every rock, worshippers employed in acts of purification in every stream, and kings and nobles to receive their portion of the offerings in every district. Thus along the whole upper watershed of the Clyde, embracing a district of twenty to thirty miles in length, from its source to as low down as Biggar, gold is said to have been found in every rivulet and tributary; likewise, in the basins of all the higher feeders of the Tweed, as at Kersop on the Yarrow, near Philiphaugh, and in Glengaber Burn at Henderland, on the Ettrick, where the researches were very productive; and in Upper Annandale, in the alluvium of Moffat Water, the Annan, and other streams, the traditionary evidences of its existence are abundant. The passes along the Elvan or Shortcleugh Water, the Lankcleugh Burn, the Glengonnar, and all the streamlets in the lateral glens, up to the deserted Gold Scours hamlet—one of the oldest Scottish *lavaderos*—and onwards to the stirring and picturesque villages of Leadhills and Wanlock, among the Lowthers, there are still existing traces of the auriferous treasure, where the washings are carried on, and every year more or less remunerative to those engaged in them.

The midland districts of Scotland, connected with the Pentlands, the Ochils, and the Sidlaws, are equally rife in their traditionary notices of the precious metal. Gold, as well as silver, is reported to have been discovered in the claystone porphyry near Logan Water, and in the Hilderstone Hills of Linlithgowshire; at Alva and Dollar, among the porphyries of the Ochils; at Binnarty, in the same formation, and Largo Law; and at Long-Forgan Moor, on the southern slope of the Sidlaws, near Dundee. The schistose rocks of the Grampians —nearly identical with the Ural chain in Russia, the auriferous mountains of Australia and California, and many of the lofty ridges which feed the gold-sand rivers of Africa—are referred to in works on mineralogy as having many nuclei of the metal: sometimes in the rocks themselves, sometimes in the alluvium of the

* Preface to *The Discoverie and Historie of the Mynes in Scotland*, by Stephen Atkinson. Printed for the Bannatyne Club.

rivers. Glen Turret, in Perthshire, is mentioned by several authorities, although we have been able to discover no local evidence of its existence, now or at any former period; likewise Glen Quoich in the immediate vicinity, or some one of the other numerous glens that rejoice in the same cognomen, is given as a habitat of gold. And in Aberdeenshire there are various places, resting upon tradition or equally unauthenticated accounts, which claim connection with the mineral, as Dumdeer, Drumgavan, the bogs of New Leslie, the Menzies, in the parish of Foveran; and rich deposits are said to have occurred at Overhill in Behelvie, on the Strathmore property. While doubtless many of these golden legends may be traced to the Dousterswivels of the time, it is no less certain that others have a real foundation in history, as the following gleanings from authentic sources will show, or even induce a belief, from the character of our Scottish rocks, that the auriferous treasures of the country are greater than former indications may seem to warrant.

An Act of Parliament of James I., held at Perth in May, 1424, proves that mines of gold, silver, and lead were known in Scotland as early as that year; and probably that discoveries of the more precious metal, as at Glen Turret and Glen Quoich, had already been made within the limits of the county. It was enacted in* the reign of the same monarch that no gold or silver should be permitted to be carried forth of the realm, except it pay a duty of forty pence upon every pound exported; and in the event of any attempt to contravene this provision the defaulter was to forfeit the whole gold or silver, and to pay a fine of forty pennies over and above to the king. But nearly a century earlier, it appears† that David I. granted to the Abbey of Dunfermline "the tenth of all the gold that should accrue to him out of Fife and Fothrif;" *i.e.*, according to Chartulary of Cambuskenneth, the kingdom or territory of the Forth, from the neighbourhood of Stirling to where the river is lost in the salt water. The part of the Ochils, in which are situated the mines of Aithrey, Alva, and Dollar, skirt the northern boundary of this district, and may, therefore, have yielded the gold here referred to. Further notices of both gold and lead occur in the *Compotum Constabularii de Tarbart*, 1326, of King Robert Bruce, in *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, in the *Minutes of the Privy Council*, and the *Treasurer's Compota of the Jameses*, in the *Otho* M.S. in the British Museum,‡ and in certain memoranda given to Sir Robert Sibbald by Colonel Borthwick and Mr. R. Seton;—from all of which there can be no doubt of the eager attention of the lieges being from an early period directed to the subject, and of the existence of the metal in several parts of the kingdom. If the chroniclers are to be credited, it would appear that from a period much earlier the inhabitants of North Britain were accustomed to seek for gold, and were well acquainted with many of its ornamental purposes and economic uses. Tacitus, in his history of Agricola, refers to the country of the Caledonians as yielding the precious metals—"fert Britannia aurum, argentum, et alia metalla, pretium victoriæ;" and in the *Britannic Researches*, lately published by Beale Poste, Esq., there is this curious and interesting statement: "Afterwards there came Roman chieftains across the sea, and gained a great victory over the Britons (*i.e.*, Caledonians, A.D. 421), so that they vindicated the honour of their people upon them, and they plundered the island of Britain of its *gold* and its *silver*, and took from it its *satin* and *silk*, and its *vessels of gold and silver*, so that they returned home with victory and triumph."

* Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 182.
† Haile's *Annals*, v. i. p. 363.
‡ *The Cottonian Collection. Otho*, F. x. 12.

Their traffic in money and the disposition of the inhabitants of Britain, even before this time, to become a prey to usurers, are evinced by the fact that no less a person than the philosopher Seneca had the large sum of 10,000,000 sesterces, or about £81,000, placed out at interest among the chiefs and nobles, who expended large sums in building villas, and indulging the multifarious luxuries of their conquerors.*

According to Lesley, Bishop of Ross, in his *Descriptio Regionum et Insularum Scotiæ*, the gold mines at Crawford Muir were first discovered in the reign of James IV., when several entrances were made in the accounts of the king's Treasurer, in the years 1511, 1512, and 1513, concerning sundry payments made to Sir James Pettigrew, and the men employed by him in working the mines. From this period downwards, through several reigns, the mines of Crawford Muir became an object of attention, not only to the Scottish monarchs, but also to Queen Elizabeth, and several English mining adventurers. Considerable sums from time to time were obtained, both from the washings of the alluvium, and the matrix of the quartz of which the veins chiefly consist. James V., on his marriage with Magdalen of France, caused to be presented to his royal bride several covered cups filled with native gold or coins, as specimens of Scotch *fruit:* an act of gallantry said to have been performed, at a later period, after a similar fashion, by the Regent Morton. The subsequent marriage of James with Mary of Lorraine gave a fresh impulse to the mining researches of the king, who brought over from France a body of workmen from her native Duchy; owing to whose superior skill sufficient quantities of gold were obtained to form the regalia—thirty-five ounces being devoted to the queen's crown, and three pounds ten ounces to that of the king's. One Cornelius Hardskins, a German miner, was sent to Wanlockhead by Queen Elizabeth to collect gold. He formed a company and obtained a lease of the mines, employed "sixscore men, and women, lads, and lasses," and in the space of thirty days sent to the Mint at Edinburgh £450 sterling, where a considerable quantity was coined into three-pound pieces, each of which is said to have weighed one ounce. Another miner, Abraham Gray, called *Gray-beard*—sent also by Elizabeth—collected as much gold as to form a basin, which he presented to the French king, full of gold coins, by the Earl of Morton. It is reported on the same authority —the chronicles of the period—that one George Bowes collected in Roberts's Moor pieces of gold of the size of a small bird's egg; he also discovered a vein or stratum of earth in which small particles abounded, from which he soon collected a considerable quantity; but having engaged with the avaricious Queen of England—whose emissary he likewise was—to keep all his discoveries secret, he caused the shafts to be filled up, and his agents and workmen sworn to secrecy. He presented a purse full of the precious metal to Elizabeth, valued at sevenscore pounds sterling. Her majesty very graciously thanked him for the gift, and engaged him to return at her expense next season, for the purpose of searching for "a richer vein;" but he was killed on his way by the breaking of a ladder in a mine at Keswick, in Cumberland. Mr. Bowes appears to have employed a great many workmen, and to have paid them with native gold. It is also related that Sir Bevis Bulmer, Master of the Mint to Queen Elizabeth, employed three hundred men for several summers in searching for gold at the mines of Wanlock and Leadhills, who collected £100,000 sterling worth, and which was certainly used at the Scottish Mint, though the amount is probably exaggerated. We find in the records of the Privy

* Xiphilinus's *Life of Nero.*

Council, that in 1591, "fourscoir stane weight of gold," and also, in the same year, two hundred weight of gold, were ordered to be coined; but it is not related where the gold was found. By a grant of James VI., in 1593, the gold, silver, and lead mines in Crawford or Friar Muir, and Glengonnar, are given to Thomas Foullis, goldsmith in Edinburgh, for twenty-one years, in consideration of the great sums due to him by his majesty and his "dearest spouse." The king, it appears, was due to Foullis £14,594, and his majesty pledged in security "twa drinking peeces of gold, weyand in the hail fytene pundis and fyve uncis;" while it is clear that the tacksman worked the mines to some extent in 1597, as there are acts of council in that year for the protection of his carriers against "broken men of the Borders."*

The gold, it may be observed, seldom occurs in the veins or lodes in this district, but in small grains it is plentifully diffused through the soil on the slopes of the hills, and in the drift of the streamlets that occupy the ravines and valleys. Several valuable specimens are reported, from time to time, to have been picked up by the miners and others within a comparatively recent period. One specimen was found which equalled in size an ordinary field-bean; a second which weighed ninety, and a third which weighed sixty grains. The largest known nugget was about two pounds in weight, found at Leadhills in the time of the Jameses. Having visited the locality on the 9th of September, 1853—a day ever to be remembered from the glorious sunshine and golden beauty of the hills—we saw various collections of gold in the possession of the residents, which they were daily augmenting. Dr. Watson, the intelligent author of *A Brief Historical Account of the Mines of Wanlockhead*, showed us a considerable quantity collected by himself,—some in small grains, others in pieces of nearly the size of a garden-pea. One gentleman, of our own academic acquaintance, we accidentally met in Glen Mennock, who had purposely come from a distance to "the diggings"—inspired by the *auri sacra fames*—and though only a few days at work, had obtained as much gold, in small grains and flakes, as would make a tolerable sized brooch-ornament, to which he had destined his gatherings and limited his ambition. These circumstances we notice, as showing the auriferous character of the district.

The two great mountain chains in Scotland, extending nearly from sea to sea, are the Grampians and the Lammermuirs, with their continuation into the Lowther group. They consist of granite, gneiss, mica-schist, quartz-rock, marble, clay-slate, and grauwake. The auriferous rocks in all countries, without a single exception, are composed of the same series, lying in the same order of superposition, and flanked by the same non-auriferous old red and other sandstones. They are traversed in every direction by veins of granite, quartz, metals, and other minerals. Quartz-rock, in Scotland, pure white massive rock, covers an area of 800 square miles, of an average thickness of 1000 feet at least, while veins of the same substance are everywhere to be seen over the Highlands, from the southern ridges of the Grampians to Cape Wrath, rising sometimes like vertical walls, of several yards in breadth, and traceable for miles along the surface. Similar veins are common throughout the Lammermuir range, as well as in all the granite, grauwake, and clay-slate formations in Galloway, Kirkcudbright, and Upper Nithsdale. Universally over the surface of the globe one of the matrices of gold is quartz-rock. The Ural chain, the gold-bearing mountains of Hungary, Siberia, Australia, Cali-

* Atkinson's *Mynes of Scotland*. Vide, also, two very interesting articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May and June, 1853, on the Gold Regions of Scotland.

fornia, Mexico and Peru, are all of the same mineral characters, and belong to the same geological epoch with those of our primary and older palæozoic mountains. In England the quartz-rock and entire primary series cover only about 600 square miles. In Scotland they amount to more than 19,000 square miles, or nearly two-thirds of the surface. In England the auriferous quality of the quartz-rock is reported to be nearly as two ounces of metal to every ton of the mineral. There is no reason to doubt that the quartz-rock of Scotland is fully as auriferous as that of England; and hence should chemistry, which has made such prodigious advances within the last half-century, be successful in discovering some easier and cheaper method of separating the metal from the stone, no limits can be set to the riches of the mountain-land of Scotland. At present the expense of extraction, by crushing and other means, is so great as to be unremunerative; but as all mechanical difficulties are giving way to the progress of human invention, the presumption is that the mineral kingdom, so extensively explored by geology, will also become more obedient to the analytical processes and resolving powers of science. Chemistry has already effected wonders in separating as well as in combining, in subduing the most volatile elements as in reducing the most flinty refractory mass to ductility and softness. And hence we may yet find in the fable of Prometheus taking fire from heaven to animate his man of clay, an emblem of the transmuting powers of chemistry in dissolving the rocks of the earth, and vivifying their opaque dust with the radiant lustre of the precious metal.

CONCLUSION.

These researches, both as respects the metals and the rocks in which the metals are disseminated, have carried us over a wide field of observation, and shown that within the limits of our own mountain land there are specimens of nearly all the mineral substances which enter into the composition of the earth's crust. Some of the more useful minerals, as iron, lime, and coal, exist in a larger proportion than in any other country in the world. Compared with their superficial areas, the carboniferous formation may be estimated as follows: in the whole of Britain, at a twentieth of the surface; in Belgium, at a twenty-fourth; in France, at one two-hundredth; in America, with all its abundant stores of the deposit, at a still smaller ratio; while in Scotland it covers more than a seventeenth part of the surface. All the other interesting phenomena brought to light by the science of geology, are likewise exhibited in some of their more striking points of view. The several systems of rocks, in their divisional groups and strata, are not more distinguishable from each other than are the families of plants and animals, in their genera and species, which were contemporaneous with their deposition, and in whose stony matrix they have been so marvellously preserved. The primary mountain chains were established, and vast masses of secondary and tertiary plutonic rocks were upheaved by the agency of volcanic movements, which have shown themselves no less obedient to the restraining hand of a wise Providence, in securing the foundations of our steadfast earth, than contributive to all those arrangements on the surface that so adorn our land: in its plains, hills, and valleys—in its springs, rivers, and lochs—and in all the enchanting diversity of its Island and Highland scenery. The repeated submergence of the land under the sea, or the invasion of the sea upon the land, whereby its waters were violently agitated, have been no less pro-

ductive of good, in preparing a fertile soil of earth, covering up the dry flinty rock, and rendering the precipitous mountain slope smooth and accessible. Thus everything that meets the view above, and all that is enclosed in the rocky chambers beneath, in Scotland, as in all the world over, go to confirm the grand conclusion, that the earth has a regular structure—that its materials have been arranged under the operation of general laws of great energy and wisdom—and that all its changes are to be viewed as the physical expression of omniscient intelligence and omnipotent rule, guided by benevolent purpose and skilful contrivance, since, "in the beginning," God created the heavens and the earth, and the Divine Spirit moved upon the face of the deep.

"Chasms of the early world are there,
And rocks are seen, craggy, and vast, and bare,
And many a dizzy precipice sublime,
And caverns dark as death;—
Above, in all his old regality,
The monarch eagle sits upon his throne,
Or floats upon the desert winds alone."

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

Sec. 1 is a sketch from Dr. M'Culloch's *Western Islands*, which shows the intermixture and relative positions of the conglomerate trap-tuff, the amorphous and columnar basalt, as exhibited on the south-west side of Staffa. The whole face here is divided into three distinct beds of trap of different characters. The lowest consists of tufa, the next of the great columnar range, and the uppermost of an irregular mixture of small, implicated and bent columns, with an amorphous basalt.

Sec. 2 represents the various rock formations of Scotland, according to their lineal outcrop and relative superposition, from the granite to the new red sandstone. The superincumbent strata, as not lying in the line of bearing, are not delineated in the section. The primary series of the Grampians are denoted by the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, in the order of description in the text. Fig. 7 shows the grauwake and clay-slate of the Lammermuirs. Fig. 8, the old red sandstone, in the several districts in which it occurs. Fig. 9, the felspar porphyry, and other varieties of trap of the Sidlaw and Ochil ranges. Fig. 10, the carboniferous series, the black line showing the position of the mountain limestone. Fig. 11, the new red sandstone, overlying the coal-field of Cannobie, and its direction across the Border.

PLATE II.

Sec. 1 is a striking example of flexure in gneiss, occurring in the Island of Bernera, in Lewis. The different lines indicate the various colours by which the flexion of the rock is rendered sensible; and the blacker tints point out the alternating beds of hornblende-schist in the same mass. At one side the strata appears to have been compressed and elongated at the same time.—M'Culloch's *Western Islands.*

Sec. 2 is intended to represent the yellow sandstone of Dura Den, or upper series of the old red, betwixt the underlying beds of the middle series, and the overlying carboniferous system, in its lowest seams of coal. Several eruptions of trap are likewise shown in the section.

Sec. 3 is a sketch of the cliffs of Airdnamurchan Point. There are more than two sets of veins represented, but it is not possible to determine how many, as the

fractures of the rock, in nature, interfere with the nicety of examination that would be required for that purpose. The sketch has been divested of all these accidental circumstances, so as to render the essential parts more visible.—M'Culloch's *Western Islands.*

PLATE III.

Fig. 1, the Trilobite, is one of the earliest creations of animal life, and constitutes the prevailing type of the Silurian rocks in every quarter of the globe. Fig. 2, the Coccosteous, characterises the lower series of the old red sandstone. Fig. 3, Cephalaspis, belongs to the middle series; while Osteolepis, Fig. 4, ranges through both. The Holoptychius, Fig. 5, is found abundantly in the middle and upper, and also in the carboniferous system. Pamphractus, Fig. 6, is chiefly found in the yellow sandstone deposit of the upper series.

PLATE IV.

The forms here represented are all peculiar to the carboniferous formation. Fig. 1 represents the elegant upright stem of the Apiocrinites rotundus, or Pear Encrinite, copied in part from the restoration of the Bradford specimen in Miller's Crinoidea. The arms are nearly closed. Fig. 2 shows the body of Actinocrinus, along with the pectoral and capital plates, and the orifice of the mouth, or proboscis, capable of elongation for sucking in food (see page lx). The Encrinite, Fig. 12, constitutes the prevailing type of the mountain limestone, as the Lepidodendron and Sigillaria. Figs. 14 and 15, are equally characteristic of the coal-beds. The roots of Sigillaria are now regarded as one and the same with what is described in the text as the trunk and stems of Stigmaria. Fig. 15 is an upright trunk of Sigillaria, recently discovered in the coal-field of St. Helen's, near Liverpool; it is nine feet high, with ten roots, several feet long, attached, and extending in the underclay in their natural position. The roots resemble in structure and form undoubted Stigmariæ, and thus establish the correctness of M. A. Brongniart's conjecture as to the identity of the two trees—the stem and roots of the same fossil vegetable body.

SCOTLAND.
English Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50
Railways thus
ORKNEY ISLANDS
Pentland Firth
THE SHETLAND ISLANDS
On the same scale
CAITHNESS
SUTHERLAND
ROSS-SHIRE
CROMARTY
INVERNESS-SHIRE
NAIRN
Murray Firth
The Minsh
Little Minch
Hebrides, or Western Isles
Lewis
N. Uist
Harris
Butt of Lewis
Flannan Is or 7 Hunters
Stornoway
Tiumpan Hd
Shiant Is
Scarpa
Pabbay Sound or Berneray
Maddy
Na Monach Is
Benbecula
Ronay
Scalpa
Eriska
Barra
Rum
Canna
Sound of Sleat
Loch Ness
Loch Lochy
Loch Oich
Loch Arkaig
Loch Shiel
Loch Eil
Loch Linnhe
Loch Leven
Loch Etive
Loch Awe
Loch Fyne
Loch Long
Loch Lomond
Loch Katrine
Loch Tay
Loch Rannoch
Loch Earn
Loch Voil
Loch Lubnaig
Loch Venachar
Loch Achray
Loch Ard
Loch Chon
Loch Arklet
Loch Drunkie
Loch Vennachar
Loch Tummel
Loch Garry
Loch Quoich
Loch Hourn
Loch Nevis
Loch Morar
Loch Shiel
Loch Eil
Loch Linnhe
Loch Leven
Loch Etive
Loch Awe
Loch Fyne
Loch Long
Loch Lomond
Loch Katrine
Loch Tay
Loch Rannoch
Loch Earn
Loch Voil
Loch Lubnaig
Loch Venachar
Loch Achray
Loch Ard
Loch Chon
Loch Arklet
Loch Drunkie
Loch Vennachar
Loch Tummel
Loch Garry
Loch Quoich
Loch Hourn
Loch Nevis
Loch Morar
Stack Skerry
Sule Skerry
Westra
Papa Westra
N. Ronaldsha
Sanda
Rousa
Eda
Stronsa
Auskerry
Stromness
Kirkwall
St Mary's
Hoy
Burra
St Margarets
S. Ronaldsha
Pentland Skerries
Duncansby Hd
John o' Groats
Sinclair B.
Wick
Noss Hd
Thurso
Dunnet Hd
Strathy
Armadale
Stroma
Pentland Firth
Kyle of Durness
Farout Hd
L. Eriboll
Hope
Loch Inchard
Loch Laxford
Eddrachylis Pt
Cape Wrath
Stoer Hd
Enard B.
Summer Is
Loch Broom
Loch Greinord
Loch Ewe
Loch Gairloch
Loch Torridon
Loch Maree
Loch Fannich
Loch Luichart
Loch Rannoch
Loch Monar
Loch Moyle
Loch Carron
Loch Duich
Loch Hourn
Loch Nevis
Loch Morar
Loch Shiel
Loch Eil
Loch Linnhe
Loch Leven
Loch Etive
Loch Awe
Loch Fyne
Loch Long
Loch Lomond
Loch Katrine
Loch Tay
Loch Rannoch
Loch Earn
Loch Voil
Loch Lubnaig
Loch Venachar
Loch Achray
Loch Ard
Loch Chon
Loch Arklet
Loch Drunkie
Loch Vennachar
Loch Tummel
Loch Garry
Loch Quoich
Loch Hourn
Loch Nevis
Loch Morar
Ben More
Ben Wyvis
Ben Dearg
Ben Klibreck
Ben Hope
Ben Loyal
Ben Hee
Ben Griam
Ben Armine
Ben Klibreck
Ben Hope
Ben Loyal
Ben Hee
Ben Griam
Ben Armine
Dornoch
Dornoch Firth
Tain
Tarbet Ness
Cromarty
Fortrose
Inverness
Nairn
Forres
Elgin
Banff
Macduff
Fraserburgh
Peterhead
Buchan Ness
Aberdeen
Inverurie
Kintore
Newburgh
Ellon
Fyvie
Turriff
Huntly
Keith
Dufftown
Rothes
Aberlour
Grantown
Kingussie
Aviemore
Boat of Garten
Carrbridge
Dulnain Br
Inverness
Nairn
Forres
Elgin
Banff
Macduff
Fraserburgh
Peterhead
Buchan Ness
Aberdeen
Inverurie
Kintore
Newburgh
Ellon
Fyvie
Turriff
Huntly
Keith
Dufftown
Rothes
Aberlour
Grantown
Kingussie
Aviemore
Boat of Garten
Carrbridge
Dulnain Br
Mainland
Yell
Unst
Fetlar
Whalsay
Bressay
Noss
Vaila
Scalloway
Fitfull Hd
Sumburgh Hd
Esha Ness
St Magnus B.
Muckle Roost
Papa Stour
Vaila
Scalloway
Fitfull Hd
Sumburgh Hd
Mainland
Yell
Unst
Fetlar
Whalsay
Bressay
Noss
Vaila
Scalloway
Fitfull Hd
Sumburgh Hd

Barra Hd
Coll
Tiree
Skerryvore
Iona
Kilbrecken
Colonsay
Oronsay
Islay
Port Askaig
Kildalton
Mull of Oe
Malin Hd
Rathlin
Mull of Cantire
Campbeltown
Ailsa
Londonderry
Foyle
Coleraine
IRELAND
Belfast
Donaghadee
Mull of Galloway
Port Patrick
Glenluce
Wigton
Kirkcudbright
Dumfries
Carlisle
Solway Firth
Workington
Maryport
Allonby
Burrow Hd
Longitude West of Greenwich
Ardnamurchan pt
Strontian
Fort William
Ben Nevis
Loch Linnhe
Loch Eil
Loch Sunart
Loch Aline
Mull
Loch Leven
Glencoe
Ben Cruachan
Loch Awe
Loch Etive
Oban
Kerrera
Lismore
Loch Creran
Loch Linnhe
Loch Shiel
Loch Sunart
Loch Moidart
Loch Ailort
Loch Nevis
Loch Hourn
Loch Alsh
Skye
Sound of Sleat
Loch Carron
Loch Torridon
Loch Ewe
Gairloch
Loch Maree
Loch Broom
Ullapool
Loch Kanaird
Loch Inver
Loch Assynt
Loch Eriboll
Cape Wrath
Kyle of Durness
Kyle of Tongue
Loch Hope
Loch Naver
Strathnaver
Ben Loyal
Ben Hope
Ben Klibreck
Ben More Assynt
Suilven
Stack Pol
Loch Shin
Loch Fleet
Dornoch Firth
Tain
Cromarty Firth
Cromarty
Inverness
Beauly Firth
Beauly
Kessock Ferry
Moray Firth
Nairn
Forres
Findhorn
Lossiemouth
Spey Bay
Buckie
Banff
Cullen
Portsoy
Whitehills
Macduff
Gamrie Bay
Troup Hd
Fraserburgh
Kinnaird Hd
Rattray Hd
Peterhead
Cruden Bay
Slains Castle
Collieston
Ellon
Newburgh
Aberdeen
Girdleness
Nigg Bay
Torry
Footdee
Bridge of Don
Old Machar
Dyce
Kintore
Inverurie
Oldmeldrum
Fyvie
Turriff
Banff
Huntly
Keith
Dufftown
Rothes
Elgin
Lossiemouth
Forres
Nairn
Culloden
Inverness
Fort George
Fort Augustus
Loch Ness
Urquhart Castle
Loch Oich
Caledonian Canal
Corpach
Fort William
Ben Nevis
Glencoe
Loch Leven
Ballachulish
Kinlochleven
Loch Etive
Connel Ferry
Dunstaffnage
Oban
Kerrera
Lismore
Loch Creran
Appin
Loch Linnhe
Loch Sunart
Loch Aline
Mull
Tobermory
Loch Na Keal
Ben More
Staffa
Iona
Kilbrecken
Loch Buie
Loch Spelve
Gribun
Loch Scridain
Ben More
Loch Tuath
Loch Frisa
Loch Fyne
Inveraray
Loch Awe
Kilchurn Castle
Dalmally
Ben Cruachan
Glen Orchy
Tyndrum
Crianlarich
Ben Lui
Ben Vorlich
Loch Lomond
Ben Lomond
Luss
Tarbet
Arrochar
Loch Long
Gareloch
Helensburgh
Dumbarton
Clyde
Greenock
Port Glasgow
Gourock
Rothesay
Bute
Kyles of Bute
Cumbrae
Largs
Ardrossan
Saltcoats
Irvine
Troon
Ayr
Girvan
Ailsa Craig
Pladda
Arran
Brodick
Lamlash
Whiting Bay
Kilbride
Campbeltown
Machrihanish
Mull of Cantire
Sanda
Gigha
Jura
Sound of Jura
Corryvreckan
Scarba
Lunga
Luing
Seil
Easdale
Oban
Connel Ferry
Loch Etive
Glencoe
Rannoch Moor
Loch Rannoch
Schiehallion
Loch Tummel
Loch Rannoch
Kinloch Rannoch
Aberfeldy
Loch Tay
Ben Lawers
Killin
Loch Earn
St Fillans
Crieff
Comrie
Dunkeld
Birnam
Pitlochry
Blair Atholl
Glen Tilt
Braemar
Ballater
Lochnagar
Balmoral
Ballochbuie
Glen Muick
Glen Clova
Glen Isla
Glen Prosen
Glen Esk
Edzell
Brechin
Montrose
Red Head
Arbroath
Carnoustie
Dundee
Tay Bridge
Broughty Ferry
Buddon Ness
Tentsmuir Point
Tay
Bell Rock or Inchcape
Newburgh
St Andrews
Cupar
Fife Ness
Isle of May
Anstruther
Crail
Kingsbarns
Fife
Firth of Forth
Leven
Kirkcaldy
Burntisland
Inchkeith
Aberdour
Inchcolm
Dalgety Bay
Rosyth
Forth Bridge
Queensferry
Firth of Forth
Edinburgh
Leith
Portobello
Musselburgh
Prestonpans
Cockenzie
Port Seton
Aberlady
Gullane
Dirleton
North Berwick
Bass Rock
Tantallon Castle
Dunbar
Barns Ness
Abbs Hd
Eyemouth
Berwick
Holy I.
St Abb's Hd
Farne Is
Lindisfarne
Bamburgh
Seahouses
Alnwick
Warkworth
Amble
Coquet I
Coquet R
Tweed
Tweedmouth
Spittal
Holy I
Lindisfarne
Farne Is

THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMAN PERIOD.

Our earliest authentic knowledge of Britain comes from the Romans. In the fifty-fifth year before the Christian era, Julius Cæsar effected his first landing on the southern shores of our island. But it was not till 135 years later, during the reign of the emperor Vespasian, that Cnæus Julius Agricola, at the head of a Roman army, penetrated into the northern parts of the country. This distinguished general, whose exploits have been fully described by his son-in-law, Tacitus, the ablest and most philosophical of the ancient historians, was appointed to the government of Britain in the seventy-eighth year of our era. He began his military career in this province by conquering the tribes in the north-western parts of the country, and subduing Mona, which, after the departure of Suetonius, had regained its independence. In the succeeding summer he carried his arms to the northward, into the territory of tribes with whom the Romans had never, as yet, come into contact. It is the opinion of the learned Chalmers, that Agricola, setting out from Mancunium, the Manchester of the present day, led his army along the western coast, and that, after traversing Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, he came to the Tau, which this writer contends was not the river Tay, as is commonly supposed, but the Solway Frith. The Tau (the Taus of Tacitus), he says, is a British word, signifying an estuary, or any extended sheet of water, and might, therefore, apply to the Solway equally with the Tay. Besides, he contends, it is incredible that the Roman legionaries, who were so vigorously opposed during their sixth campaign in the strong country which lies between the Forth and the Tay, could have crossed so many streams and mountains, subdued so many strongholds, and penetrated so far northward as the Tay, without encountering a much more formidable opposition. It was the plan, he argues, of this cautious general, to advance by degrees, and to fortify the country as he advanced; and we accordingly find him spending the remainder of the season in building a line of forts in the most convenient situations for keeping possession of the country he had gained. Others, however, are of opinion that the march of Agricola to the Taus, in his third summer, was merely an inroad undertaken with a view to discover the country, to lay it waste, and to strike terror into the inhabitants, and that the occupation of it was not at that time attempted or thought of.

A.D. 79.

A.D. 80.

The fourth summer, according to Tacitus, was spent by Agricola in exploring and overrunning the country extending from the Solway to the Friths of Clyde and Forth, and in securing the territory which had been overrun. The historian speaks of the tides of the opposite seas flowing very far up the estuaries of Clota and Bodotria (the Friths of Clyde and Forth), so as to leave only a narrow neck of land, which Agricola defended by a chain of forts. Thus, he adds, all the territory on that side was held in subjection, and the remaining enemies were removed, as it were, into another island.

A.D. 81.

In making this advance, however, the Roman general had overlooked the country which lies between the Solway and the Clyde, now included in the counties of Wigton, Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, and Ayr. And as the fierce tribes inhabiting that region would have been left in his rear, in the event of his carrying his conquests beyond the Forth, he thought it prudent to subdue them, before undertaking his contemplated expedition to the north. "He accordingly invaded," says Tacitus, "that part of Britain which is opposite to Ireland," which must be the promontory of Galloway.* To do this, he is

A.D. 82.

* Tacit. Agric. chap. xxiv.; Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i p. 101. Some writers suppose that Agricola, in his fifth campaign, crossed the Frith of Clyde, and subdued the natives of Cantyre, Lorn, and Lochaber, but the words of Tacitus, "that part of Britain which is opposite to Ireland," clearly point to Galloway as the scene of Agricola's operations.

supposed to have sailed from Kilbride Loch, in Cumberland on the Solway, and to have landed near Brow at the Lochar-mouth, which here forms a natural harbour. From the coast of Galloway Agricola obtained a view of the distant hills of Ireland, and the sight is said to have suggested the idea of invading that island also, for the purpose of adding it to the Roman empire; but this design was never carried into execution. After various engagements with the native tribes, he succeeded in clearing the south-west of Scotland, as far as the forts on the Frith of Clyde. In this campaign, according to Tacitus, he subdued several nations till then unknown to the Romans.

A. D. 83. In the summer of the sixth year of his administration, Agricola resolved to extend his operations to the district beyond the Forth, as he dreaded a general insurrection of the more remote tribes, who had hitherto been disunited, and hostile to each other. The army was attended and supported in all its movements by the fleet, which had been commissioned to survey the coasts and harbours. Guided by the information communicated by his naval officers, the Roman general crossed the Forth at Inchgarvie, where the frith is greatly contracted by the projecting points of the opposite shores, and landed in Fife, at a place now called North-ferry.* On reaching the north side of the Forth, the army marched along the east coast, attended by the ships. The fleet kept so near the shore, that, as Tacitus informs us, "the cavalry, infantry, and marines were frequently mingled in the same camp, and recounted, with mutual pleasure, their several exploits and adventures, comparing, in the boastful language of military men, the dark recesses of woods and mountains with the horrors of waves and tempests, and the land and enemy subdued with the conquered ocean."†

Agricola now found himself for the first time fiercely engaged with the real Caledonians, whose courage and confidence were still unshaken by defeat. They immediately flew to arms, and, without waiting to be attacked, commenced offensive operations by assaulting the Roman forts on the isthmus between the Forth and Clyde, which Agricola had left behind him without adequate defence. This act of daring is said to have alarmed the invaders, and Agricola was advised by some of his officers to retreat beyond the Forth rather than wait to be driven back by the enemy. He at once rejected this advice; and being informed that the Caledonians intended to attack him on all sides, he disposed his army into three divisions, that his inferiority of numbers and ignorance of the country might not give them an opportunity of surrounding him. One of these divisions, consisting of the ninth legion, which had been weakened by former engagements, pitched its camp at Lochore, about two miles to the south of Lochleven, where traces of the encampment are still to be seen.* Here the Romans were vigorously attacked during the night by the native tribes, and would have been entirely overwhelmed if Agricola had not come with great celerity to their aid, and driven the assailants back to their woods and morasses. The Caledonians, however, were no way discouraged by this repulse, but resolved to defend their country to the last extremity. They therefore proceeded to arm their youth, to send their wives and children into places of safety, and to ratify the confederacy of their several tribes by solemn assemblies and sacrifices. The Romans meanwhile spent the winter in Fife, where the fleet supplied them with provisions, and kept open their communications with the garrisons on the south side of the Forth.

A. D. 84. When the Roman commander took the field, in his seventh and last campaign, he sent forward his fleet to alarm and distract the enemy, by ravaging different parts of the country, and then moved northward with his army, to which he had now added as auxiliaries some of the bravest of the southern Britons, on whose fidelity he could rely. He appears to have directed his line of march by the course of the Devon, turning to the right from Glen-Devon, through the opening of the Ochil hills, along the course of the rivulet which forms Glen-Eagles, leaving the braes of Ogilvie on his left; then passing between Blackford and Auchterarder, an easy march would bring him to the moor of Ardoch, at the foot of the Grampian mountains,†—the Gran-Pen of the Britons, signifying the head or chief ridge. Here he found the native host drawn up under a chief, whose name has been latinized into Galgacus, the most distinguished among the Caledonian chieftains for his birth and valour. According to Tacitus, the barbarians amounted to thirty thousand men, though the number has, in all probability, been greatly exaggerated; for, as Chalmers justly remarks, there was not a district in Scotland during that age, which could have fed thirty thousand persons for one day. The Roman army consisted of eight thousand foot and three thousand horse, with about four thousand

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 109.
† Tacit. Agric. chap. xxv.

* Gordon's Itin. p. 36; Sibbald's Hist. Inq. p. 37; Old Stat. Acct. of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 315; Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 110; Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott, vol. vi p. 7. Mr. Pennant, however, is of opinion that Comrie, in Perthshire, was the place of attack.

† The exact site of this battle has been keenly disputed, some fixing it at the base of the central, and others at that of the eastern portion of the Grampian range. Chalmers contends, with great probability, that the moor of Ardoch was the spot on which the engagement took place. There are very evident signs here of ancient conflicts. The large ditch of a Roman camp can still be traced for a considerable distance; weapons, both British and Roman, have been dug up, and on the hill above Ardoch Moor are two enormous heaps of stones, the one called Carnwochel, the other Carnlee, which are, in all probability, the sepulchral cairns of the Caledonians who fell in the battle. See Gordon's Itin. Septen. p. 42; Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 112; and Roy's Mil. Antiq. pl. 10.

legionaries and eleven thousand auxiliaries. But every possible advantage was on the side of the invaders. They were composed of highly disciplined and veteran troops, completely equipped, with both offensive weapons and defensive armour of the best kind, and led on by a general of consummate ability and great experience in the art of war; while their opponents were little else than an undisciplined mass of barbarians, armed with long and unwieldy swords, without points, and only meant for cutting. The issue of such a contest could not have been long doubtful, but for the desperate valour of those who fought for the independence of their country, and all that is dear to man.

Before the engagement, according to Tacitus, the two hostile leaders stimulated the ardour of their respective armies by eloquent and glowing appeals to their hopes and fears. The speech which the historian has put into the mouth of Galgacus is worthy of special attention, not, of course, on account of its genuineness, but because of the view which it indirectly gives of the hardships which the Romans inflicted upon the nations whom they subdued, and because the ascription of such sentiments to the leader of the Caledonians shows the high estimation in which their obstinate valour compelled even their conquerors to hold them.

"When I reflect on the causes of the war, and the circumstances of our situation, I feel a strong persuasion that our united efforts on the present day will prove the beginning of universal liberty to Britain. For we are all undebased by slavery; and there is no land behind us, nor does even the sea afford a refuge, whilst the Roman fleet hovers around. Thus the use of arms, which is at all times honourable to the brave, now offers the only safety even to cowards. In all the battles which have yet been fought with various success against the Romans, our countrymen may be deemed to have reposed their final hopes and resources in us; for we, the noblest sons of Britain, and therefore stationed in its last recesses, far from the view of servile shores, have preserved even our eyes unpolluted by the contact of subjection. We, at the furthest limits, both of land and liberty, have been defended to this day by the remoteness of our situation and of our fame. The extremity of Britain is now disclosed: and whatever is unknown becomes an object of magnitude. But there is no nation beyond us; nothing but waves and rocks, and the still more hostile Romans, whose arrogance we cannot escape by obsequiousness and submission. These plunderers of the world, after exhausting the land by their devastations, are rifling the ocean: stimulated by avarice, if their enemy be rich; by ambition, if poor; unsatiated by the east and by the west,—the only people who behold wealth and indigence with equal avidity. To ravage, to slaughter, to usurp under false titles, they call empire; and where they make a desert, they call it peace. Our children and relations are, by the appointment of nature, rendered the dearest of all things to us. These are torn away by levies to serve in foreign lands. Our wives and sisters, though they should escape the violation of hostile force, are polluted under the names of friendship and hospitality. Our estates and possessions are consumed in tributes; our grain in contributions. Even our bodies are worn down, amidst stripes and insults, in clearing woods and draining marshes. Wretches born to slavery are once bought, and afterwards maintained by their masters: Britain every day buys, every day feeds, her own servitude. And as among domestic slaves every new-comer serves for the derision of his fellows, so in this ancient household of the world, we, as the newest and vilest, are sought out to destruction. For we have neither cultivated lands, nor mines, nor harbours, which can induce them to preserve us for our labours. The valour, too, and unsubmitting spirit of subjects only render them more obnoxious to their masters; while remoteness and secrecy of situation itself, in proportion as it conduces to security, tends to inspire suspicion. Since, then, all hopes of mercy are vain, let those at length assume courage, to whom safety as well as to whom glory is dear. The Trinobantes, even under a female leader, had force enough to burn a colony, to storm camps, and, if success had not damped their vigour, would have been able entirely to throw off the yoke; and shall not we, untouched, unsubdued, and struggling, not for the acquisition but for the security of liberty, show at the very first onset what men Caledonia has reserved for her defence? Can you imagine that the Romans are as brave in war as they are licentious in peace? Acquiring renown from our discords and dissensions, they convert the faults of their enemies to the glory of their own army: an army compounded of the most different nations, which, as success alone has kept together, misfortune will certainly dissipate;—unless, indeed, you can suppose that Gauls and Germans, and (I blush to say it) even Britons, who, though they expend their blood to establish a foreign dominion, have been longer its foes than its subjects, will be retained by loyalty and affection! Terror and dread alone are their weak bonds of attachment, which, once broken, they who cease to fear will begin to hate. Every incitement to victory is on our side. The Romans have no wives to animate them; no parents to upbraid their flight. Most of them have either no home, or a distant one. Few in number, ignorant of the country, looking around in silent horror at woods, seas, and a heaven itself unknown to them, they are delivered by the gods, as it were imprisoned and bound, into our hands.

"Be not terrified with an idle show, and the glitter of silver and gold, which can neither protect nor wound. In the very ranks of the enemy

we shall find our own bands. The Britons will acknowledge their own cause. The Gauls will recollect their former liberty. The rest of the Germans will desert them, as the Usipii have lately done. Nor is there anything formidable behind them. Ungarrisoned forts, colonies of old men, municipal towns, distempered and distracted between unjust masters and ill-obeying subjects. Here is a general; here an army. There, tributes, mines, and all the train of punishments inflicted on slaves; which, whether to bear eternally, or instantly to revenge, this field must determine. March, then, to battle, and think of your ancestors and think of your posterity."

In accordance with the usual Roman policy, the auxiliaries were left to bear the brunt of the battle. They were stationed in the centre, the horse were drawn up on the wings, and the legionaries were placed in the rear, to bring support wherever it might be required. "The Caledonians, for the greater display of their numbers," says Tacitus, "were ranged upon the rising ground, so that the front line stood upon the plain; the rest, as if linked together, rose above one another upon the ascent. The charioteers and horsemen filled the middle of the field." * The battle was obstinately contested, and was at length decided in favour of the Romans, as their own historian admits, not so much by their great valour, as by their superior skill and better weapons. After the defeat of the main body, a reserve of the Caledonians made a movement with a view to take the Romans in flank, but the attempt was defeated by Agricola in person, at the head of a strong body of legionaries, and the flight then became universal. Ten thousand fell, either in the battle or the pursuit, whilst the loss of the Romans amounted to only three hundred and sixty men. Tacitus relates, that the natives set fire to their dwellings before mingling with the fugitives from the battle, and that some of them laid violent hands upon their own wives and children, in order to save them from slavery and the Romans. Night put an end to the engagement and the slaughter, and next day nothing was seen in front of the invading army, but a silent and deserted country, and houses involved in smoke and flame. The victory was complete, but it was of no practical value in its results. The vanquished Caledonians found refuge in their mountain fastnesses, whither the victors durst not venture to follow them. Agricola led back his army to the territories of the Horestii (Fifeshire), whom he had previously subdued, and at length distributed his troops into their winter quarters.

Meanwhile, the fleet was sent on a voyage of discovery, from the Frith of Tay round the north coast of Scotland. It doubled the promontory of Caithness and Cape Wrath, proceeding as far as the Orcades and even Thule—supposed to be Foula—the most northerly of the Shetland islands; then ran down the western coast to the Land's End in Cornwall, and turning to the east arrived in safety at the Trutalensian harbour, (supposed to be Sandwich, in Kent); sailing thence, along the eastern coast, it returned to its former station in the Frith of Tay. To this exploratory voyage the Roman world, in all probability, owed its first certain knowledge that Britain was an island. The imagination of the mariners was no doubt greatly excited by the novel sights which they witnessed, and they appear to have indulged in exaggerated statements respecting the icebound regions of the north; for Tacitus, who in all probability received the narrative from his father-in-law Agricola, and the officers of his fleet, states that the Orcades (Orkney) islands, till then unknown, were discovered and subdued; that Thule, which had been concealed in gloom and eternal snows, was also descried; and that the sea in these parts is a sluggish mass of stagnant water, hardly yielding to the stroke of the oar, and scarcely ever agitated by winds and storms. "The dominion of the sea," he adds, "is nowhere more extensive, for it forces up and carries back with it the waters of rivers; and its ebbings and flowings are not confined to the shore, but it penetrates into the heart of the country, and works its way among hills and mountains as in its native bed." *

Soon after these exploits, Agricola was recalled by the jealous tyrant Domitian, and returned to Rome, where he died, not without suspicions that his days had been shortened by poison. A.D. 85.

From this period to the accession of the emperor Hadrian, the Roman historians are nearly silent about Britain. But we then learn, that the imperial authority was maintained with difficulty. The Romans were attacked by the native tribes all along the northern frontiers, and the whole island was thrown into such confusion, that the emperor in person found it necessary to A.D. 117.

* The Latin word used by Tacitus, *covinarius*, signifies the driver of a *covinus*, or chariot, the axle of which was bent into the form of a scythe. The manner in which the Britons fought from chariots is particularly described by Cæsar, who gives them the name of *essedæ*. "The following is the manner of fighting from the *essedæ*. They first drive round with them to all parts of the line, throwing their javelins, and generally disordering the ranks by the very alarm occasioned by the horses and the rattling of the wheels; then, as soon as they have insinuated themselves between the troops of horse, they leap from their chariots and fight on foot. The drivers then withdraw a little from the battle, in order that, if their friends are overpowered by numbers, they may have a secure retreat to the chariots. Thus they act with the celerity of horse and the stability of foot; and by daily use and exercise they acquire the power of holding up their horses at full speed down a steep declivity, of stopping them suddenly, and turning in a short compass; and they accustom themselves to run upon the pole, and stand on the cross-tree, and from thence, with great agility, to recover their place in the chariot."—Bell. Gall. iv. 33.

The Roman historian mentions also, that in this battle the Caledonians used broadswords and small targets, which remained so long after, the peculiar arms of the Highlanders.

* Tacit. Agric. chap. x.

make an expedition into Scotland to repress the disorders. The conquests of Agricola, to the north of the Tyne and Solway, were virtually relinquished, and Hadrian contented himself with erecting a new and much stronger rampart than that raised by Agricola, from the Solway Frith to the mouth of the Tyne, the remains of which may still be traced. Up to this period, therefore, it is evident that the Romans had obtained no permanent footing in Caledonia, though the discovery of a succession of coins along the line of the ancient rampart which united the Friths of Forth and Clyde, shows that they had not entirely abandoned the country to the north of the Solway.*

A. D. 120.

On the death of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius succeeded to the imperial throne. Lollius Urbicus, the governor, whom the new emperor appointed to the command in Britain, distinguished himself by the courage and ability which he displayed against the turbulent and warlike tribes of Caledonia, whom he again drove into their inaccessible fastnesses beyond the Grampians. He rebuilt the wall between the Forth and the Clyde, which appears to have been completely destroyed by the incursions of the barbarians.† The rampart of Lollius consisted of a deep ditch and an earthen wall raised on a foundation of stone. It extended about thirty miles, and was defended by nineteen forts, placed at intervals along the line. A military road ran, as a necessary appendage, within the rampart, affording a ready communication from station to station. Such has been the solidity of its construction, that, notwithstanding the perishable nature of the materials, this mound can still be traced after the lapse of seventeen centuries, and inscribed stones have been, from time to time, discovered in various parts of the line, recording that the second legion, and detachments from the sixth and the twentieth legions, with some auxiliaries, were employed upon the works.

A. D. 138.

A. D. 140.

For a period of about twenty years, during which the administration of Lollius Urbicus lasted, peace appears to have been maintained; and this able officer devoted himself to the improvement of the country, by the construction of various camps and fortalices, the ruins of which may still be traced; by the formation of roads, and the introduction of those useful arts which are best calculated to elevate and civilize the character of barbarous nations. This period is rendered memorable by the extension of the privileges of Roman citizenship to all the inhabitants of the Roman empire—a measure worthy of that emperor, who has been justly denominated the second Numa, and whose glory it is, that he diffused order and tranquillity over the greatest part of the earth.

The death of this benevolent monarch put an end to the administration of Lollius Urbicus in Britain, and to his prudent and energetic measures to preserve the tranquillity of the country. Calphurnius Agricola had to be despatched by the new emperor Marcus Aurelius to quell an insurrection of the British tribes. During the twelve years which succeeded this revolt, no further mention is made of their attempts to throw off the Roman yoke. But in the reign of Commodus they again broke through the wall of Antoninus, and ravaged the country which lay between that rampart and the wall of Hadrian, and even defeated the Roman legions and slew their general. The alarm caused by this insurrection was so great that Ulpius Marcellus, a general of great ability and experience, was despatched in haste from Rome to take the command of the Roman troops in Britain. He speedily succeeded in chasing the native tribes beyond the barrier, and in restoring the tranquillity of the country. During the confusion that succeeded the assassination of Commodus, and the contest between Severus, Niger, and Albinus, for the imperial throne, the northern Britons were held feebly in check. Albinus, who was governor of Britain, drained the island of its best troops, when he passed over to Gaul to encounter Severus, and the Caledonians promptly availed themselves of the favourable opportunity to lay waste the settled Roman provinces, and their destructive ravages continued for years.

A. D. 161.

A. D. 183.

After the battle of Lyons, which decided the fate of Albinus, and left Severus sole master of the Roman world, the new emperor sent Virius Lupus as his lieutenant to restore tranquillity to the revolted provinces. After a few years of timid negotiation, and an unsuccessful attempt to bribe the Caledonians with a large sum of money to retreat from the frontier, hostilities were renewed with greater violence than ever, and Virius Lupus was compelled to send urgent representations to Rome for a powerful reinforcement of troops. The intelligence was received with pleasure by Severus. His old age was rendered miserable by the profligacy and continued quarrels of his sons, and he resolved to avail himself of the opportunity to withdraw them from the luxury of Rome, and to inure them to the toils of war and of government. He therefore immediately commenced preparations for marching in person against the Caledonians. Notwithstanding his advanced age, (for he was above threescore,) and his gout, which obliged him to be carried in a litter, he set out, attended by his two sons, his whole

A. D. 197.

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 116.

† Horsley's Brit. Rom. lib. i. c. 10. It is usually called the wall of Antoninus, after the emperor under whom it was erected, but among the people it bears the name of Græme's or Grim's Dyke. Gryme in Welsh and Cornish signifies 'strong,' and Chalmers conjectures that the term is applied metaphorically for "a strength or a rampart." The fable that the name was derived from a leader of the Scots who first broke through the wall, is now completely exploded.

court, and a formidable army, and reached Britain in the year 208.

It would appear that, at this period, the various tribes who inhabited the northern part of Britain had merged their separate designations in the general appellation of the Meatae and the Caledonians. The former, according to Dion, dwelt near the barrier wall, which separated the island into two parts; the latter inhabited the mountainous region beyond. "Both of them," he adds, "inhabit barren uncultivated mountains, or desert marshy plains, where they have neither walls nor towns, nor manured lands, but feed upon the milk of their flocks, and upon what they get by hunting, and some wild fruits." Herodian, in his narrative of the proceedings of Severus in Britain, says, "Many parts of Britain were become fenny by the frequent inundations of the sea. The natives swim through these fens, or run through them up to the waist in mud; for, the greatest part of their bodies being naked, they regard not the dirt. They wear iron about their necks and bellies, esteeming this as fine and rich an ornament as others do gold. They make upon their bodies the figures of divers animals, and use no clothing, that they may be exposed to view. They are a very bloody and warlike people, using a little shield or target, and a spear. Their sword hangs on their naked bodies. They know not the use of a breastplate and helmet, and imagine these would be an impediment to them in passing the fens. The air is always thick with the vapours that ascend from the marshes."

The natives, alarmed at the formidable preparations which Severus had made, sent deputies to offer their submission, and to sue for peace. But Severus, unwilling to lose his labour, says Herodian, or to miss the glory of being called Britannicus, dismissed their ambassadors and carried on his military preparations.

Early in the year 209 he began his march to the northern frontier. In the comparatively civilized country which extended between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, he met with little opposition; but the difficulties which he encountered as soon as he crossed that line were of the most formidable description. The classical writers who have described his campaign, inform us, that he was obliged to drain the marshes and to throw causeways across them, to cut down the forests, to level the mountains, and to open up the country by roads; and they affirm that he lost fifty thousand men, who were worn out by their incessant labours and hardships. The Caledonians hung on the rear and flanks of the army and harassed the troops on their march, but prudently avoided any general action. In spite of these obstacles, the Roman emperor penetrated so far to the north that the soldiers remarked the extraordinary length of the days and shortness of the nights in comparison with those of Italy. There seems good reason to believe, that the extreme point to which Severus attained in this memorable expedition—the *Aræ Finium Imperii Romani*—was the narrow promontory separating the Cromarty and the Moray Friths. Here, it is alleged, the native tribes sought for peace, surrendered their arms, and agreed to relinquish a portion of their territory.*

After this success, Severus returned to York in an infirm state of health; but scarcely had he reached that station when information was received that the Caledonians were again in arms. Irritated by the undutiful conduct of his sons, and by his declining health, as well as by the violation of the recent treaty, the iron-hearted old emperor prepared again to take the field against his indomitable adversaries, vowing that he would spare neither age nor sex. But they were saved by the death of their ferocious enemy, who expired at York, Feb. 4th, A.D. 211.

Caracalla, the eldest son of Severus, who was intrusted with the conduct of the war, attempted, more than once, to shorten his father's days, and busied himself in trying to gain over the soldiers to support him as sole successor to the imperial throne, rather than in executing his father's orders. Tired of a warfare in which so little was to be gained, and anxious to reach Rome, in order to carry out his own ambitious projects, he concluded a peace with the Caledonians, ceding to them the territories between the Solway and the Forth, which they had recently surrendered to his father. Previously to his celebrated northern campaign, Severus erected a rampart almost parallel with the earthen mound which Hadrian had constructed between the Solway and the Tyne, and which must have suffered severely, both from the severity of the climate and the assaults of the barbarians, during the ninety years that had elapsed since the date of its erection. The wall of Severus was built of stone, and was about eight feet thick, and twelve feet high to the base of the battlements. Along the line of the rampart were erected, at unequal distances, a number of stations or towers, eighty-one forts, and three hundred and thirty turrets. On the northern side of the wall was dug a ditch about thirty-six feet wide and from twelve to fifteen feet deep. The erection of this strongly-fortified rampart leads irresistibly to the conclusion, that the Caledonians had regained much of the intermediate country between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, and sufficiently attests the persevering and formidable character of the assaults of our rude ancestors on the Roman power in Britain.

"This Caledonian war," says Gibbon, "neither marked by decisive events, nor attended with any important consequences, would ill deserve our attention; but

Fingal and his heroes.

* Dion, lib. lxxvi. p. 1280; Herodian, lib. iii. p. 132; Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 187.

ANTONINUS PIUS

it is supposed, not without a considerable degree of probability, that the invasion of Severus is connected with the most shining period of the British history or fable. Fingal, whose fame, with that of his heroes and bards, has been revived in our language by a recent publication, is said to have commanded the Caledonians in that memorable juncture, to have eluded the power of Severus, and to have obtained a signal victory on the banks of the Carun, in which the son of *the king of the world*, Caracul, fled from his arms along the field of his pride. Something of a doubtful mist still hangs over these Highland traditions, nor can it be entirely dispelled by the most ingenious researches of modern criticism: but if we could, with safety, indulge the pleasing supposition that Fingal lived, and that Ossian sung, the striking contrast of the situation and manners of the contending nations might amuse a philosophic mind. The parallel would be little to the advantage of the more civilized people, if we compared the unrelenting revenge of Severus with the generous clemency of Fingal; the timid and brutal cruelty of Caracalla, with the bravery, the tenderness, the elegant genius of Ossian; the mercenary chiefs who, from motives of fear or interest, served under the imperial standard, with the free-born warriors who started to arms at the voice of the king of Morven: if, in a word, we contemplated the untutored Caledonians, glowing with the warm virtues of nature, and the degenerate Romans, polluted with the mean vices of wealth and slavery."*

Contrast of the Caledonians and the Romans.

After the departure of Caracalla, there occurs a blank of seventy years in the history of Britain, during which the silence of Roman historians would lead us to believe that the island enjoyed peace. When it reappears in the annals of history, we find it the scene of a new enterprise, which was frequently repeated in after years. During the joint reign of Diocletian and Maximian, Carausius, a Menapian, was appointed to the command of a powerful fleet, for the purpose of repelling the marauding incursions of the Franks and Saxons, who about this period began to ravage the coasts of Gaul and Britain. Gessaiàcum, the modern Boulogne, was chosen for the station of the fleet. Carausius, who was a bold and skilful seaman, exerted himself with signal success against the pirates; but he was speedily accused of collusion with the enemy, and Maximian gave orders to put him to death. The wary sailor anticipated the snare laid for his destruction, and fled to Britain, where his cause was embraced by the legions and the auxiliaries which guarded that island; and, boldly assuming the imperial purple and the title of Augustus, he defied the arts and the power of his enemies. During the space of seven years he wielded the sovereignty of the island with courage and ability, defended the frontiers of the Roman province against the assaults of the northern tribes, and raised Britain to its natural station of an important maritime power. At length, just as Constantius was preparing to attack him with a fleet of a thousand ships, Carausius was treacherously murdered at York by his first minister Allectus, who succeeded "to his power and to his danger." For about three years the assassin maintained himself in the sovereignty of Britain, when he was defeated and slain by the prefect Asclepiodatus, an officer of Constantius Chlorus, to whom Britain fell on the resignation of Diocletian and Maximian (A.D. 296), and the division of the empire between Galerius and Constantius. After some contests with the Caledonians, of which little is known, the new emperor died at York, in the summer of A.D. 306, and his son Constantine, afterwards called the Great, succeeded to the throne. During the whole of his reign Britain seems to have enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity.

A.D. 211.

A.D. 288.

A.D. 297.

A.D. 306—337.

Six years after the death of Constantine (A.D. 343), the Caledonians renewed their destructive inroads upon the Roman province of Britain, and Lupicinus, an officer of ability and reputation, was despatched to repel their incursions. The native tribes now, for the first time, appear under the designations of Picts, Scots, and Attacotti. The Roman historians speak in strong, probably exaggerated terms, of their cruelty, and rapacity.* The Attacotti are even accused of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock, and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts both of males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repasts.† These savage tribes, in the reign of Julian the Apostate, broke through the wall of Severus, killed a Roman general, and Nectaridius, the "Count of the Saxon shore." Three years later, in the time of the emperor Valentinian, they spread themselves with rapid and irresistible fury, from the wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent; and it is even affirmed, though not on the highest authority, that they pillaged the city of London, and carried off its inhabitants as slaves.‡ An urgent representation of the excesses perpetrated by these marauders was sent to the imperial court, and Theodosius, the

A.D. 360.

A.D. 367.

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. i. chap. vi. p. 54 (Virtue's edition). Ossian's Poems, vol. i. p. 175. But, as Tytler justly remarks, much has yet to be proved before we venture to transplant these shadowy heroes into the field of history.

* Ammian. xxvii. 8.

† Jerome, tome ii. p. 75, quoted by Gibbon, vol. i. chap. xxv. p. 408. Mention is made of two bands of Attacotti, who were enrolled among the imperial legions, and stationed in Italy and Illyricum. Notitia Imperii, sections xxxix. xl.

‡ Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxvii. chap. 7.

ablest general of his time, and father of the emperor of that name, was despatched to the assistance of the southern Britons. Landing on the coast of Kent, with a numerous and veteran army, he speedily succeeded in defeating the barbarians, and chased them into the northern district of the country. In the verses of Claudian it is affirmed, that the unknown region of Thule was stained with the blood of the Picts, that the oars of Theodosius dashed the hyperborean seas, and that the distant Orcades were drenched with Saxon gore. He then repaired the wall of Antoninus and the ruined forts, and converted into the Roman province of Valentia the recovered country between the walls of Severus and Antoninus.

A.D. 370.

During the struggle between Valentinian and Maximus, Britain suffered severely, owing to the flower of its youth, and nearly all the troops, having been withdrawn by Maximus to aid him in the contest. The Scots and Picts, taking advantage of the absence of the soldiery, renewed their destructive ravages without molestation. In the words of an old chronicler, "The whole island, deprived of all her armed soldiers and military bands, was left to her cruel tyrants, deprived of the assistance of all her youth, who went with Maximus, and, ignorant of the art of war, she groaned in amazement for many years under the cruelty of the Picts and Scots." They were again expelled, however, by Chrysantus, the lieutenant of Theodosius in Britain. But though driven back, in a little time they were sure to return to the attack, and on the slightest appearance of insecurity or of relaxed vigilance, they were ever ready to sally forth from their mountain fastnesses, and to lay waste the southern provinces. On the death of Theodosius, he bequeathed Britain, with Gaul, Italy, and all the countries forming the country of the west, to his son Honorius, a boy only ten years of age. In the early part of his reign the provinces enjoyed comparative rest from the incursions of the enemy, through the exertions of the famous Stilicho, who fought long and bravely to uphold the falling empire. But the vast fabric of Roman dominion was now in a state of melancholy feebleness and decay, attacked on every side by those fierce and warlike tribes by whom it was ultimately destroyed, while a spirit of discontent and revolt diffused itself throughout the empire. The Roman legions were gradually withdrawn from the island, for the more urgent purpose of protecting the seat of dominion from the attacks of the Goths and Huns, and Britain was necessarily abandoned without defence to the Saxon pirates and the savage tribes of Caledonia. At length, Honorius wrote letters to the cities of Britain, urging them to adopt measures for their own protection, and virtually abdicating the rights of sovereignty and conceding the independence of the island. The artificial fabric of civil and military government which the Romans had raised and maintained in Britain, was dissolved by their departure. The inhabitants were divided into numerous factions, under the government of a multitude of petty chiefs, who, instead of uniting against the common enemy, wasted their strength in intestine quarrels. Availing themselves of the favourable opportunity afforded them by the withdrawal of the Roman troops, and the dissensions of the Romanized Britons, the northern tribes rushed forth from their fastnesses to invade and lay waste the defenceless province. The Britons, in despair, according to an old chronicler, "send ambassadors to Rome, entreating, in piteous terms, the assistance of an armed band to protect them. A legion is immediately sent, provided sufficiently with arms. When they had crossed over the sea and landed, they came at once to close conflict with their enemies, and slew great numbers of them. All of them were driven beyond the borders, and the humiliated natives rescued from the bloody slavery which awaited them.

A.D. 395.

"The Roman legion had no sooner returned home in joy and triumph than their former foes, like hungry and ravening wolves, rushing with greedy jaws upon the fold which is left without a shepherd, are wafted, both by the strength of seamen and the blowing wind, back through the boundaries, and spread slaughter on every side. And now again, they send suppliant ambassadors, with their garments rent and their heads covered with ashes, imploring assistance from the Romans, like timorous chickens crowding under the protecting wings of their parents. Upon this the Romans, moved with compassion, send forward, like eagles in their flight, their bands of cavalry and marines, and, planting their terrible swords upon the shoulders of their enemies, mowed them down like leaves which fall at their destined periods. Having driven their enemies beyond the sea, the Romans left the country, giving them notice that they could no longer be harassed by such laborious expeditions, but that the islanders, inuring themselves to warlike weapons, should valiantly protect their country, their property, their wives, and children."

The last detachment of troops that Rome sent to this island was commanded by Gallio of Ravenna. After repelling a furious inroad of the Picts and Scots, the Roman general informed the British chiefs that the empire could no longer afford them protection, and that they must henceforth trust to their own courage and activity for the defence of their lives and liberties. Having given them this parting advice, supplied them with military weapons and engines, and repaired the fortifications and wall of Severus, the Romans took their final departure from Britain, nearly five centuries after Julius Cæsar first landed on its shores.

About A.D. 420.

It must be apparent, from the preceding narrative, that the Roman tenure of North Britain was both brief and partial. It was not a permanent colonial settlement, but a merely temporary occupation for purely military purposes. Its influence, therefore, on native manners and arts, was slight, partial, and transitory. "Like an unwonted tide, the flood of Roman invasion swept beyond its natural limits, disturbing and unsettling many things long unaffected by change. But the tide ebbed as rapidly as it had flowed, and at most only helped to prepare the soil for a new growth."*

CHAPTER II.

THE CALEDONIANS.

Origin of the Britons.

THAT the earliest inhabitants of Britain were a people of Celtic origin and race, seems now to be admitted on all hands. "The present age," says Gibbon, "is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion, that the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved in the perpetual resemblance of language, of religion, and of manners; and the peculiar character of the British tribes might be naturally ascribed to the influence of accidental and local circumstances." This conclusion derives additional probability from the fact, that the greater part of the names of mountains, lakes, and rivers, in both divisions of Britain, are still descriptive and significant, in some dialect of the Celtic language. The appellations of these vast and permanent parts of nature, as Sir James Macintosh remarks, are commonly observed to continue as unchanged as themselves. Hence, after the revolutions of ages, and the fluctuations of conquest, dominion, and race, together with all the changes which time and usage insensibly introduce into language, the names in question are still distinctly traceable, while the extent to which they still prevail in both parts of Britain, seems to argue the original ascendancy of the race from whose language they were derived. Cæsar and Tacitus agree in representing the religion, the manners, and the language of the Gauls and Britons as identical, at the time of the Roman invasion; and as the tribes of North Britain practised the same religious rites, followed the same habits, and spoke the same language with the tribes in the south, they must have had a common origin.

Caledonian tribes.

It appears, from the investigations of the erudite Chalmers, that at the period of Agricola's invasion, the ample extent of North Britain was inhabited by one-and twenty tribes, who were connected by such slight ties as scarcely to enjoy a social state. These were the *Ottadini*, who appear to have occupied the whole extent of coast from the southern Tyne to the Frith of Forth, including a part of Northumberland and of Roxburghshire, the whole of Berwickshire, and of East Lothian; the *Gadeni*, whose seats lay in the interior country, on the west of the *Ottadini*, from the Tyne on the south to the Forth on the north, comprehending the western parts of Northumberland and of Roxburghshire, the whole of Selkirk and Tweedale, much of Mid Lothian, and nearly all West Lothian; the *Selgovae*, who inhabited Annandale, Nithsdale, and Eskdale, having the Dee for their western, and the Solway Frith for their southern boundary; the *Novantes*, who inhabited the middle and western parts of Galloway; and the *Damnii*, who possessed the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, and Stirling, with a portion of Dunbarton and Perth. "Such were the five tribes," says this author, "which occupied, during the first century, that ample region extending from the Tyne and Solway on the south, to the Forth and Clyde on the north, varying their limits with the fluctuations of war, conquest, or internal dissensions, during the succession of many ages." Beyond the Forth we find the *Horestii*, who possessed the district between the Forth and the Tay, comprehending the shires of Clackmannan, Kinross, and Fife; the *Venricones*, who inhabited the country between the Tay on the south and the Carron on the north, including the Carse of Gowrie, Strathmore, Stormont, and Strathardle in Perthshire, the whole of Angus, with the larger part of Kincardineshire; the *Taixali*, who inhabited the northern part of Mearns, and the whole of Aberdeenshire, to the Doveran; the *Vacomagi*, who possessed the country on the south side of the Murray Frith, from the Doveran on the east to the Ness on the west, comprehending the shires of Banff, Elgin, and Nairn, the east part of Inverness, with Braemar in Aberdeenshire. The *Alboni* inhabited the interior districts between the lower ridge of the Grampians on the south, and the chain of mountains which forms the southern limit of Inverness-shire on the north. The *Attacotti* possessed the country from Loch Fine on the west, to Lochlomond on the east. The *Caledonii* proper, inhabited the whole of the district from the ridge of mountains which separates Inverness and Perth on the south, to the range of hills that forms the forest of Balnagowan in Ross-shire, on the north. The *Cantae* inhabited the east of Ross-shire, from the estuary of Varar on the south, to the Dornoch Frith on the north. The north-eastern coast of Sutherland was inhabited by the *Logi* on the south; the east and north-east of Caithness by the *Carnabii*. The small tribe of the *Catini* inhabited the north-west corner of Caithness and the eastern half of Strathnaver in Sutherlandshire, while the *Mertae* occupied

* Wilson's Archæology, &c. p. 404.

the interior, and the *Carnonacae* the north and west of that county. The west coast of Ross was inhabited by the *Creones*. The *Cerones* inhabited the whole west coast of Inverness, and the districts of Ardnamuchan, Morven, Sunart, and Ardgower, in Argyleshire; and, finally, the *Epidii* inhabited the south-west of Argyleshire, from Loch Linne on the north, to the Frith of Clyde and the Irish Sea on the south, including Kintire.*

Origin of the name Caledonia.

The most ancient name by which the Romans designated the northern part of Britain, appears to have been Caledonia, and the various tribes who inhabited it were indiscriminately termed by them Caledonians. As Caioll signifies wood in Celtic, the Caledonii of the Roman writers has been supposed, with much probability, to be merely a classical transformation of Caoill daion: literally, the people of the woods. Others, however, are of opinion that Caledonia is a Roman corruption of the Gaelic words *Gael-doch*, the district of the Gael.

Form of government.

The condition of the Caledonians at the period of Agricola's invasion very much resembled that of the kindred tribes of South Britain, in the time of Julius Cæsar. They were little removed, in the scale of social life or of civil government, from rude savages, leading a pastoral life, living on the milk of their flocks, or on the produce of the chase. They were divided into a number of petty states, which usually waged fierce war with one another. In moments of extreme danger they united under a pendragon, or dictator, whose authority, however, was both limited and precarious; and when disasters overtook them, or the emergency passed away, the confederacy was immediately dissolved. It was this want, as Tacitus expressly admits, which gave the Romans so great an advantage in their contests with these warlike tribes. It was rare that even two or three of these petty states united against the common enemy. They fought for the most part separately, and, as a necessary consequence, were beaten in detail.† We learn from Cæsar that the government of the British tribes was, in form at least, monarchical; but very little is known, either of the limits of the royal authority, or of the rules of succession. Hereditary right seems to have been recognised, but not to have been strictly observed or enforced; and we are informed by Tacitus, that no distinction of sexes was made in the succession to the royal office; and he gives an example of a female sovereign in the case of the celebrated heroine Boadicea.* The authority of the British princes appears to have been greatly circumscribed, not only by their nobility, but by the people,† and especially by the priests. "Their kings," says Dio Chrysostom, "are not allowed to do anything without the Druids; not so much as to consult about putting any design into execution without their participation. So that it is the Druids who reign in reality; and the kings, though they sit on thrones, feast in splendour, and live in palaces, are no more than their instruments and ministers for executing their designs."

Druidism.

Although there is now reason to believe that a druidical origin has been erroneously assigned to not a few memorials of antiquity in North Britain, yet there can be no doubt that among the Caledonians, as among the native tribes of South Britain, druidism was the ancient form of worship.‡ The druidical priesthood, in both divisions of the island, were the most implacable foes of the Roman invaders. They combined the sacerdotal and judicial characters, and exercised permanent authority over both chiefs and people. They presided over sacred things, were the judges in all disputes and litigations, public and private, took cognisance of murders, disputes about inheritances and boundaries, decreed rewards and punishments, and were the lawgivers, physicians, poets, and philosophers of their country. Their sanction was necessary to all public transactions, which otherwise were of no validity. They were selected from the best families, and their birth, together with their station and privileges, procured them the highest veneration among the people. Whoever refused obedience to their decrees was declared impious and accursed, was debarred from attending the sacred rites, interdicted the use of fire, banished from the fellowship of men, excluded from the protection of the law, and from all offices of honour; all men shunned him, and fled from his approach lest they should be contaminated by his touch.

Offices and privileges of the priests.

Their classes.

The Druids were divided into three classes, termed—the Druids, Vates, and the Bards. The Bards were poets and musicians, the Vates were the priests and physiologists, and the Druids were those who combined the study of nature with that of moral science. They had one chief, or Arch-druid, who acted as high priest, and possessed absolute authority over the rest. At his death he was succeeded by the most eminent of the survivors, or, if there were several competitors of equal rank, the contest for the vacant office was decided by the

Arch-druid.

* The names of these twenty-one original tribes are transcribed by Chalmers, (Caledonia, vol. i. p. 58,) from the account of Ptolemy, checked by the supposed ancient treatise, and map of Richard of Cirencester. But it may be doubted whether the possessions of the more northerly tribes were at that remote period defined with such accuracy as these authors have represented. Ptolemy's account is rendered obscure and confused, by a strange mistake into which he has fallen as to the direction of the land, which he extends, not toward the north, but toward the east.

† Tacit. Agric. chap. xii.

* Tacit. Agric. chap. xvi.

† Cæsar de Bell. Gall. iv. 27.

‡ The most probable derivation of the word Druid is that which brings it from *Drui*, the Celtic word for an oak, in the plural *Druidhe*. It is the same word with *Drus* the Greek name of the oak.

votes of the other Druids, though sometimes the struggle terminated in an appeal to arms. Every Druid carried a wand, or staff, and wore a kind of ornament, enchased in gold, about his neck, called a Druid's Egg. They also decorated their necks with gold chains, and their hands and arms with bracelets. They wore the hair of their heads short, and their beards long. Their robes were remarkably long; and when employed in religious ceremonies they always wore a white surplice.*

The Druids, according to Cæsar, enjoyed exemption from military service, from the payment of taxes, and from all other public burdens. In consequence of these privileges, and of the veneration in which they were held, the British youth flocked to them in great numbers, to be instructed by them and trained up in their discipline. Their pupils were taught the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the motion of the heavenly bodies, and the course of the stars, the magnitude of the heavens, and of the earth, and the wisdom and power of the immortal gods. A part of the education of their pupils consisted in getting by heart a great number of verses, commemorating the actions of distinguished men. Though they were familiar with the art of writing, they did not think it proper to commit their instructions to writing: for two reasons, as Cæsar supposes; first, because they did not wish that the knowledge of their system should be diffused among the people at large; and secondly, that their pupils, having no books to refer to, might bestow more pains in cultivating their memory.†

Pupils.

Mode of instruction.

It was the opinion of Diogenes Laertius, that the tenets of the Druids might be comprehended under four heads: to worship God, to abstain from evil, to behave courageously, and to believe in the immortality of the soul; for enforcing all these virtues, Pomponius Mela also states, that they published the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, in order that the people might thereby be animated to bravery in war. The people, he adds, in consequence of their belief in this doctrine, were accustomed to bury along with the dead, things useful for the living, and to put off the settlement of accounts till they should meet again in another world. Some writers have conjectured that the fundamental doctrine of druidism was the belief in one God; others affirm, that the most ancient form of druidic religion was the worship of the celestial luminaries, and of fire. If this be correct, the tenets and rites of druidism must soon have degenerated into grosser idolatry; for Cæsar informs us,‡ that the chief object of their adoration was Mercury; that they had numerous images of this god, whom they regarded as the inventor of all arts, as the guide of men in their journeys, and as presiding over the pursuits of gain and the transactions of commerce. After him they worshipped Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva, holding nearly the same opinions as other nations with regard to these deities; namely, that Apollo warded off diseases—that Minerva was the first instructor in manufactures and handicrafts—that Jupiter swayed the sceptre over the celestial regions—and that Mars was the ruler of war. To him, when they had resolved to engage in battle, they usually devoted the spoil which they had taken in war: out of what remained to them after the fight, they sacrificed the animals they had captured: the rest they gathered together into one spot. Heaps of things thus put aside, in consecrated places, were to be seen in many of the states; and it was rarely that any person was so regardless of religion as to dare, either secretly to retain any part of the spoil in his own possession, or to take it away when thus laid up; for such a crime there was appointed a very severe punishment, accompanied with torture.

Tenets.

Gods.

Suetonius, in his Life of Claudius, informs us, that the Druids were accustomed to offer up human sacrifices; a statement which is confirmed by other trustworthy evidence. Tacitus, speaking of the capture of Anglesey by Suetonius Paulinus, states, that he cut down the druidical groves, "hallowed with cruel superstitions; for they held it right to stain their altars with the blood of prisoners taken in war, and to seek to know the mind of the gods from the fibres of human victims."* Diodorus Siculus informs us, that criminals were kept under ground for five years, and then offered up as sacrifices to the gods, by being impaled and burned in great fires, along with quantities of other offerings. He adds, that it was only upon extraordinary occasions they made such offerings,—as, to consult what measures to take, or to learn what should happen to them, by the posture in which the victim fell, the convulsions of his quivering limbs, and the course of the blood as it flowed under the knife of the officiating priest.† But Cæsar, who had the best opportunities of learning on the spot the truth on the subject, of these horrid rites, states explicitly, that persons who were attacked by any serious disease, or were exposed to the perils of war, or to any other danger, were accustomed either to immolate human victims, or to vow that they would do so, and to employ the Druids to perform these sacrifices; their opinion being, that the gods were not to be propitiated unless, for the life of a man, the life of a man were offered up.‡ There were also sacrifices of the same kind appointed on behalf of the state. With regard to the manner of offering up these sacrifices, Strabo states, that images of wicker-work, of immense size, were constructed, in which men, and all descriptions of

Human sacrifices.

* Toland's History of the Druids, pp. 24—29.
† Cæsar de Bell. Gall. vi. 13. ‡ Ibid. vi. 17.

* Tacit. Ann. xiv. 30. † Diod. Sic. v. 31.
‡ Cæsar de Bell. Gall. vi. 16.

cattle and beasts, were roasted together. According to Plutarch, the noise of songs and musical instruments was employed on these occasions, to drown the cries of the sufferers. They regarded the destruction, in this manner, of persons taken in the commission of theft or robbery, or any other delinquency, as most agreeable to the gods; but when the supply of such criminals was insufficient, they did not hesitate to make victims of the innocent.

Sacred groves.

Pliny informs us, that the Druids entertained great veneration for the oak, which they considered as the emblem, or rather the peculiar residence, of the Deity,* that they chose groves of oak for their own dwelling-places, and performed no sacred rites without the leaf of that tree. None of the druidical groves now remain in North Britain; but Chalmers mentions, that the sequestered spot on which stands the large cromlech, called the Auld Wives Lift, near Craigmadden, Stirlingshire, appears to have been surrounded by a grove of oaks, as several of the stumps of those trees were still visible in his day; and that, in the Isle of Skye, there is a consecrated well, called Loch Seant Well, celebrated for many virtues, and near it there is a small clump of wood, which is to this day held sacred by the surrounding inhabitants, who are careful not to cut a branch of it, from the belief that some misfortune would be the result of the act.† There are various other instances in which, within little more than a century, ancient oaks were still standing around the circles of upright stones which constituted the temples of the Druids. Chaplets of oak were worn, both by the priests and the people, in their religious ceremonies, while the altars were strewed with its leaves and encircled with its branches.

Mistletoe.

But the most remarkable of the druidical superstitions connected with the oak, was the reverence paid to the mistletoe plant, when it was found growing upon that tree. It was thought to contain a divine virtue, and to be the peculiar gift of Heaven. Pliny, who gives a particular account of the ceremony of gathering this plant, states, that whenever the mistletoe was found on the oak, which it very rarely was, a procession was made to it on the sacred day (the sixth day of the moon), with great pomp. Two white bulls were bound to the oak by their horns, then the Arch-druid, attended by a great concourse of people, ascended the tree, dressed in white, and, with a consecrated golden knife, cut the mistletoe, which another, standing on the ground, received in his sagum, or robe, amidst the rapturous exclamations of the people. The bulls were then sacrificed, and prayers offered up, that this gift of Heaven might be rendered efficacious in those distempers in which it should be administered. They entertained a high opinion of the medicinal virtues of the mistletoe, and esteemed it as a sovereign remedy for all kinds of sickness. "They call it," says Pliny, "by a name which, in their language, signifies All-Heal, because they have an opinion that it cures all diseases." The Druids ascribed medicinal qualities, also, to the selago, a kind of hedge-hyssop; to the samolus, or marsh-wort; and especially to vervain; but much of the efficacy of these herbs, according to them, depended upon the manner in which they were gathered.

Eloquence.

The influence of the Druids over their countrymen appears to have depended upon their eloquence, no less than upon their reputation for superior wisdom and learning. We have frequent mention made of their displays of oratory in their public proceedings, and they were evidently capable of wielding, in the most skilful manner, this powerful instrument for ruling the popular mind. They had ample opportunities to display their eloquence, and to prove its efficacy, in their instructions to their pupils, and in their public addresses to the people on religious and moral subjects; in the administration of the laws, also, and in the celebration of their religious solemnities, and especially in the debates of the great councils of the nations, and in their speeches to the armies when about to engage in battle. "The people pay a great regard," says Diodorus Siculus, "to their exhortations, not only in the affairs of peace but of war, and these are respected both by their friends and enemies. They sometimes step in between two hostile armies, who are standing with their swords drawn and their spears extended, ready to engage, and by their eloquence, as by an irresistible enchantment, they prevent the effusion of blood, and prevail upon them to sheathe their swords. So great are the charms of eloquence and the power of wisdom, even amongst the most fierce barbarians." We are told also by Tacitus, that "the British chieftains (who were educated by the Druids) before battle fly from rank to rank and address their men with animating speeches, tending to inflame their courage, increase their hopes, and dispel their fears;" and he depicts the Druids of Mona, when that sanctuary was attacked by the Roman general Suetonius, rushing with burning torches through the ranks of their armed countrymen, arrayed to repel the invaders, and inflaming their courage by pouring forth phrenzied prayers, with their hands uplifted to heaven. It is a curious fact, that the descendants of these ancient Britons long retained their taste for eloquence. "Orators," says Mr. Martin, "were in high esteem both in these islands (the Hebrides) and the continent, until within these forty years. They sat always among the nobles or chiefs of families, in the streah or circle, and by the force of their

* The Platonic philosopher, Maximus Tyrius, states that the Celtic nations all worshipped Jupiter under the visible representation of a lofty oak.

† Caledonia, vol. i. p. 71.

eloquence had a powerful ascendant over the greatest men in their time." *

Studies.

It appears from the concurring testimonies of several ancient authors, that natural philosophy was the favourite study of the British Druids, and that they entered into many disquisitions in their schools, concerning the form and magnitude of the universe in general, and of this world in particular.

Natural philosophy.

According to Strabo, they taught that this world was never to be entirely destroyed or annihilated, but was to undergo an endless succession of revolutions, which were to be effected sometimes by the power of water, sometimes by that of fire. Astronomy also appears to have been one of their chief studies. "The Druids," says Cæsar, "have many disquisitions concerning the heavenly bodies and their motions, in which they instruct their disciples;" and Mela observes, "that they profess to have great knowledge of the motions of the heavens and of the stars."

Astronomy.

Some knowledge of the science, indeed, was absolutely necessary, to enable them to fix the times of their religious solemnities, some of which were monthly, others annual. They computed their time by nights and not by days, so regulating their birthdays and the beginnings of months and years, that the night came first and then the day.†

Their method of computing time.

Pliny says, "They began both their months and years, not from the change but from the sixth day of the moon." The 10th of March was their New Year's Day. They had also a cycle, or period of thirty years, which they called an age, and which likewise commenced on the sixth day of the moon. When no unexpected accident prevented it, they assembled upon stated days, either at the time of the new or full moon; for they believed these to be the most auspicious times for transacting all affairs of importance, and they considered it unlucky to engage in battle while the moon was on the wane.

Magic and divination.

As might naturally have been expected, the art of divination was one of the favourite pretensions of the druidical priesthood. Cicero tells us, that he knew one of their number, Diviticus, the celebrated Æduan prince, and he was wont both to profess to have a thorough knowledge of the laws of nature, and to make predictions respecting future events, partly by augury, partly by conjecture. Pliny also mentions, that in his day the magic art was cultivated by them with such astonishing success, and so many ceremonies, that the Britons seemed to be capable of instructing even the Persians themselves in these arts. "They pretend," he says, "to discover the designs and purposes of the gods. The Eubates or Vates, in particular, investigate and display the most sublime secrets of nature, and by auspices and sacrifices they foretel future events." One of their chief methods of divination was from the inspection of the entrails of the human victims offered in sacrifice; and, as we have already seen, they drew their predictions from the posture in which the victim fell, and the direction in which the blood flowed from his body. So famous did these druidical professors of magic and divination become, that they were consulted, on all important occasions, not only by their own princes, but even sometimes by the Roman emperors.

Superstition.

One of the most extraordinary superstitious notions entertained by the Druids, related to the anguinum or serpent's egg, which Pliny tells us was worn by them as their distinguishing badge. "I have seen that egg," says he; "it is about the bigness of a moderate apple. Its shell is a cartilaginous incrustation, full of little cavities, like those on the legs of a polypus." The most extravagant stories were told of this production. It was said to be formed, at first, by a great number of serpents twined together, whose hissing at last raised it into the air, when it was to be caught, ere it fell to the ground, in a clean white cloth, by a person mounted on a swift horse, who had immediately to ride off at full speed, to escape from the serpents, who pursued him with great rage, until they were stopped by some river. The genuineness of the egg was to be proved by encasing it in gold and throwing it into a river. If it was genuine it would swim against the stream. The most wonderful virtues were ascribed to this egg. Its efficacy was particularly shown in rendering those who carried it about with them victorious in all disputes, and successful in their attempts to procure the favour and friendship of the great. It has been conjectured, with great probability, that these opinions and practices are connected with the worship of the serpent,—one of the most widely extended superstitions of the human race.

The practice of the druidical religion was interdicted by repeated decrees of the Roman emperors, and the priests were the objects of the peculiar hostility of the Roman generals. It was extirpated from Mona (Anglesey), its chief seat in South Britain, by Suetonius Paulinus, but survived in the northern parts of the island long after its extinction in the south. The learned Chalmers is of opinion, that the principal seat of Druidism in Scotland seems to have been in the recesses of Perthshire, near the range of the Grampian hills; and he states, that the number and variety of Druid remains in North Britain are almost endless.* Besides these material monuments, there can be no doubt that the bonfires of May-day

A.D. 59—61.

Remains of Druidism.

* Martin's Description of the Western Isles of Scotland.

† Cæsar, vi. 18.

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 72.

and Midsummer (Beltein or Beltane), and many other popular customs and superstitions which still survive in some of the more remote districts of our country, have all been derived from this source, and prove the general prevalence and powerful influence of that system of religion which the lapse of eighteen centuries has not been able wholly to obliterate.

Civilization of the Caledonians.

The prevalence of a system of superstition so cruel and debasing is wholly incompatible with an advanced state of civilization, and there is abundant evidence that the condition of the Caledonian tribes, anterior to the Roman invasion, was but a few stages removed from a state of barbarism. Cæsar informs us, that in the interior of the island they never sowed their lands, but followed the occupations of the hunter and the shepherd, clad in the skins, and living on the flesh and the milk, of their flocks and herds, and the spoils of the chase. He also mentions, that they thought it wrong to eat either the hare, the common fowl, or the goose, although they reared these animals for pleasure. Strabo states that, though they had abundance of milk, they were ignorant of the art of making cheese; and Xiphiline, or Dio Cassius, whose work he abridged, affirms, that none of them ever tasted fish, although they abounded in their lakes and rivers—a prejudice which even yet has not wholly disappeared from among their descendants—the Highlanders. The same author also tells us, that so late as the invasion of Severus, the Caledonians and the Mæatæ lived upon the milk of their flocks, upon wild fruits, and whatever they could procure in hunting; and he adds, that when in the woods they fed upon roots and leaves, and that when natural sustenance failed, they were in the habit of employing as a substitute a certain composition (supposed to be some kind of drug, which deadened the cravings of hunger), by which, when they had eaten about the quantity of a bean, their spirits were so admirably supported, that they no longer felt hunger or thirst.

At this period extensive forests and marshes covered nearly the whole face of the country; the bear and the wolf lurked in its thickets and caves; and the bison, the moose-deer, the Caledonian bull, and the wild boar, roamed through its wastes.*

Against these gigantic animals the imperfect weapons of the Caledonian tribes must frequently have been found unavailing. The earliest inhabitants of North Britain appear to have followed the chase, or waged war, with arrow, lance, and spear-heads of flint, celts, hatchets, hammers, and other weapons formed of stone, or occasionally of horn or bone.* As civilization advanced, these rude implements were gradually replaced by weapons and tools formed of copper and tin. At what period the art of smelting ores was discovered by the Britons, and metallic weapons and implements substituted for those of stone; whether this improvement was produced by the gradual progress of civilization among the aboriginal colonists, or by the intrusion of a new and higher race—it is now impossible to say. This much is certain, that at a very early period the ancient Britons were familiar with tin, and that about B.C. 400, if not earlier, the navies of Tyre and Carthage visited the British isles for the purpose of obtaining that metal to compound with the copper found so abundantly in several parts of Asia.† In the course of time the knowledge of the mineral treasures of the southern shores of the island would be communicated to the remoter tribes beyond the Solway and the Tyne, and they would learn to barter the skins won in the chase, for the coveted sword and spear of bronze. The knowledge of the metallurgic arts, thus communicated, would no doubt ultimately lead the Caledonian tribes to quarry and smelt the ores which abound in their native hills, and to mould the weapons and implements which they used. This is proved by the discovery of numerous stone and bronze moulds in which the earliest tools and

Introduction of metals.

* Sir R. J. Murchison, describing an urus found in a bog in Scania, says, "This urus is most remarkable in exhibiting a wound of the apophysis of the second dorsal vertebræ, apparently inflicted by a javelin of one of the aborigines, the hole left by which was exactly fitted by Nilson with one of the ancient stone javelins. This instrument had fractured the bone, and penetrated to the apophysis of the third dorsal vertebræ, which is also injured. The fractured portions are so well cemented, that Nilson thinks the animal probably lived two or three years after. The wound must have been inflicted over the horns, and the javelin must have been hurled with prodigious force."

In the Carse of Stirling there was discovered, in the year 1819, at a distance of a mile from the river, and in an alluvial soil, covered with a thin moss, the surface of which stood some twenty-five feet above the full tide of the Forth, the skeleton of a whale with a perforated lance or harpoon of deer's horn beside it. A few years later another whale was found, and in 1824, a third was disclosed on the Blair Drummond estate, seven miles farther inland, and overlaid with a thick bed of moss. Beside it also lay the rude harpoon of the hardy Caledonian whaler, in this instance retaining, owing to the preservative nature of the moss, some remains of the wooden handle by which the pointed lance of deer's horn was wielded.—*Wilson's Archæology and Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, pp. 25, 33.

* There was a large cairn on the Moor of Glenquicken, Kirkcudbrightshire, which popular tradition assigned as the tomb of some unknown Galwegian king, styled Aldus Mc Galdus. It was removed about the year 1809. On removing it the workmen came to a stone coffin of very rude workmanship, and on raising the lid they found the skeleton of a man of uncommon size. The bones were in such a state of decomposition, that the ribs and vertebræ crumbled into dust on attempting to lift them. The remaining bones, being more compact, were taken out; when it was discovered that one of the arms had been almost separated from the shoulder by the stroke of a stone axe, and that a fragment of the axe still remained in the bone. The axe had been of green stone, a species of stone never found in this part of Scotland. There were also found with this skeleton a ball of flint, about three inches in diameter, which was perfectly round and highly polished; and the head of an arrow, also of flint, but not a particle of any metallic substance.—*Wilson's Archæology*, p. 131.

† Little doubt can now be entertained that Herodotus, (B. C. 484,) in his allusions to the Cassiterides or Tin Islands, refers to Cornwall and the neighbouring islands. We learn also from the "Ora Maritima" of Festus Avienus, (circa B.C. 400,) that Britain was visited at that early period by the Carthaginians.

Engraved, chiefly from the real objects, by Wm Douglas Edinburgh

1 Bronze of Minerva, *East Lothian*
2 Bronze
3 Bronze Figure in tunic &c *from East Lothian*
4 Ring key bronze *from Castlecary*
5 Terra cotta Lamp *from Annandale*
6 Terra cotta Boar *from Annandale*
7 Cinerary Urn *Mid Clyde*
8 Altar *from Auchindavy, Dumbartonshi*
9 Vase *Perthshire*
10 Vase *Perthshire*
11 Praefericulum, bronze *Lanarkshi*
12 Fibula &c

weapons of the native metallurgist were formed. Swords, spears, axes, and other weapons and implements of bronze, in some cases exhibiting considerable beauty and variety of form and decoration, have been found in great numbers in different parts of the country, and afford an interesting specimen of the state of the arts among our ancestors, prior to the Roman invasion.*

"Whencesoever the first knowledge of the metallurgic arts was derived," says Mr. Wilson, "it introduced into the British isles the elements of a change scarcely less momentous than those which later ages trace to letters, the magnet, the printing press, or those later applications of the metals—the railway and the electric telegraph. The native Briton was no longer confined to his little clearing on the coast, nor compelled with ingenious toil to fashion the shapeless flint and stone into the weapons and implements that supplied his simple wants. The forests rang with the axe and the wedge, the low grounds were gradually cleared of their primeval forests, and the fruits of patient industry were substituted, in part at least, for the spoils of the chace. . . . . The facilities afforded by the more pliable metal tools would speedily work no less remarkable changes on the mansions of the living than on the sepulchres of the dead. The subterranean cavern would give place to the wooden structure, which the new arts rendered at once a more convenient and simple style of architecture; while the inroads on the forests which such changes led to, would necessitate the clearing of the neighbouring lands, preparatory to the extended labours of the agriculturist."†

* In the year 1780, in dragging for marl in Duddingston Loch, near Edinburgh, a large heap of swords, spears, and lumps of brass was brought up, and from the fact that some of the lumps of brass seemed as if half melted, and that gigantic deers' horns and fragments of others were discovered along with the weapons and masses of melted bronze, it has been conjectured, with some probability, that a considerable manufactory of bronze weapons had been carried on at some remote period on the margin of the loch. Some of the most perfect and beautiful of these weapons are now in the Abbotsford Museum, and about fifty pieces of swords, spear-heads, and other fragments of weapons, most of them more or less affected by fire, are in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The swords are of the leaf-shaped form, with perforated handles, to which bone or wood has been attached. Some of the large spear-heads have been pierced with a variety of ornamental perforations. During the construction of the Queen's Drive, in 1846, almost directly above Duddingston Loch, two most beautiful and perfect leaf-shaped bronze swords were dug up in a bed of vegetable charcoal, and are now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries. The bronze spear-heads present a great variety of forms of ornamental devices. The Scottish bronze dagger of the same period is almost invariably found to consist of a two-edged blade, tapering to a point, and perforated with holes for attaching a handle to it by means of rivets. Bronze bucklers have also been found in various places, and some of wood, full of brass nails. The circular Highland target is closely formed on the model of these bronze shields, even retaining the boss on the centre of the target, which was intended to receive and protect the hand in which the buckler was held, though the Highlanders, like the ancient Romans, wore the shield on the arm,—a striking proof of the tenacity with which the Celtic races are found to cling to ancient customs.—See Archæology, &c., part ii.

† Ibid. pp. 205, 221.

The descriptions furnished by Julius Cæsar, Tacitus, and other classical writers, of the weapons used by the native Britons in their encounters with their Roman foes, do not in any degree correspond with the common forms of the bronze swords and spears found in the earlier tumuli. The bronze leaf-shaped sword is a short and small, though formidable weapon, evidently adapted for thrusting rather than striking; whereas Tacitus describes the Caledonians as using swords large and blunt at the point. It has, therefore, been supposed, with considerable probability, that the bronze era was passing away when the Roman legions first landed on the shores of Britain. Be this as it may, we know that, at the period of the Roman invasion, the native tribes were acquainted with the use of iron; for Herodian expressly informs us that they wore iron about their necks and bellies, esteeming this as fine and rich an ornament as others do gold. Under a vast cairn on the supposed site of the battle of Mons Grampius, great quantities of iron weapons were found mingled with bones, which there is every reason to believe were coeval with the resolute stand which the Caledonians made on this spot against the legionaries of Agricola. In various other parts of the country, remains of sword-blades, spear-heads, daggers, and other iron weapons have been discovered, in connexion with bronze implements, glazed pottery, and other relics, which lead to the conclusion that they must have belonged to the same era, though it may be doubted whether such weapons were at all in general use at this period among the Caledonian tribes.

War-chariots of the Caledonians.

Mention is made, both by Cæsar and Tacitus, of the war-chariots, which formed an important part of the military array of the ancient Britons. These chariots were armed with scythes and hooks, attached to the wheels and axles, for cutting and tearing the adverse ranks as they were driven rapidly along. Each chariot contained a charioteer, with one or sometimes two warriors. These vehicles they appear to have managed with considerable dexterity, and on several occasions succeeded by their means in breaking the Roman line. The very dread of the horses, Cæsar informs us, and the noise of the rapid wheels, often broke the ranks of his legions. When they had thrown the enemy into confusion, the warriors leaped from the chariots and fought on foot, while the drivers retired to a short distance, so as to favour their retreat in case of their being overmatched. "In this manner," says Cæsar, "they perform the part both of rapid cavalry and of steady infantry." It is worthy of notice, that the Gauls, nearly three centuries earlier, employed the same mode of fighting in their contests with the Romans. "A number of the enemy," says Livy, "mounted on chariots and cars, made towards them with such a terrible noise, from the trampling of the horses and the rolling of the

wheels, as affrighted the horses of the Romans, unaccustomed to such operations. By this means, a distracting terror seized upon the victorious cavalry, and men and horses in their headlong flight were thrown in heaps to the ground. The same cause produced disorder even in the ranks of the legions; through the impetuosity of the horses, and the carriages they dragged through the ranks, many of the Roman soldiers in the van were trodden or bruised to death, and the Gauls, as soon as they saw the enemy in confusion, followed up the advantage, nor allowed them breathing-time."*

Their horses and cavalry.

The horses which the Caledonians employed in war were of a small breed, but swift, spirited, and hardy. The cavalry were accustomed, like the car-borne warriors, to dismount on fitting occasions, and to fight on foot. They are said to have been also in the habit of mixing infantry with cavalry; a foot-soldier holding by each horse's mane, and keeping pace with him in all his motions.

Their infantry.

But the infantry, according to Tacitus, constituted the main strength of the armies of the Caledonians. Their swiftness of foot, and expertness in swimming over rivers, and crossing fens and marshes, gave them a great advantage in making sudden attacks and retreats. Like their Highland descendants, they were in the habit of throwing off the greater part of their clothing, before closing with their adversaries in a hand to hand conflict. They were armed with a spear and a long unwieldy sword, without a point, and only meant for cutting.†

Arms.

Their defensive armour consisted only of a small light target. "Their sword," says Herodian, "hangs on their naked bodies. They know not the use of a breast-plate and helmet, and imagine these would be an impediment to them in passing the fens." The spear was sometimes used as a missile weapon, and at the butt end of it was a rattle, formed of a hollow ball of copper, with pieces of metal inside, to frighten the horses of the enemy. In their conflicts with the Romans, the Caledonians displayed some knowledge of military tactics, both in their mode of drawing up their troops, and in their promptitude and skill in turning the wings of the enemy. The infantry was usually placed in the centre, and the cavalry and chariots on the wings. The waggons which contained their families were stationed in the rear, and served as a barrier for its protection; while the presence of these spectators of the engagements, and the shrill cries which they were in the habit of raising, acted as an incentive to their fathers, husbands, and sons, to fight to the last in defence of all that was dearest to them.

Military tactics.

The strongholds of the earliest inhabitants of Scotland were of a rude and primitive character. The simplest in construction is the earthen mound, or mote hill, steeply escarped, and, no doubt, having its vallum of earth surrounded originally by wooden palisades. Nearly akin to these are the circular hill forts, or duns, as they are called in Gaelic, which still crown the summits of so many Scottish hills. Numerous specimens of this class of fortifications may be seen on the heights of Galloway and the Lothians, on the Lammermoors, and on the southern slopes of the Kilsyth and Grampian hills, immediately to the north of the great Roman wall. They usually occupy the level summit of hills difficult of access, and are inclosed with ramparts of earth and stone, without any appearance of mortar or cement. In the areas of several of them there were huts, or other buildings for habitations, and wells for supplying the garrison with water. The most remarkable of these hill forts are the strongholds which crown the summit of the Catterthuns in Angus-shire, looking across the valley of Strathmore. The mountain on which they stand is bifurcated with a fortress on each peak, the highest called the White, the other the Brown Catterthun, from the colour of the walls. The White Catterthun is of an oval form, constructed of a stupendous dike of loose stones, upwards of a hundred feet thick at the base, and twenty-five feet thick at the top, with a succession of ramparts and ditches which surround the height at lower elevations. The area within the stony mound is flat, and is a hundred and thirty-six feet in length, by two hundred feet in breadth. The hollow, which was once the well of the fort, is still visible, though now nearly filled up with stones. The Brown Catterthun is of a circular form, and consists of a series of concentric entrenchments. It must have cost uncommon labour to collect the materials of these huge works, and to carry them to such a height.*

Strongholds.

Another class of native works to which great interest has been attached, are the Vitrified Forts, in which the stones have been fused by the action of fire. Several ingenious theories have been framed to account for the origin of these remarkable works; but the conclusion which Dr. Hibbert drew, from a series of careful investigations, is now generally acquiesced in—that the vitrification is an incidental and not a designed effect, resulting accidentally from the frequent kindling of beacon fires, as the signals of war or invasion, as well as from bon-fires, which formed a part of festive or religious rejoicings.†

Vitrified forts.

"The situation of these British strengths," says Chalmers, "their relative positions to one another,

* Tit. Liv. lib. x. c. 28.

† Tacit, Agric. c. 36.

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 89; Roy's Military Antiquities, plate xlviii.; King's Munimenta Antiqua, vol. i. p. 27, plates i. and ii.; Pennant's Tour, vol. iii. plate xvi.; Wilson's Archæology, p. 412.

† Archæol. Scot. vol. iv.; Wilson's Archæology, pp. 413—418.

ANCIENT NATIVE WEAPONS FOUND IN SCOTLAND

and the accommodations attached to them, show that they have rather been constructed for the purpose of protecting the tribes from the attacks of one another, than for the purpose of checking an invading enemy. They are placed upon eminences in those parts of the country, which, even in these early ages, must have been the most habitable, and have furnished the greatest quantity of subsistence. They frequently appear in groups of three, four, and even more, in the vicinity of each other; and they are so disposed upon the tops of heights, that sometimes a considerable number may be seen from one another, having one much larger and stronger than the others in the most commanding situation, which has, no doubt, been the distinguished post of the chief. Such was the large and strong post on the Eildon hills, around which, in the adjacent country, there are the remains of more than a dozen smaller strengths. Such, also, were the large strengths on Burrenswark-hill, at Inchtuthel, the Catterthuns, Barra-hill, Castle-over, and others, all which had their subordinate posts around them; and the remains of many of those strengths are still to be seen. That many of these fortresses were in existence before the Romans invaded North Britain, appears from this decisive circumstance, that several of the larger strengths were converted into Roman posts. The large British fort on the Eildon hills, that at Inchtuthel, that at Castle-over, and some other smaller British fortlets, were converted into Roman posts. We may also draw the same inference from the curious fact, that Roman camps are judiciously placed among several groups of these British strengths, for the evident purpose of overawing and watching them."*

Artificial trenches.

Connected with these hill-forts is another kind of primitive stronghold, consisting of artificial trenches, generally dug in the side of a hill, and evidently intended to afford shelter to the natives and their cattle from an invading foe. Examples of this class of defensive earth-works may still be seen between Kintore and Inverury, in Aberdeenshire; in the parish of Dalry, in Kirkcudbrightshire; in Glencoe, and in various other districts of the country.†

Dwellings.

There is the clearest evidence that the earliest habitations of the aborigines of North Britain, like those of the natives of almost every other country, were "pits, or slight excavations in the ground, covered and protected from the inclemency of the weather by boughs of trees and sods of turf." The rudest of these primitive dwellings consist of shallow excavations, of a circular or oblong form, and about seven or eight feet in diameter. A higher order of subterraneous structures is composed of large flat stones, without any cement, and consisting of two or three apartments about five feet wide, and covered with stones of the same kind. On digging within the area of these dwellings, charred wood or ashes, mingled with fragments of decayed bones and vegetable matter, and fragments of large earthen vessels, have generally been found, and occasionally a querne, or handmill for grinding corn.

Weems or caves.

Another class of primitive dwellings, which abound in many parts of Scotland, are the *Weems*, or natural caves, which have been rendered more commodious by art. Great numbers of these subterraneous dwellings have been discovered in the northern districts of the country, and in the Hebrides and Orkney Islands, varying in their internal shape and dimensions, but bearing a general similarity in the style of their construction. A single aperture, in most cases, served for door and chimney, and for the admission of light and air, though occasionally a small aperture has been found at the further end, apparently to give vent to the fire. The roof, when artificial, was formed, like those of the cyclopean structures of Greece, and of Mexico and Yucatan, of huge stones, overlapping each other in succession, until the remaining vacant space could be completed by a single block extending from side to side. Ashes, quernes, deers' horns, and bones, have frequently been discovered in these weems, and occasionally a few extremely rude implements, the relics of the primitive arts of the inhabitants. In one of them, in the parish of Auchterhouse, Forfarshire, a brass ring was found, but without any inscription; and in another, in Shapinshay, Orkney, a gold ring was discovered, of very remarkable construction.

In almost every district of Scotland there are natural caves, which have been improved by art into hiding-places for the inhabitants. Few of these subterranean retreats are more interesting than the caves of Hawthornden, near Edinburgh, which have been hewn, with great labour and ingenuity, in a rocky cliff overhanging the river Esk. The original entrance was most effectually concealed by being constructed in the shaft of a very deep draw-well, sunk in the court-yard of the castle. These remarkable structures, which consist of different apartments, of various forms and sizes, are well known to have afforded shelter, in the reign of David Bruce, to a courageous band of Scottish patriots, under Sir Alexander Ramsay, who endeavoured to rescue their country from the domination of the English. Other examples of a similar kind, all bearing traces, more or less, of the employment of artificial means to adapt them for human dwellings, may be seen on the banks of the Teviot and its tributary the Ale, in Roxburghshire, on the banks of the Calder, in Lanarkshire, and along the coast of Arran.

Another class of primitive dwellings, differing slightly from the subterranean weems, appears

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 87, note.
† Archæology, &c. pp. 418, 419.

to be peculiar to the Orkney Islands, and to the neighbouring districts of Caithness and Sutherland. They are popularly termed "Picts' houses," and are usually erected on the level ground, or excavated in part out of the side of a hill, so as to admit of a level entrance. They are built with stones of considerable size, which converge towards the centre, where an opening appears to have been left for the admission of light and air. An artificial mound has been heaped over them, so that their external appearance is scarcely distinguishable from that of the larger tumuli.*

Picts' houses.

The rude but massive structures of cyclopean architecture seem to have been gradually abandoned, first, for dwellings of a similar character, but simpler and less durable in their modes of construction, and then for huts composed of turf and branches of trees. Cæsar describes the houses of the Britons, at the time of the Roman invasion, as nearly of the same form and structure with those of the Gauls.† These, according to Diodorus Siculus, were formed of wood, and covered with straw; and Strabo represents them as being constructed of poles and wattled work, of a circular form, with lofty, tapering, or pointed roofs. There can be no doubt that the houses of the Caledonians, at the time of Agricola's expedition, were of this description; and in various districts of the country the relics of these structures have been discovered beneath an accumulation of from eight to ten feet of moss. The floors, which are generally found to measure about six feet in diameter, consist of rough oval palings of stone, bearing marks of fire, and frequently covered with charred ashes, and are sometimes surrounded with the remains of pointed hazel stakes or posts, the relics, doubtless, of the upright beams with which the walls of the ancient fabric was framed. In one of these dwellings uncovered near Comrie, in 1823, pieces of charcoal and burned wood were found, along with charred wheat and some fragments of iron, which may probably have lain there undisturbed since the time when the native tribes fired their houses before fleeing for refuge to the woods, after the fatal battle of the Grampians.‡

Huts of the Caledonians.

In many parts of the country the subterranean structures of the ancient inhabitants of Scotland are found in groups, but there is no reason to believe that they had anything among them answering to the Roman ideas of a city or town. "What the Britons call a town," says Cæsar, "is a tract of woody country surrounded by a vallum (a high bank) and a ditch, for the security of themselves and cattle against the incursions of their enemies." And Strabo observes, "The forests of the Britons are their cities; for when they have inclosed a very large circuit with felled trees, they build within it houses for themselves, and hovels for their cattle. These buildings are very slight, and not designed for long duration."

If we may credit the statements of the classical writers, the domestic arrangements of the ancient Britons were of a very peculiar kind. Cæsar informs us that ten or twelve families used to live under the same roof, the husbands having their wives in common. The offspring of these singular unions were regarded as the children of the persons by whom their mothers had been first married. Many have been disposed to call in question the truth of these statements, and to contend that the Romans drew this erroneous conclusion from the circumstance that the Britons slept promiscuously in their hovels, as the peasantry do to this day in some parts of Ireland. But it has been alleged on the other hand, that among other barbarous tribes, the Romans found many families huddled together under one roof, without, however, assuming on that account that they lived in all respects in common. Besides, the testimony of Cæsar is confirmed by that of Dio Cassius, or his abridger, Xiphiline, who reports a conversation respecting this custom between the Empress Julia and the wife of a British chief; and by the evidence of St. Jerome, who states that the practice still prevailed in his day in the northern parts of Britain. It is probable, however, that the community of wives was never at any time universal among the British tribes; for there is abundant evidence that the women were held in general respect, and that the chastity of the sexes, and the purity of domestic intercourse, were highly appreciated and strictly maintained by the Britons.

Community of wives.

Women appear to have assumed the prophetic office equally with men, and they even occasionally held the reins of sovereignty, and commanded armies in the field. And the frequent occurrence of implements of housewifery and female ornaments among the contents of the ancient sepulchres, warrants the conclusion, that women possessed, even at that early era, among the northern tribes, no unequal position in the social scale.

Social rank of women.

Of the manner in which the hovels of the Caledonians were furnished, we know scarcely anything. A variety of domestic vessels of stone, of different forms and sizes, have been discovered; but nearly all of them are extremely rude, both in their form and character, and in their attempts at ornament, and have evidently been in use among the Scottish aborigines at the same time with the stone celt and hammer. Coeval with these domestic utensils is the druidical patera, as it is generally designated, from an idea that it was used in the sacred rites of druidical worship, consisting of a small round cup or bowl, with a perforated handle on one side, and more or less ornamented, though generally in the rudest style, and bearing unmistakeable evidence that it was formed by men destitute of efficient metallic tools. To this class also belongs the Scottish

Domestic utensils.

* For a full description of the weems, and other primeval dwellings of the tribes of North Britain, see Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 96—98; Pennant's Tour, vol. i. Appendix, p. 339; and especially Wilson's Archæology of Scotland, pp. 74—91.

† Bell. Gall. lib. v. ch. 12.

‡ Tacit. Agric. c. 38; Archæology, p. 76.

Engraved chiefly from the ori[illegible] W.m Douglas Edin.

1. Urn of Stone
[illegible]ssels of Clay
Bead Stones
. Quern. *(Stone)*
. Basin and Patera
inger Ring. *(Bronze)*
. Head Ring. *(Dº)*
) Brooch. *(Dº)*
Gold Pellets
Ornamented Leather Sho
12 Carrac, or Untanned Sho

querne or handmill, unquestionably an invention of the highest antiquity, though it has continued in use until very recently, in some of the remoter districts of the country. On the introduction of metals, these rude vessels and implements of stone were replaced by utensils formed of bronze, and even of gold, which, whencesoever it was derived, appears to have been used in Scotland, to a considerable extent, from the earliest period of the introduction of metals. Many of these interesting relics of antiquity, which have been brought to light either by opening the cairns and sepulchral barrows, or by the draining of bogs and lakes, consist of various culinary and domestic utensils, such as pots, caldrons, tripods, goblets, and bowls formed of bronze, and occasionally horns or drinking-cups of gold. It has been customary to ascribe all these vessels, either formed of bronze or of the precious metals, to the Roman era; but there is now good reason to believe that they ought rather to be regarded as the productions of native art, though, doubtless, of a late period, and not improbably, in many cases, coeval with the Roman invasion.

Querne.

Vessels of bronze and gold.

The art of manufacturing articles of earthenware was not unknown to the Caledonians. Numerous specimens of such articles have been discovered in the tumuli; and as they present, in every respect, a striking contrast to the pottery of the Roman colonists, we need have no hesitation in assigning them to the native manufacturer. The earliest of these specimens of native fictile ware are composed of very coarse materials, rudely formed by hand, imperfectly baked, and liable, therefore, to crack by mere exposure to the weather. Others, however, are gracefully formed and elaborately decorated, and have evidently been made by workmen who had acquired a knowledge of the potter's wheel. Numerous cinerary urns and domestic pottery of various kinds have been found in Scotland, and are characterized by considerable diversity, both in shape and decoration. The vases most frequently found are divided into three kinds: the large sepulchral urn, which contains the burnt bones of the deceased, and is usually a truncated cone, standing mouth downwards, in a dish made to fit like a pie-dish—the drinking-cup, of a barrel form, but widening at the mouth, holding about a quart in measure, and supposed to have contained articles of food for the dead—(it is most frequently found with skeletons, and is placed at the head and feet)—and incense cups, small in size, and more fantastic in shape and ornaments than the former, supposed to have been filled with balsams and precious ointments or frankincense, and to have been suspended over the funeral pile.* Some of these perforated urns or cups, which are evidently designed for suspension, are provided with a cover or lid, made of the same material. Others are made round on the bottom, so as to be unfitted for setting on the ground; and it is supposed that these are specimens of the earliest artificial cooking-vessels manufactured by native skill.* On the other hand, urns, coated with a dark green glaze, have been found alongside of iron weapons and other relics, which show that they belong to the last Pagan period in Scotland.

Pottery.

Sepulchral vases.

The Mœatæ and Caledonians are represented by the classical writers as living in a state of nudity; but the accuracy of the statement may be doubted, as the Romans seldom saw these warlike tribes save in battle, where, according to the general custom of the Celtic nations, they were in the habit of laying aside the greater part of their clothing for convenience. Cæsar states, that the inhabitants of the interior of Britain wore garments of skins; it is highly improbable, therefore, that the northern tribes were entirely destitute of clothing. The Gauls possessed the knowledge of the art of fabricating and dyeing cloth, and consequently so must also the inhabitants of the north of Britain. According to Pliny and Diodorus Siculus, the Gauls manufactured woollen cloth, dyed of several colours, and woven either in stripes or cheques. The Belgian Gauls wore dyed tunics of variegated colours, and close trousers, which they called *braccae*. Red was the predominant colour, both in the chequered trousers and in the tunic. Over the tunic, both the Gauls and the Britons wore a short cloak, called a sagum, which was of one uniform colour, generally either blue or black. As civilization advanced, the dress, with the other manners and customs of the southern Britons, was doubtless adopted by the ruder northern tribes, and the dyed garments of wool gradually superseded the clothing of skins. Numerous allusions are made by the classical writers to the peculiar custom which the Britons practised of staining their bodies of a blue colour, with the herb vitrum or woad. According to Herodian, they punctured their bodies with the figures of all sorts of animals. Isidore, speaking of the Picts, states that their name was derived from their painted skins, and that they squeezed out the juice of certain herbs upon the body, and punctured the figures with a needle. This practice, which bears a close resemblance to the tattooing common among the natives of the South Sea Islands, was in all probability at its height when the clothing of the people was most scanty; but as civilization advanced, and the articles of raiment were increased, it would be gradually discontinued, and at last wholly abandoned. The personal ornaments of the aborigines of Caledonia appear to have been formed of bone or horn, and even of coal and stone. Various relics of these primeval decorations have been preserved, consisting of perforated beads of bones, horn pins perforated animals' teeth, and other rudely formed necklaces and pendants. Ornaments of jet or shale, and cannel coal, and large beads of glass and pebble, have also been discovered in the grave-mounds

Dress.

Custom of painting their bodies.

Personal ornaments.

* See R. C. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, Introd. i. 25.

* Archæology, p. 285; Archæol. Scot. vol. ii. p. 76.

of North Britain, together with relics formed of polished pale greenstone, representing a class which appear to have been common among the personal decorations of the stone period, whether regarded merely as ornaments, or valued for some hidden virtue which may have been supposed to pertain to them. Necklaces, even ruder still, have been found belonging to this primeval period, formed of the common small shells of our coasts—of cockles and of oyster-shells, perforated, and strung together with a fibre or sinew.

The ornaments belonging to the bronze period are, as might be expected, of a much higher order. Not a few of them, indeed, were still formed of stone, or of jet and shale; but the taste and ingenuity which their workmanship displays are evidently the result of considerable mechanical skill. Some of these ornaments of shale were, until very recently, held in superstitious reverence by the peasantry, for their medicinal virtues or supernatural powers, and were especially regarded as a sovereign specific to counteract the supposed effects of witchcraft. Necklaces, beads, buttons, rings, and other relics of this class, have been discovered in great numbers in various districts of the country, exhibiting a degree of finish and decoration which distinguishes them from earlier ornaments formed of the same materials. To the same period belong the large beads of glass or vitreous paste and amber, stone, clay, and porcelain, so frequently found in the British tumuli, and commonly known as Adder Beads, Serpent Stones, and Druidical Beads. But by far the most valuable of the Scottish sepulchral deposits of the bronze period, are the beautiful gold and silver relics which are from time to time brought to light on the opening of sepulchral tumuli, or in the course of agricultural or railway operations. They are of great variety, and, in many cases, are exceedingly beautiful in design and ornament. Some of these consist of bracelets and armlets; others are a sort of necklace or collar, called a torque, composed of flexible bars of gold or silver, twisted like a rope or wreath, and supposed to have been the symbol of nobility or command. Herodian says that the Caledonians wore torques of iron, "of which they were as vain as other barbarians were of gold." Numerous specimens of these torques and armillæ, composed of gold, silver, and bronze, have been found in various parts of Scotland, and have attracted great attention by the beauty of their workmanship. Massive gold rings, with dilated ends, have also been discovered; and it is supposed that they, as well as the plain gold armillæ, constituted the "ring-money" of the ancient Britons, and were employed as a circulating medium till long after the era of the Roman invasion. Another class of gold ornaments peculiar to the British Isles consists of a solid cylindrical gold bar, bent into a semicircle, and terminated at both ends with hollow cups, resembling the mouth of a trumpet. It has been conjectured that these curious gold relics served as clasps or fastenings for the ancient British chlamys, or mantle, worn by the native chief, or by the arch-priest when robed in his most stately pontificals. Metal rings of various kinds, fibulæ, hair-pins, bodkins, and needles of bronze, are frequently met with, and occasionally some small fragments of knitted or woven tissues, of the herring-bone pattern—the interesting remains of the domestic manufactures of the ancient Caledonians. The massive snake-bracelets, the beaded torques, and the rings for the hair, formed of bronze, frequently found in Scotland, are generally characterized by great beauty of form, and delicacy of ornament, and are supposed to belong to the latest Pagan era, when artistic design had been fully developed.*

Golden bracelets and torques.

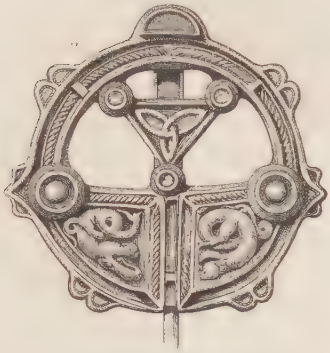
From the insular position of Britain, it is evident that its first colonists must have possessed some knowledge of boat-building and of navigation; and various specimens of the canoes of the aboriginal Britons have from time to time been brought to light. Several of these have been dug out of Lochar-moss, in Dumfries-shire, near the Solway Frith, along with anchors, oars, and other naval implements. One brought to light in 1736, was seven feet long, and dilated to a considerable breadth at one end: the paddle was found near it. Another, hollowed out of the trunk of an oak, was examined by Mr. Pennant in 1782. "Near a place called Kilblain," says he, "I met with one of the ancient canoes of the primeval inhabitants of the country, when it was probably in the same state of nature as Virginia when first discovered by Captain Philip Amidas. The length of this little vessel was eight feet eight inches; of the cavity, six feet seven inches; the breadth, two feet; depth, eleven inches; and at one end were the remains of three pegs for the paddle. The hollow was made with fire, in the very manner that the Indians of America formed their canoes."†

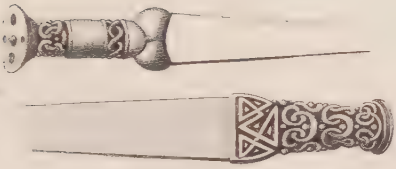
Boats.

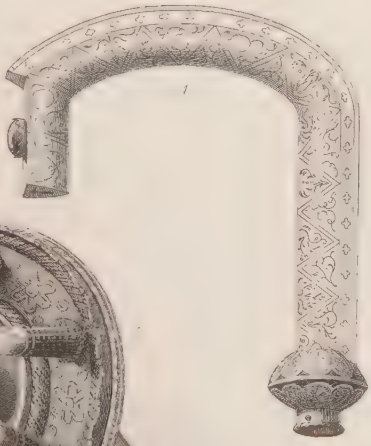
Other rude barques, of a similar construction, have been discovered in Carlinwark Loch, Kirkcudbrightshire, and in Loch Doon, Ayrshire. One of the canoes found in the latter, measured about twenty-three feet in length, and was formed of a single oak-tree, with the insertion of an upright plank into a broad groove, for the stern. The largest of these primitive barques discovered in North Britain, was found on the banks of the Carron, Stirlingshire, in 1726, at a depth of fifteen feet from the surface, and covered by successive strata of clay, shells, moss, sand, and gravel. It was formed, as usual, from a single oak-tree, and measured thirty-six feet in length by four feet in breadth, and was finely polished, and perfectly smooth both inside and outside. No fewer than nine ancient canoes have been found, at different times, on the banks of the Clyde, at Glasgow. In one of them lay a beautifully finished stone celt,

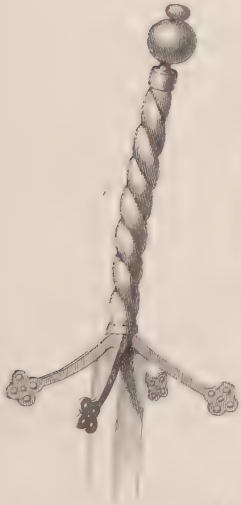
* Archæology, part i. chap. viii., part ii. chap. vi., and part iii. chap. v.; Archæol. Scot. vol. ii. plate iii., vol. iii. p. 299, vol. iv. p. 217, vol. viii. p. 429; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 129.

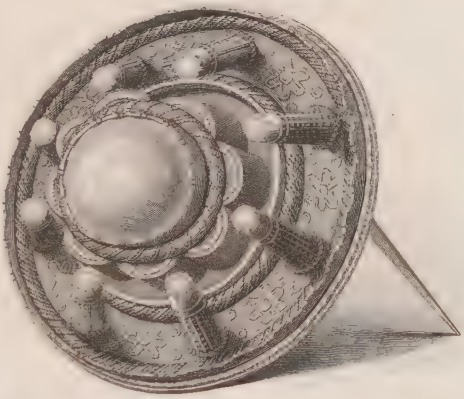
† Pennant's Tour, vol. ii. p. 107.

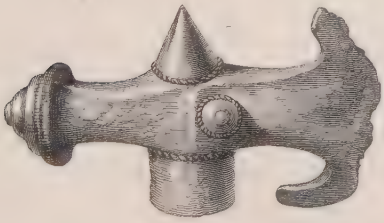


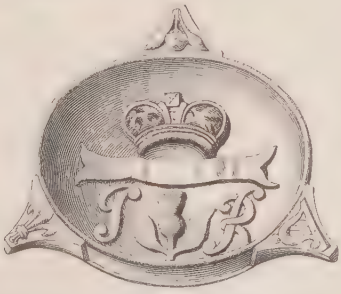











T R

apparently formed of dark greenstone. Another, found in 1825, was built of several pieces of oak, though without ribs, and exhibited unusual evidences of labour and ingenuity. A third, discovered in 1847, had a circular hole in the bottom, to admit of water shipped being run off when it was on shore; and, strange to say, this hole was stopped by a plug of cork. Another kind of boats in use among the ancient Britons at a later period, appears to have been formed of osier-twigs, covered with hide, closely resembling the currach of the Irish, and the coracle of the Welsh. But, owing to the perishable nature of the materials of which they were formed, no specimen of this class of primitive boats has been preserved.

There are few sources from which we can derive such accurate information respecting the manners and customs of a people and their progress in civilization, as from the structure and contents of the memorials they erect in honour of the departed. The ancient Britons, like most other untutored races, expected their future to resemble their present state, and that in another state of existence they would have an opportunity of pursuing the occupations in which they delighted to engage here. Hence the weapons of war and of the chase—personal ornaments—the insignia of rank and distinction—the favourite horse and dog—were deposited in the sepulchral mound along with the buried chief, in order that, in the new state of being on which he had entered, he might be arrayed in a manner befitting his rank, and provided with everything requisite for his defence, subsistence, and amusement. The sepulchres of the first colonists of North Britain for the most part consist of two classes, Barrows and Cairns, the former composed only of earth, the latter of stones.

Sepulchral memorials.

Barrows.

The Barrows are of various forms and sizes, and have been described by Dr. Wilson, in his very able and learned work, as consisting of the Long Barrow; the Bowl Barrow, a plain hemispherical mound of earth; the Bell Barrow, which is not very common in Scotland, is evidently of later date, and exhibits greater skill and labour in its construction; the Conoid Barrow; the Crowned Barrow, with one or more standing stones set upon it; the Enclosed Barrow, which is environed by an earthen vallum; and the Encircled Barrow, generally of large proportions, and surrounded by a circle of standing stones. The whole of these vast mounds have evidently been reserved only for chiefs and personages of exalted rank. The common dead were deposited in plain and undistinguished cemeteries. The long barrow, which is supposed to be the earliest of these sepulchral memorials, is an immense mound of earth of an oblong form and rude construction, but containing no metallic implements, and very few valuable relics of any kind. The contents of the other more elegantly shaped barrows indicate the existence of a much higher state of civilization among the people by whom they were constructed. There is reason to believe that this mode of burial was not entirely superseded till some time after the introduction of Christianity into Scotland.

Cairns.

The Cairns, or tumuli constructed of stones, are the largest and most numerous of all the Scottish sepulchral mounds, and appear to have been erected as a receptacle for the honoured dead from the remotest period down to the close of Pagan customs and sepulchral rites. Some of these gigantic monuments have been erected on the sites of ancient battles, and are believed to be the memorials of the victors in those bloody conflicts. Cairns abound in almost every district in Scotland, and many of them are works of great labour, containing extensive sepulchral chambers, regularly built of stones of considerable size. All the articles discovered in these stone chambers are usually of greater value than those which have been deposited in any other class of sepulchral mounds; they are, therefore, supposed to have been the burial places of the most distinguished chieftains of the aboriginal races. They are of different shapes; but the conical form is most frequently met with. Great numbers of these cairns have been opened in various parts of the country, and the interesting relics which they contained have added largely to our knowledge of the manners and customs of the primitive races of Scotland.

Cromlechs.

The Cromlech, or "Druidical Altar," as it was long termed, is now generally regarded as a sepulchral monument, and is undoubtedly by far the most laborious and costly memorial which the ancient Britons erected in honour of their illustrious dead. It usually consists of three or four rough, unhewn blocks, supporting a huge cap-stone, and inclosing an urn, within which the skeleton has been disposed in a contracted position, and accompanied with coins and relics of an early period. In some cases these cromlechs appear to have been encircled with a ring of standing stones. There is good reason to believe that these huge sepulchral memorials are the work of the earliest inhabitants of Scotland, during the primeval or stone period. They are now comparatively rare; but the traces of ruined cromlechs, which are still visible in various parts of the country, show that they must at one time have been much more numerous.

Modes of burial.

The ancient Britons appear to have adopted a variety of modes in the disposition of the body in these sepuchral monuments. In all probability, the earliest mode of interment was to place the body in a cist in a contracted posture, with the knees drawn up to the breast, that the warrior, with his weapons at his side, might be ready to spring up fully equipped for the conflict. The weapons and implements found with the remains of the body interred in this posture are usually of rude workmanship, although the custom appears to have prevailed for ages. Sometimes the body was laid in the grave at full length, and in these cases the articles of bronze and iron deposited along with it indicate greater skill in the arts, and a more advanced state of

civilization. About the closing period of the Pagan era, rude oaken coffins appear to have been substituted for the primitive cist of stone. Two specimens of these ancient coffins, each formed of a solid trunk of oak, were recently brought to light in the course of some excavations on the Castle-hill at Edinburgh. Similar examples of oaken cists, hollowed out of solid trees, have been discovered in various parts of the country. In the later tumuli have been found bronze rings, bridle bits, and other portions of horse furniture, in some instances highly decorated. The skeleton of the dog is frequently met with, and sometimes the teeth and bones, and even the entire skeleton of the horse; and, in rare cases, the relics of the British war-chariot, making evident the remarkable fact, that not only the warrior's weapons, but even his chariot and horses, were sometimes interred along with him.

The contents of these sepulchral monuments show that, at a very early period, the inhabitants of North Britain were in the frequent practice of burning the bodies of the dead. As in every state of society the rites connected with the burial of the dead are among the last things affected by change, there is every reason to believe that the practice of cineration was introduced by a new race, along with the knowledge of the metallurgic arts. It is unquestionable that this custom must have been in use among the ancient Britons for many generations before the era of the Roman invasion. The practice of cineration was long contemporaneous with the custom of inhumation, and it is impossible to say which of the two was esteemed the more honourable. In some of the tumuli, indeed, a single cist has been found containing a skeleton untouched by fire, and around it several cinerary urns, containing the half-burned bones and ashes of the dead. In others the central cists are large and carefully constructed, while those which are placed around them are greatly inferior, both in construction and dimensions. The former, in all probability, contains the ashes of the chief and his wife; the latter, those of their children, or favourite attendants. Cæsar relates of the Gallic chieftains, that their funerals were magnificent and sumptuous, and that not only the things which they loved best when alive, and even their dogs and horses, but their favourite servants and retainers also, were consumed along with them on the funeral pile.* Apart from the conclusion which may be drawn from this statement, the arrangement of the sepulchral tumuli of the aboriginal Britons, the groups of cists or urns, and other relics which they contain, afford strong presumptive evidence that a similar practice prevailed among them.

Analogous to the sepulchral cairns of the Caledonians are the memorials which they erected on fields of ancient conflict, to perpetuate the remembrance of those who fell in the engagement. Some of these sepulchral tumuli mark the supposed site of the battle of the Grampians. "On the hill, above the moor of Ardoch," says Gordon, "are two great heaps of stones; the one called Carn-wichel, the other Carnlee. The former is the greatest curiosity of this kind that I ever met with. The quantity of great rough stones lying above one another almost surpasses belief, which made me have the curiosity to measure it; and I found the whole heap to be about one hundred and eighty-two feet in length, thirty in sloping height, and forty-five in breadth at the bottom."* In this cairn there has been found a stone coffin, containing a skeleton seven feet long. In the parish of Libberton, near Edinburgh, there were several very large cairns of this class, called Cat-stanes, beneath which were found cists containing human skeletons, and various bronze and iron weapons. There are also single stones in various parts of Scotland, still known by the same designation, which is evidently derived from the British *Cad*, or the Celtic *Cath*, signifying "a battle."

Memorial-stones.

Another class of single memorial-stones are the Hare or Hoar-stones (*i. e.*, literally border or boundary stones), which have evidently been intended to serve as land-marks. One of these rude memorials stood on the Borough Moor of Edinburgh, and probably marked the western boundary of the ancient chase claimed from time immemorial by the city. When James IV. mustered the array of the kingdom there in 1513, the royal standard, according to tradition, was displayed from the "Hare Stane," which is now built into the wall on the left-hand side of the highway leading towards Braid, not far from the head of Bruntsfield Links.† The term "Hare Stanes," is applied to a circular group of stones near Kirkden, in the parish of Kirkurd, Peeblesshire; and there are several cairns and "laws" in various parts of the country which bear the same designation.‡ To this class of memorials belongs the "Hawk Stane," at St. Madoes, Perthshire, which stands on the marches of what is known to have been the ancient possessions of the Hays of Errol, and still bounds the parishes of St. Madoes and Inchture. This stone is said to have been set up immediately after the defeat of the Danes, in the battle of Luncarty (circa A.D. 990), and is referred to by Boece as existing in his day (A.D. 1500).

A still more remarkable class of monumental or memorial-stones are the "Standing-stones," as they are denominated, from their upright position. The most celebrated of these monuments of antiquity are the Stones of Stennis—the Orcadian Stonehenge—as they have been appropriately termed. They consist of two groups of rude pillars, formed of single stones, placed perpendicularly in the earth. Their situation is very peculiar. Two large sheets of

Standing-stones.

* Bell. Gall. vi. 19.

* Itin. Septen. p. 42.

† "The royal standard floated wide,
The staff a pine-tree strong and straight,
Pitch'd deeply in a massive stone,
Which still in memory is shown."
Marmion, c. iv. st. 28.

‡ The most celebrated of these is Harlaw, in Aberdeenshire, the scene of the well known "Battle of Harlaw."

water, communicating with the sea, are connected by a causeway, called the Bridge of Brogar, with openings permitting the tide to rise and recede. Upon the eastern tongue of land stands the smaller group, arranged in the form of a horse-shoe, the height of the pillars being fifteen feet and upwards. When entire, the circle appears to have consisted of twelve upright stones; but nearly the whole of them have now disappeared. The circle, however, is clearly marked by a surrounding mound of earth, and the remains of some of the overthrown stones. On the opposite isthmus, advancing towards the Bridge of Brogar, stands the larger group, called the Great Circle of Stennis, or Ring of Brogar. The stones of which this circle is composed are smaller in size than those on the opposite side of the lake, varying from six to fifteen feet in height, and from two and a half to seven feet in length. When entire, it appears to have consisted of sixty upright stones. Only twenty-three of these now remain, ten of which are prostrate. The whole is inclosed by a deep trench, which measures three hundred and sixty-six feet in diameter, and is still six feet deep, and twenty-nine feet broad. The entrances are formed by narrow earth-banks across the trench. In the centre of the smaller circle lies a large horizontal slab, which has been conjectured to have been used for sacrificial purposes; and it is supposed that it was on this altar that Einar-jarl, of Orkney, offered up Halfden, son of Harold, the fair-haired King of Norway, in sacrifice to Odin. In the immediate neighbourhood of this circle, though forming no part of it, stood the Stone of Odin, a pillar about eight feet in height, and perforated with an oval hole, large enough to admit a man's head. Through this hole lovers were wont to join hands when they interchanged vows, taking the "Promise of Odin," as it was called. In ancient times this ceremony was held so sacred, that the person who dared to break the engagement was counted infamous, and excluded from all society.* Dr. Henry states, that a tradition existed in his time, about the close of last century, that human victims destined for sacrifice were bound to the perforated column, preparatory to their slaughter as an acceptable offering to Odin. In later times, the heads of children were passed through the perforation, in order to secure them against palsy in after life. It is deeply to be regretted that this interesting relic of antiquity, as well as two of the pillars of the adjacent semicircle, were, in 1814, wantonly destroyed by the stupid barbarity of a neighbouring farmer.

Monolithic monuments of a similar character are to be found in many parts both of the mainland and of the islands of Scotland. Sometimes they consist of single stones, and as often they appear in groups of two, three, four, or more; but in all cases they are without any mark of chisel or tool. There have been many conjectures as to the origin and purpose of these erections. Some have contended that they are of druidical, others that they are of Scandinavian origin. Both of these conjectures, however, may now be regarded as exploded, and the opinion is gaining ground, that these huge unhewn monolithic columns, which abound in such numbers both in Asia and in Europe, owe their origin not to one creed, but to one remarkable phase of the human mind, the influence of which has long since disappeared. "The varieties apparent in their grouping and structure," says Dr. Wilson, "are such as may well justify the conclusion, that instead of being the temples of a common faith, they are more probably the ruins of a variety of edifices designed for divers purposes, and, it may be, even for the rites of rival creeds. This at least is certain, that the latest, if not the only unquestionable evidence of their use which we possess, is not as religious temples, but as courts of law and battle-rings, wherein the duel or judicial combat was fought, though this, doubtless, had its origin in the invariable union of the priestly and judicial offices in a primitive state of society. The several concentric circles, so frequently characterising them, add to the probability of their adaptation to the purposes of judicial or deliberative assemblies."*

* Archæol. Scot. vol. i. p. 263; vol. iii. p. 122; Pirate, chap. 38.

* Archæology, p. 113.

CHAPTER III.

PICTISH PERIOD. A.D. 446 TO 843.

The Picts.

AT the period of the Roman abdication, the names of Caledonii and Mæatæ had disappeared, and the inhabitants of North Britain bore the designation of Picti, or Picts. Historians are now agreed that the Picts were not a new race, but merely the Caledonians under a new name. The first writer who mentions the North British tribes, under this designation, is Eumenius, a professor at Antrim, who in a panegyric on Constantius, in the year A.D. 297, speaks of "the Caledonians and other Picts."† Eleven years later, in an oration pronounced in the presence of the Emperor Constantine, he repeats the statement that the Caledonians were a part of the Picts. About the close of the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus describes the Picts as divided into two nations, the Dicaledones, or, according to another reading, Deucaledones, and the Vecturiones.‡ On this passage Mr. Grant remarks:—"The term *Deucaledones* is attended with no difficulty. *Duchuoilldain* signifies, in the Gaelic language, the real or genuine inhabitants of the woods. *Du*, pronounced short, signifies *black;* but pronounced long, signifies *real, genuine;* and in this acceptation, the word is in common use. *Du Errinnach*, a *genuine Irishman. Du Albinnach*, a genuine Scotsman. The appellation of *Deucaledones* served to distin-

† "Non dico Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum."

‡ "Eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi Dicaledones Vecturiones." Lib. xxvii. chap. 8.

guish the inhabitants of the woody valleys of Albinn, or Scotland, from those of the cleared country on the east coast of Albinn, along its whole extent, to certain distances westward along its mountains, in the interior parts of the country. These last were denominated, according to Latin pronunciation, *Vecturiones*, but in the mouths of the Gael, or native inhabitants, the appellation was pronounced *Uachtarich*. The *Vecturiones* thus possessed the more level surface of the country, while the Deucaledones inhabited the narrow, deep valleys, which were universally completely covered with thickly growing woods."* Chalmers and Sir William Betham, however, are of opinion that *de*, in the British language, has the same disjunctive effect with the particle *dis* in English, and that the *Decaledones* meant the separated Caledonians who lived without the Roman provinces, in the western and northern parts of Caledonia, and who were thus distinguished from the *Vecturiones*, that dwelt along the eastern coast from the Forth to the Varar. "As this open country," says the former, "obtained from the British provincials the descriptive appellation of *Peithw*, so the inhabitants of it were consequently termed *Peithi*, *Peithwyr*, and *Peithwyron*, all which terms denoted the people of the open country. The only difference between the British words *Peithi* and *Peithwyron* is, that the former is a more general, and the latter a more special term, the same in import as the *English* and *Englishmen*. The British words, *Peithi* and *Peithwyron*, would naturally be Latinized by the Romans into *Picti* and *Pecturones*, or rather, *Vecturones*."† A more simple and natural derivation of the word, however, is from the Latin term *Picti*, signifying *painted*, bestowed upon the Caledonians from their well-known custom of staining or tattooing their bodies. The Latin writers themselves seem to have understood the name in this sense.‡

Origin and meaning of the name.

On the final departure of the Romans from Britain, the five Romanized tribes who inhabited Valentia, or the country between the walls of Agricola and Antoninus, were declared independent; and as the incessant attacks of the fiercer tribes beyond the wall rendered it necessary for them to unite in their own defence, they formed by their union a new kingdom, called sometimes the *Regnum Cumbrense*, or more frequently, the kingdom of Strathclyde. This Cumbrian kingdom of the Romanized Britons extended from the Solway on the south, to the Forth and Loch Lomond on the north; and from the Frith of Clyde on the west, to the limits of the Merse and Lothian on the east. It appears to have included the present Liddesdale, Teviotdale, Dumfriesshire, Galloway, Ayrshire, Renfrew, Strathclyde, the midland and western parts of Stirlingshire, with the largest portion of Dunbartonshire. "The metropolis of the kingdom," says Chalmers, "was Alcluyd, which they still retained when the pen dropped from the hand of the venerable Bede, A. D. 734, and which is situated on the north bank of the Clyde, at the influx of the Leven. The descriptive name of Alcluyd, which signifies the rocky height on the Clyde, was applied to the bifurcated rock, on the summit of which these associated Britons had a strong hill-fort, which formed a secure residence for their reguli or kings. To this fortress the Scoto-Irish subsequently applied the name of *Dun*-Briton, signifying the fortress of the Britons, an appellation which, by an easy transition, has in modern times been converted into Dunbarton." * The Cumbrian Britons, in imitation of their former protectors, endeavoured to protect their country from the inroads of their enemies by the erection of an artificial safeguard, consisting of a broad and deep fosse and double rampart, extending upwards of forty-five miles, from Galashiels on the north, to Peel-fell, at the eastern extremity of Liddesdale on the south, and defended by forts built at intervals along the line, on the summits of the neighbouring heights. Some remains of this interesting work, which is known by the name of the Catrail, may still be traced.† Among the petty chiefs who reigned over Strathclyde, there are none whose names or exploits are worthy of preservation, with the single exception of the famous King Arthur. At the commencement of the sixth century, this semi-fabulous monarch was chosen pendragon, or chief military leader of the Cumbrian Britons, expelled his sovereign, the feeble Huail or Hoel, and reigned over Strathclyde from A.D. 508 to A.D. 542, when he was killed in the fatal battle of Camlan. ‡ The fame of his deeds of valour has been perpetuated both by the romances of the poets and the tales of tradition, while his obscure successors, continually occupied either in civil broils or foreign conflicts, have engaged neither poet nor chronicler to transmit their deeds to more inquisitive times.

Kingdom of Strathclyde.

Capital.

Catrail.

King Arthur.

At the period of the Roman abdication the Picts were governed by a chieftain, named Drust, the son of Erp, who, for his prowess in his various expeditions against the Roman provincials, has been honoured by the

Pictish kings.

* Thoughts on the Origin and Descent of the Gael. By James Grant, Esq., of Corrimony, p. 276.

† Caledonia, vol. i. book ii. p. 201, note. See also Pinkerton's Inquiry into the History of Scotland preceding the reign of Malcolm III.

‡ ——————— "ferroque notatos
Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras."
—*Claudian*, De Bello Getico, lib. xxvi. v. 416.
"Ille leves Mauros *nec falso nomine Pictos*
Edomuit."—Ibid.
Innes' Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 57—63.

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 238.

† Ibid. vol i. p. 239, Gordon's Iter. Septen. p. 103.

‡ It has been strenuously maintained that Arthur is not a real but only a mythological personage, the chief divinity of that system of revived Druidism which appears to have arisen in the unconquered parts of the west of Britain, after the departure of the Romans. For an elaborate examination of this question, see "Britannia after the Romans," pp. 70—141. A defence of the historic reality of Arthur will be found in "Turner's Anglo-Saxons," vol. i. pp. 268—283.

Irish annalist with the name of "Drust of the hundred battles." The following chronological table of his successors was first printed by Innes, from an ancient manuscript in the Colbertine Library, which had once belonged to Lord Burleigh, and had at that time been seen by Camden. Its authenticity has not been questioned, and has, indeed, been confirmed by various collateral circumstances.*

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PICTISH KINGS.

Series		Date of Accession. A.D.	Duration of Reign. Years.	Period of their Deaths. A.D.
1.	Drust, the son of Erp			451
2.	Talorc, the son of Aniel	451	4	455
3.	Nacton Morbet, the son of Erp	455	25	480
4.	Drest Gurthinmoch	480	30	510
5.	Galanau Etelich	510	12	522
6.	Dadrest	522	1	523
7.	Drest, the son of Girom	523	1	524
	Drest, the son of Wdrest, with the former	524	5	529
	Drest, the son of Girom, alone	529	5	534
8.	Gartinach, the son of Girom	534	7	541
9.	Gealtraim, the son of Girom	541	1	542
10.	Talorg, the son of Muircholaich	542	11	553
11.	Drest, the son of Munait	553	1	554
12.	Galam, with Aleph	554	1	555
	Galam, with Bridei	555	1	556
13.	Bridei, the son of Mailcon	556	30	586
14.	Gartinaich, the son of Domelch	586	11	597
15.	Nectu, the nephew of Verb	597	20	617
16.	Cineoch, the son of Luthrin	617	19	636
17.	Garnard, the son of Wid	636	4	640
18.	Bridei, the son of Wid	640	5	645
19.	Talorc, their brother	645	12	657
20.	Talorcan, the son of Enfret	657	4	661
21.	Gartnait, the son of Donnel	661	6½	667
22.	Drest, his brother	667	7	674
23.	Bridei, the son of Bili	674	21	695
24.	Taran, the son of Entifidich	695	4	699
25.	Bridei, the son of Dereli	669	11	710
26.	Nechton, the son of Dereli	710	15	725
27.	Drest and Elpin	725	5	730
28.	Ungus, the son of Urguis	730	31	761
29.	Bridei, the son of Urguis	761	2	763
30.	Ciniod, the son of Wredech	763	12	775
31.	Elpin, the son of Bridei	775	3½	779
32.	Drest, the son of Talorgan	779	5	784
33.	Talorgan, the son of Ungus	784	2½	786
34.	Canaul, the son of Tarla	786	5	791
35.	Constantin, the son of Urguis	791	30	821
36.	Ungus (Hungus), the son of Urguis	821	12	833
37.	Drest, the son of Constantine, and Talorgan	833	3	836
38.	Uuen, the son of Ungus	836	3	839
39.	Wrad, the son of Bargoit	839	3	842
40.	Bred	842	1	843

Little is known of the history of the Pictish tribes for more than a hundred years after the Roman abdication. The first event that occurred worthy of notice was the arrival in Scotland (A.D. 449) of the Saxons, a race of Gothic origin, who invaded and finally effected a settlement in Lothian. They speedily subdued the Ottadini, who were the ancient inhabitants of this district, and took possession of a portion of the province of Valentia. For some time this territory formed a sort of debatable land, alternately subject to the Saxons and to the Picts. After the lapse of a century, however, (A.D. 547), Ida, the founder of the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, and one of the boldest and most adventurous of the sons of Woden, landed at Flamborough, and brought such an important accession to the strength and numbers of his countrymen that they extended their dominion from the Humber to the Forth, and, for the time, added the dis-

Arrival of the Saxons in Scotland.

* Chronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum. Innes vol. i. pp. 101—141.

tricts of lower Teviotdale, Berwickshire, and Lothian to the Northumbrian monarchy. Edwin, the most powerful of the Northumbrian kings, who ascended the throne about A.D. 621, appears to have largely extended the Saxon conquests in North Britain; and there can be little doubt that to this energetic chief the present capital of Scotland owes its foundation and its name. Egfrid, one of his successors, lost these territories, together with his life (A.D. 685), in an unfortunate contest with the Pictish king Bridei, or Brude. In opposition to the advice of his counsellors, he crossed the Forth and the Tay, and penetrated through the defiles of the Pictish kingdom, plundering and destroying the country as he advanced. At length, his career terminated at Dun-nechtan (the hill fort of Nechtan), in Forfarshire, the Dunnichen of the present times, where he was completely routed and slain by the exasperated Picts.* This was a fatal blow to the Northumbrian monarchy, which never regained its previous ascendancy, and was henceforth confined to the country south of the Tweed. Lodonia became ultimately a part of the Pictish dominions;† and both the Dalriadic Scots and the Strathclyd Britons were freed, for a time, from the inroads of the Saxons.

Defeat at Dunnechtan.

Meanwhile, the important event of the conversion of the Picts to Christianity had taken place. The Dalriadic Scots appear to have been converted by St. Patrick, previously to their establishment in Cantyre. Their ecclesiastical patron was Ciaran, a prelate of high reputation, to whom several churches in Argyleshire and Ayrshire were dedicated. St. Ninian, himself a Briton, though educated as a monk at Rome, had, about the commencement of the fifth century (A.D. 412), founded a monastery at Whitherne, in Galloway, which supplied the country with a succession of religious instructors, and had erected a church, which is expressly mentioned by Bede as the first that was built of stone in North Britain.‡ About the middle of the sixth century, Kentigern, or St. Mungo, signalized himself by his pious labours among the Britons of Strathclyd, and is supposed to have founded the see of Glasgow. But the conversion of the northern Picts was reserved for St. Columba, an Irish monk of illustrious birth, connected with the royal families of Ireland and of the Dalriadic Scots. This celebrated benefactor of North Britain was born A.D. 521, at Garten, a village now included in the county of Donegal, in Ireland, and his education was carefully conducted under the best masters which that country, long before this converted to Christianity, could supply. After founding several monasteries in his native land, he became involved in the factious contentions by which, then as now, Ireland was torn asunder; and, in the year 563, he took his departure from that country to introduce the gospel into the desolate and barbarous dominions of the northern Picts. Embarking with twelve companions, in a boat of wicker-work, covered with hides, he set out upon his pious and benevolent mission, and landed on a solitary isle near the south-west angle of Mull, then known by the name of I, signifying in Irish, an island; afterwards changed by Bede into Hy, Latinized by the monks into Iona, and again honoured with the name of I-columb-cil—the isle of St. Columba's retreat or cell.

Conversion of the Picts.

St. Columba.

——"Isle of Columba's cell,
Where Christian piety's soul-cheering spark
(Kindled from heaven between the light and dark
Of time) shone like the morning star."

Here Columba settled with his twelve disciples. "They now," says Bede, "neither sought nor loved anything of this world." For two years they laboured with their own hands, erecting huts and building a church. They lived under a strict discipline, which Columba had established as the rule of the monasteries he had founded, and employed much of their time in reading and transcribing the Holy Scriptures from the Latin translation. Having organized his establishment, the pious missionary commenced his labours among the Picts. The difficulties which he had to encounter were of the most formidable kind. The country was woody, mountainous, and infested with wild beasts, so that travelling was both dangerous and painful. The inhabitants were so rude and savage, that they are said to have attempted his life. The king himself not only refused him an audience, but ordered the palace gates to be shut against him; and the powerful Druidical priests employed all their eloquence to counteract his efforts. But the energy and zeal of Columba overcame every obstacle. Though he at first required an interpreter to make himself intelligible to the barbarians, he speedily acquired such a mastery over their language as to enable him to address them in their native tongue. His self-denying labours were crowned with rapid success. The patience and perseverance of Columba, and the influence of his virtues, overcame the prejudices of the king; and, along with the greater portion of his subjects, he embraced the Christian religion. Attended by his disciples, Columba traversed the whole of the Pictish territories, and even penetrated into the remote islands of Orkney, everywhere instructing the people in the truths of the gospel, and in gardening, agriculture, and other useful arts, erecting churches, and establishing monasteries. These monasteries or cells were long subject to the Abbey of Iona, which thus became not merely "the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion," and the nursery which supplied with learned pastors the monasteries, and above three

Monastery of Iona.

* Saxon Chron. p. 45. Ogygia Vindicated, p. 198. Caledonia, vol i. p. 255.

† Lodonia appears to be a Teutonic word, signifying the Marches or Borders. The name still survives in the Lothians, the modern designation of the district.

‡ Bede, book iii. chap. iv.

hundred churches which Columba himself had erected, and also gave divines to many of the religious establishments among the Anglo-Saxons, the Norwegians, and other neighbouring nations, but was probably at that time the chief seminary of learning in Europe.

Church government of the Culdees.

Few circumstances connected with the early history of Christianity in Scotland have excited so much controversy as the question regarding the nature of the system of ecclesiastical polity founded by Columba; one class maintaining it to have been strictly Presbyterian, while others contend no less strenuously that it was Episcopalian. The former, which has been adopted by the learned Selden, is the opinion generally deemed most in accordance with the expressions of Bede, the earliest authority on the subject. But though this diversity of sentiment exists as to their form of church-government, there is a general agreement as to their zeal and simplicity of character, the purity of their doctrines, and the holiness of their lives. Even Bede, who laments over their rejection of the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and their neglect of the peculiar practices of the Romish Church, yet testifies that "they preached only such works of charity and piety as they could learn from the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical writings." The Culdees, as the clergy were called, were not forbidden to marry, and some of them are known to have earned their subsistence by engaging in secular employments. Columba died in the year 597, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, leaving behind him a name which will ever occupy a distinguished place on the pages of ecclesiastical history.*

Death of Columba.

Civil wars of the Picts.

With the exception of this interesting episode, the history of the Pictish monarchy, so far as it has been preserved, is made up of little else than a tissue of domestic strife and foreign war; sometimes with the Saxons, sometimes with the neighbouring kingdom of Strathclyd, and sometimes with the Dalriadic Scots. A civil war, which began in 724, raged for several years with great fury, and at length terminated in the complete triumph of Ungus, honoured by the Irish annalists with the title of Great, and who appears to have been the ablest and most powerful of all the Pictish kings. He was equally successful in his contests with the Scoto-Irish, the Northumbrians, and the Britons of Strathclyd, all of whom he defeated in successive engagements. After a life of incessant strife, he died in peace, in the year 761.

In the midst of these conflicts with their neighbours, the Picts found a new enemy in the northern pirates, or sea-kings, who had previously ravaged the coasts of England and France, and indeed, generally, of all the north-west of Europe. They first appeared on the coast of England in the year 787. A few years later, they found their way to the shores of Caledonia, and carried their ravages throughout the Hebrides, where they burned the religious houses which the disciples of St. Columba had established. In 839, these marauders entered the Pictish territories: and a sanguinary conflict ensued between them and the Picts, in which the latter were defeated, with the loss of their king, Uen, and his only brother, Bran, together with many of their chiefs.* This disastrous event hastened the downfall of the Pictish monarchy. Enfeebled by foreign invasion, and distracted by domestic strife, the Picts were compelled to yield to the power and policy of Kenneth, the King of the Dalriadic Scots, who at length succeeded in carrying into execution his long-cherished project of uniting the two crowns in his own person. To understand how this important event was brought about, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the arrival and progress of the Irish Scots in North Britain.

The Vikings, or Sea-kings.

Defeat of the Picts, and death of their king.

Few controverted points have given rise to a keener discussion than the question, Whether the Scots were the indigenous inhabitants of Britain, or merely emigrants from Ireland? That question has long been set at rest; and it is now admitted, on all hands, that the Scots came originally from Ireland, but that, at a very early period, they had passed over from the western shores of Britain into that island, and before the commencement of the fifth century, had given their name to the whole of that country.† They were, undoubtedly, of Celtic origin, and spoke the Celtic language. Two of their tribes, who took possession of the northern division of Ireland (the ancient Irish Ulladh, the modern Ulster), carried on such frequent and fierce domestic feuds, that, about the middle of the third century, Cormac, who then reigned over Ireland, was compelled to interfere, by force of arms, to quell the disturbances of his turbulent subjects. In this intestine war, Cairbre-Riada, the cousin and general of Cormac, conquered a territory of thirty miles in extent, in the north-east of Ireland, and, taking possession of it in right of conquest, called it Dal-Riada, the portion of Riada.‡ The descendants of Cairbre-Riada, and his followers, like the rest of their countrymen, were continually engaged either in domestic broils or in hostile excursions against the Romanized inhabitants of the neighbouring shores of Britain.

Origin of the Scots.

* Smith's Life of St. Columba. Bede, lib. iii. ch. v. Adamnan, lib. i. ch. xxxii., lib. ii. ch. xxxix. Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 318—323; and Jamieson's Account of the Culdees of Iona.

* See the Ulster Annals and the Pictish Chronicle.

† Orosius, b. i. ch. i. "Igbernia," he says, "which we call Scotland, is surrounded on every side by the ocean." See also Claudian—

"Totum cum Scotus Hibernem movit.
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."

Porphyry, who flourished at the close of the third century, is the first writer who speaks of the "Scoticæ Gentes." See Camden, vol. i. p. 98. Caledonia, vol. i. ch. vi. There can be no doubt that Ireland was the ancient Scotia of the Romans. Camden demonstrates that ancient Scotia was an island, that it was separated from Britain, and that it was not a distinct island from Ireland. Camden's Epist. p. 360.

‡ O'Flaherty's Ogygia. O'Connor's Dissert. pp. 196, 197. Caledonia, vol. i. p. 273.

Their first invasion of the Roman provinces of Britain appears to have taken place about the year 364, on the accession of Valentinian. But their aggression was repelled by the valour and skill of the celebrated Theodosius; and they did not succeed in forming any permanent settlement in Britain till a considerable time after the abdication of the island by the Romans.

Their first settlement in North Britain.

In the beginning of the sixth century (A.D. 503), Loarn (or Lorn), Fergus, and Angus, the three sons of Erc, King of Dalriada, led a colony into the ancient province of the British Epidii, and effected a settlement upon the promontory of Cantyre. They seem to have met with but feeble opposition from the native tribes; and the silence both of history and of tradition in regard to this point, has led to the supposition that the Dalriads obtained possession of their new settlements by favour rather than by force. Their chiefs seem to have had each his own territory and tribe. Cantyre was the portion of Fergus, Loarn took possession of the district which still bears his name, and Angus is supposed to have colonized Ila.

"In the records of time," says Chalmers, "there scarcely occurs a period of history which is so perplexed and obscure as the annals of the Scoto-Irish kings and their tribes, from their settlement in A.D. 503, to their ascendency in A.D. 843. The original cause of this obscurity is the want of contemporaneous writing. An ample field was thus left open for the conflicts of national emulation. Ignorance and ingenuity, sophistry and system, all contributed by their various efforts to make what was dark still more obscure. The series and genealogy of the kings have been involved in peculiar perplexity by the contests of the Irish and Scottish antiquarians for pre-eminence in antiquity, as well as in fame. And Cimmerian darkness has overspread the annals of a people who were too restless for the repose of study, and too rude for the elaboration of writing." Fortunately, the annals of Tigernach and of Ulster, with the judicious commentaries of O'Flaherty and O'Connor, together with several brief chronicles and historical documents, first brought to light by the laborious Father Innes, have thrown some rays of light on a period of history which would otherwise have been involved in total darkness. From these various sources the learned and industrious Chalmers has compiled the following genealogical and chronological table of the Scoto-Irish kings during this dark era, extending from the settlement of Fergus, in 503, to the accession of Kenneth to the Pictish throne,—a period of 340 years.

A GENEALOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE SCOTO-IRISH KINGS FROM THE YEAR 503 TO 843.

Series	Date of Accession. A.D.	Duration of Reign. Years.	Demise. A.D.
Loarn, the son of Erc, reigned contemporary with Fergus. 1. Fergus, the son of Erc	503	3	506
2. Domangart, the son of Fergus	506	5	511
3. Comgal, the son of Domangart	511	24	535
4. Gauran, the son of Domangart	535	22	557
5. Conal, the son of Comgal	557	14	571
6. Aidan, the son of Gauran	571	34	605
7. Eocha'-Bui, the son of Aidan	605	16	621
8. Kenneth-Cear, the son of Eocha'-Bui	621	¼	621
9. Ferchar, the son of Eogan, the first of the race of Lorn	621	16	637
10. Donal-Breac, the son of Eocha'-Bui	637	5	642
11. Conal II., the grandson of Conal I.	642	10	652
12. Dungal reigned some years with Conal.			
13. Donal-Duin, the son of Conal	652	13	665
14. Maol-Duin, the son of Conal	665	16	681
15. Ferchar-Fada, the grandson of Ferchar I.	681	21	702
16. Eocha'-Rinevel, the son of Domangan, and the grandson of Donal-Breac	702	3	705
17. Ainbhcealach, the son of Ferchar-Fada	705	1	706
18. Selvach, the son of Ferchar-Fada, reigned over Lorn from 706 to 729.			
19. Duncha-Beg reigned over Cantyre and Argail till 720	706	27	733
20. Eocha III., the son of Eocha'-Rinevel, reigned over Cantyre and Argail from 720 to 729, and also over Lorn from 729 to 733.			
21. Muredach, the son of Ainbhcealach	733	3	736
22. Eogan, the son of Muredach	736	3	739
23. Aodh-Fin, the son of Eocha III.	739	30	769
24. Fergus, the son of Aodh-Fin	769	3	772
25. Selvach II., the son of Eogan	772	24	796
26. Eocha-Annuine IV., the son of Aodh-Fin	796	30	826
27. Dungal, the son of Selvach II.	826	7	833
28. Alpin, the son of Eocha-Annuine IV.	833	3	836
29. Kenneth, the son of Alpin	836	7	843

Loarn, Fergus, and Muredach.

The Irish chroniclers affirm, that the three chiefs who headed the emigration were far advanced in the vale of years before leaving Ireland, and that they received the benediction of St. Patrick before his death, in the year 493. This statement is confirmed by their early decease after they had laid the foundation of their new settlement. Angus was the first who died, leaving a son, Muredach, who succeeded him in the government of Ila. The death of Lorn, the eldest brother, soon followed, so that Fergus was left sole monarch of the Dalriadic Scots, a dignity which he enjoyed for the short space of three years, having died in A.D. 506. Fergus was succeeded by his son Domangart, whose troubled reign lasted only five years. His two sons, Comgal and Gauran, successively enjoyed his authority. The former had a peaceful reign of four and twenty years, which afforded him leisure to extend his territory and to consolidate his power; the latter, who ascended the throne in 535, without opposition, to the exclusion of his brother's son, after a reign of twenty-two years, was slain in a battle with the Picts. The succession was thus opened to his nephew, Conal, the son of Comgal, whose unfortunate administration terminated by a civil war, in 571. A contest for the

Their successors.

vacant throne then took place between Duncha, his son, and Aidan, the son of Gauran, in which the latter lost his life on the bloody field of Loro, in Cantyre. The successful competitor was formally inaugurated by Columba in June (A.D. 574). His long and active reign was chequered with alternate success and defeat. Having gone to the assistance of the Cumbrian Britons, he overthrew the Saxons at Fethenlea on Stanmore, in 584, and again at the battle of Leithredh, in 590, when two of his sons, Arthur and Eocha-fin, were slain. On the other hand, he was worsted by the Saxons, in 598, in the battle of Kirkim, where his son, Domangart, was slain; and five years later he was totally defeated by the Northumbrians, under Æthelfrid, at the battle of Dawstane, in Roxburghshire. Three years before this disastrous conflict, which greatly weakened the power of the Dalriads, Aidan, attended by Columba, appeared at the celebrated council of Drum-keat, in Ulster (A.D. 590), where he claimed the principality of Dalriada, the land of his fathers, and obtained an exemption from the homage which his ancestors had been accustomed to pay to the chiefs of Ireland. Aidan, the most powerful of all the Scoto-Irish rulers, died in the year 605, at the advanced age of eighty, and was buried in the church of Kilcheran, in Campbelton.

Aidan was succeeded by his son Eocha-*bui*, or Eocha the yellow-haired, who reigned sixteen years. Towards the close of his reign he became involved in a war with one of the tribes of Ulster, whom his troops twice vanquished in battle. He did not long survive his victories, when his son, Kenneth-*cear*, or the awkward, ascended the throne (A.D. 621); but, after a reign of only three months, he was killed fighting against the Irish, in the unfortunate battle of Fedhaevin.

Kenneth-cear was succeeded by Ferchar, the son of Eogan, the first of the race of Lorn who reigned over the Scoto-Irish in North Britain. He died A.D. 637, after a reign of sixteen years. He was followed by Donal, surnamed *breac*, or freckled, the son of Eocha'-bui, of the race of Gauran, the grandson of Fergus. At the instance of Congal, a fugitive chief from Ulster, Donal was induced to invade Ireland at the head of a motley army of Scoto-Irish, Picts, Britons, and Saxons, but he was completely defeated in a bloody battle fought on the plain of Moyrath, A.D. 637, and was obliged to consult his safety by a rapid retreat to his own dominions. He was equally unsuccessful in an enterprise against the Picts, by whom he was defeated at Glenmoreson, in Perthshire, in the year 638. Four years after this disaster, he was slain at Straith-Cairmaic by Hoan, one of the reguli of Strathclyd. His son, Cathasuidh, fell by the same hand in 649.

Accession of the family of Lorn.

Conal II., the grandson of Conal I., who was also of the Fergusian race of Comgal, was the next ruler over the tribes of Cantyre and Argyle. His claims were disputed by Dungal, who had obtained the government of the tribe of Lorn, and was a descendant of its first ruler. The contest, however, does not appear to have been of long duration, for Conal died in undisturbed possession of his dominions, in 652, after a reign of ten years. Donal-*duin*, or the brown, son of Conal, reigned thirteen years, and was succeeded by his brother, Maol-duin, in 665. The family feuds which had long existed between the Fergusian races of Comgal and Gauran, broke out with great fury during the reign of this prince, and led to the assassination, in 672, of Domangart, the son of Donal-breac, who was of the race of Gauran, and, in retaliation, to the murder of Conal, the son of Maol-duin, in 675. These dissensions contributed greatly to weaken the race of Fergus, and to increase the ascendency of the rival house of Lorn.

Family feuds.

On the death of Maol-duin, the sceptre was seized by Ferchar-*fada*, or the tall (apparently of the race of Lorn, and probably the grandson of Ferchar, who died in 673), who kept possession of the throne, amidst family feuds and domestic dissensions, for one and twenty years. On the death of Ferchar, in 702, the sceptre passed again to the house of Fergus, in the person of Eocha'-rineval, the son of Domangart, who was assassinated in 672. The reign of this prince was short and unfortunate. His ambition prompted him to invade the territories of the Britons of Strathclyd, but he was defeated in a bloody conflict on the banks of the Leven. In the following year, the sceptre was wrested from his feeble grasp by a prince of the rival house of Lorn. This prince was Aiubhcealach, the son of Ferchar-fada. His excellent disposition obtained for him the epithet of Ainbhcealach-*mhaith*, or the good; but, after reigning one year, he was dethroned by his brother Selvach, and obliged, in 706, to take refuge in Ireland. At the end of twelve years he returned to Cantyre, and made a gallant effort to regain his authority, but he perished (A.D. 719) in an engagement fought in Finglein, a small valley among the mountains of Lorn. In the mean time, a more formidable antagonist to the usurped power of Selvach arose in the person of Duncha-beg, who was descended from the rival race of Fergus, by the line of Comgal. He assumed the government of Cantyre and Argyle, and confined the authority of Selvach to the family district of Lorn. The rivalry between these two princes led to a fierce and protracted warfare, which inflicted much misery on their unhappy followers. In an attempt which they made, in 719, to invade each other's territories by means of their currachs, a naval battle ensued, which was maintained for a considerable time with great bravery and perseverance, and terminated in the defeat of Selvach. The death of Duncha, which took place in 721, put an end to this strife, but it was speedily renewed, and carried on for several years with great fury, by his successor, Eocha III., the son of Eocha-rineval. The death of the able but unscrupulous Selvach, in 729, at length put an end to the bloodshed and misery which flowed from the contests of these rival houses. This event transferred the govern-

Rivalry between the houses of Fergus and Lorn.

ment of Lorn to Eocha, and the whole Scoto-Irish kingdom became again united under one monarch.

On the death of Eocha III., in 733, Muredach, the son of Ainbhcealach, of the race of Lorn, ascended the throne. This peaceful succession is believed to have been the result of a compromise, brought about by the interposition of the tribes, who were worn out by intestine feuds. Muredach, who now reigned sole monarch of the Dalriadic tribes, is called by the Gaelic bard, Muredhaigh-*mhaith*, or Muredach the *good;* but his reign was short and disastrous. In revenge for a base outrage committed by Dungal, the son of Selvach, who had carried off Forai, the daughter of Brude, and niece of the great Pictish king Ungus, the latter, in the year 736, led his army from Strathern, through the passes of the mountains, into Lorn, which he wasted with fire and sword. He seized Duna, and burned Creic, two of the fortresses of Lorn; and having taken prisoners Dungal and Feradach, the two sons of Selvach, he carried them in fetters to Forteviot, his capital. Muredach collected his forces, and pursued after the retiring invaders, and having overtaken them at Cnuic-Coirbre, a battle ensued, in which the Dalriads were defeated with great slaughter by Talagan, the brother of Ungus. Muredach is supposed to have perished in the pursuit (A.D. 736), after a reign of three years.

Invasion of Lorn by the Picts.

Muredach was succeeded by his son Eogan or Ewen, who continued the war with the Picts, but died in 739, in which year the Dalriadic sceptre was assumed by Aodh-fin, the son of Eocha III., and grandson of Eocha-rinevel. This sovereign, who was descended from Fergus by the race of Gauran, is called by the Gaelic bard, Aodhna Ard-*fhlaith*, or Hugh, *the high or great king*. In 740, he encountered Ungus, the celebrated king of the Picts, with such success, that this powerful monarch did not again come into collision with the Scots. After the death of Ungus, in 761, the tide of success turned against the Picts, and Aodh-fin penetrated, through the passes of Glenorchy and Breadalbane, into the heart of the Pictish territories, and reached Forteviot, the capital, where he fought a doubtful battle with Ciniod, the Pictish king. As the Picts had seized the defiles of the mountains in his rear, his situation became extremely critical; but he succeeded, by great skill and bravery, in leading his army within the passes of upper Lorn, where the Picts did not venture to follow him. Aodh-fin died in 769, after a glorious reign of thirty years.

Invasion of Pictavia by the Scots.

Aodh-fin was succeeded by his son Fergus II., who reigned three years. After him Selvach II., the son of Eogan, assumed the government (A.D. 772), which he held for twenty-four years; but of their reigns history has recorded nothing worthy of notice. Eocha IV., designated Eocha-annuine, the son of Aodh-fin, of the Gauran race of Fergus, succeeded Selvach II. in 796. This monarch is the Achaius of the Latin annalists. On his accession, he found a civil war raging in his dominions between the rival tribes of Argyle and Lorn, which was productive of great bloodshed and misery. The story of an alliance between Achaius and his great contemporary, Charlemagne, was long firmly believed, but has now been proved to be a fable, though Chalmers is of opinion that something of the kind may have taken place with one of the reguli of Ireland.* To Achaius has also been ascribed, but without the slightest evidence, the institution of the ancient order of the Thistle. It is certain, however, that he entered into an alliance with the Picts, which exercised a most important influence on the future history of the country. His marriage with Urgusia, the daughter of Urguis, and the sister of the Pictish kings, Constantine and Ungus, who reigned in succession, from A.D. 791 to 830, enabled his grandson, Kenneth, to claim and acquire the Pictish sceptre, as the heir of his grandmother. Achaius died in 826, after a prosperous reign of thirty years. His successor, Dungal, the son of Selvach II., was the last of the powerful family of Lorn. After a feeble reign of seven years, he relinquished the sceptre, in 833, to Alpin, the son of Achaius, or Eocha IV., and Urgusia. The ancient chronicles agree that Alpin died in 836, after a reign of three years; but conflicting accounts have been given of the time, place, and circumstances of his death. According to the fabulous narrative of Boece, Alpin, asserting his title to the Pictish throne, was taken prisoner in a battle with the Picts, near Dundee, and beheaded. Another and more credible account represents him as having lost his life in an encounter with the Gallowegians, on a spot in the parish of Dalmellington, in Ayrshire, which, in memory of this event, for several centuries bore the name of Lacht-Alpin,—the stone or grave of Alpin. He was succeeded, in 836, by his son Kenneth, surnamed the Hardy. On the death of Uven, the king of the Picts, in 839, Kenneth asserted his claim to the Pictish throne, in right of his grandmother, Urgusia. His claims were opposed by Wrad, the son of Bargoit, who appears to have been the true heir; but, after an arduous struggle of three years, during which Wrad died, and Bred, his successor, both in his claims and in his misfortunes, was slain at Forteviot, in 842, fighting in defence of his capital and kingdom, the Scottish monarch succeeded in uniting the two crowns in his own person. There is every reason to believe that the story of the total extermination of the Picts by the sword of the victorious Kenneth, is the invention of a later period. It is certainly supported by nothing approaching to contemporary evidence. Kenneth and his immediate successors styled themselves, not kings of Scotland and of Pictavia, but kings of the Scots and the Picts. The Picts are spoken of as a distinct people down to the tenth century, and they appear

Alliance of Achaius with the Pictish royal family.

Accession of Kenneth, and union of the crowns.

* See "Remarks on the History of Scotland," by Lord Hailes.

to have been gradually absorbed by the predominating nation of the Scots—a result which may be accounted for by the fact, that they were in all probability a people of the same race, speaking a similar language, and differing little in their manners, customs, and institutions. "In the person of Kenneth," says the learned Chalmers, "a new dynasty began. The king was changed, but the government remained the same. The Picts and Scots, who were a congenial people, from a common origin, and spoke cognate tongues, the British and Gaelic, readily coalesced. Yet has it been asserted by ignorance, and believed by credulity, that Kenneth made so bad a use of the power which he had adroitly acquired, as to destroy the whole Pictish people in the wantonness of his cruelty. But to enforce the belief of an action which is in itself inhuman, and had been so inconsistent with the interest of a provident sovereign, requires stronger proofs than the assertions of uninformed history, or the report of vague tradition. The Picts continued throughout the succeeding period (from 843 to 1097) to be mentioned by contemporary authors, because they still acted a conspicuous part, though they were governed by a new race, and were united with a predominant people."*

On examining the line of Pictish kings as contained in an ancient chronicle, we find that hereditary succession was wholly unknown to them, even so late as the ninth century. From a remarkable statement of Bede,† it may be inferred that the monarchy was elective; that the election was confined to some specific class of individuals; and that whenever there existed a doubt as to the proper object of the election, the person most nearly related to the last king by the female line was chosen. Mr. Skene is of opinion that the election was not unlimited in its range, but was confined exclusively to the hereditary chiefs of the different tribes into which the nation was divided.* "Such a mode of succession as this, however," he justly remarks, "was not calculated to last: each chief who in this manner obtained the Pictish throne, would endeavour to perpetuate the succession in his own family, and the power and talent of some chief would at length enable him to effect this object, and to change the rule of election into that of hereditary succession. This object appears in reality to have been finally accomplished by Constantin, the son of Fergus, who ascended the Pictish throne towards the end of the eighth century, and in whose family the monarchy remained for some time." But though the regal authority among the Picts became hereditary in the male line at this period, yet in several points the succession differed from our ordinary rules of male succession. In all cases, brothers succeeded before sons; after all the brothers had succeeded, the sons of the elder brother were called to the succession; then the sons of the remaining brothers in regular order.

Mode in which the Pictish kings were chosen.

Among the Dalriads the succession both to the chieftainship of the different tribes, and to the supreme government of the nation, was neither strictly hereditary nor strictly elective, but was regulated by what has been termed the law of Tanistry. According to this law, which appears to have been generally followed in Ireland, as well as among the Scoto-Irish, the person in the family of the reigning prince, whether son, brother, or even more remote relative, who was judged best qualified, either from abilities or experience, was chosen under the name of Tanist, to lead the army during the life of the king, and to succeed to him after his death. Taxes were, of course, wholly unknown among these rude clans: the dignity of the chief was supported by voluntary contributions of clothes, cattle, furniture, and other necessaries.†

Law of Tanistry.

Chalmers has asserted that at this era the tenure of land, throughout the country, terminated with the life of the possessor; an opinion, it has been justly said, requiring some modification, as it indicates a state of barbarism even greater than is discovered by the few glimpses of light which sometimes shoot athwart the twilight of our history.‡ By a custom which the Scots brought with them from Ireland, denominated, in Irish, *gabhail-cine*, meaning, literally, "family settlement," it appears that the fathers of families divided their lands among their sons, sometimes in equal, sometimes in unequal, portions: females were strictly excluded from any share in

Tenure of land.

* "Caledonia," vol. i. p. 333. Innes, in his "Critical Essay," (vol. i. pp. 145—166) has given a most learned refutation of the absurd story respecting the extermination of the Picts. The indefatigable Chalmers has, with his wonted acuteness and industry, searched out all the information that can now be obtained respecting the historical events of this obscure period, and has thrown light on many points which were previously enveloped in darkness. See "Caledonia," vol. i. books ii. and vi. On the other hand, the whole story of the conquest of the Picts by Kenneth, and also Kenneth's extraction from the old royal line of the Irish Scots, have been called in question by Pinkerton, in his "Enquiry into the History of Scotland preceding the Reign of Malcolm III." a work of great learning and ingenuity, but disfigured by rash assertions and a pervading spirit of prejudice and paradox.

A somewhat different view of this important revolution is taken by a recent writer, Mr. Skene, in his able work on the "Highlanders of Scotland." He contends that the conquest by the Dalriadic Scots was confined exclusively to the Piccardach, or southern Picts; that the Scots were assisted in that conquest by the Cruithne, or northern Picts; and that, after the conquest, the northern Picts, although they owed a nominal submission to the kings of the Scottish line, yet remained, in fact, independent, and still retained their ancient territories and peculiar designation. See Skene's "Highlanders of Scotland," vol. i, pp. 57—63.

† Bede says that the Picts on their first landing agreed, "ut ubi res veniret in dubium magis de fœminea regum prosapia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent, quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum." The Picts, therefore, continued to elect their monarchs in 731, the period in which Bede closes his history.

* He refers to Adomnan, b. ii. ch. 24, v. 33, in proof of the fact that there existed among the Picts a division of the people into nobles and plebeians, and to Tacit. (Vita Agric.), and to Tigernach, to show that it was the former alone that were eligible to fill the throne.

† Ware's Antiq. p. 70; Davis's Reports in the case of Tanistry, p. 101; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 306.

‡ Ibid. Leland's Prelim. Disc. xxvi.

this appropriation, but were assigned a certain number of their father's cattle as their marriage portion.* A striking example of the operation of this law was exhibited so late as the reign of Alexander II., when the Gallowaymen took up arms in support of the pretensions of a bastard son against the claims of the three legitimate daughters of their late lord. As Galloway was at that time governed by "its own proper laws," there can be no doubt that the Gallowegians had both law and custom on their side.

Laws.

As to the legislative code of the Scoto-Irish: traditionary maxims and local usages seem to have supplied the place of written laws; and there can be little doubt that their customs bore a close resemblance to the Brehon laws of Ireland. "This Brehon law," says Cox, "was no written law,—it was only the will of the Brehon, or lord; and it is observable that their Brehons, or judges, like their physicians, bards, harpers, poets, and historians, had their offices by descent and inheritance. The Brehon, when he administered justice, used to sit on a turf or heap of stones, or on the top of a hillock, without a covering, without clerks, or, indeed, any formality of a court of judicature.† This state of law, as Chalmers observes, may be traced among the Scoto-Irish in Scotland till recent times. Every baron had his mote-hill, where justice was distributed to his vassals by his baron-bailie. Under the Brehon law, all crimes, even of the deepest dye, might be commuted by a mulct, or payment, which was called *eric*—a term signifying a fine, a ransom, a forfeit, and also a reparation. This rude system of jurisprudence was long recognized by the law of Scotland; and even so late as the reign of William the Lion, a statute was passed enacting that, "Gif ane slays anie man, he shall give twenty-nine kye and ane young cow, and make peace with the friends of the defunct conforme to the law of the countrie." Among the Albanian Scots, the fine, or mulct, was termed *cro;* and the "Regiam Magistatem" has a whole chapter showing "the *cro* of ilk man, how mickil it is." According to this authority, the *cro* of a villain was sixteen cows; of an earl's son, or thane, one hundred; of an earl, one hundred and forty; and that of the King of Scots, one thousand cows, or three thousand *oras;* that is to say, three oras for every cow.‡

Brehon law.

Houses, food, and clothing.

Very little is known of the state of society, or of the condition of the people, in this remote period. But a few incidental notices may be gleaned from the lives of the early saints. We learn from Adomnan's Life of Columba, which was written only eighty years after the saint's death, that the houses of the Scoto-Irish were constructed entirely of wattles. Even the Abbey of Iona was built of the same rude materials. The clothing, even of the monks, seems to have been often composed of the skins of beasts, though latterly they had woollen stuffs and linen; the first probably manufactured by themselves, the linen imported from the Continent. The variegated plaid was introduced at a later period. Venison, fish, milk, flesh, and wild-fowl were the common food of the people. Their favourite beverage was a kind of mead made from honey. Their wealth consisted principally of their cattle, and the royal revenue was paid in cows, even down to the accession of Robert Bruce. "The monks of Iona," says Chalmers, "who lived by their labour, cultivated their fields, and laid up corn in their garners. But it is to be recollected that the monks were everywhere, for ages, the improvers themselves, and the instructors of others, in the most useful arts. They had the merit of making many a blade of grass grow where none grew before. Even Iona had its orchards in the rugged times of the ninth century, till the *Vikings* ravaged and ruined all. Whatever the Scoto-Irish enjoyed themselves, they were very willing to impart to others. The most unbounded hospitality was enjoined by law and by manners, as a capital virtue. Manufactures the Scoto-Irish had none, and every family had its own carpenter, weaver, tailor, and shoemaker, however unskilful and inadequate to the uses of civilization. The division of labour and of arts takes place only during periods of refinement." With regard to their shipping, we have seen that the earliest inhabitants of North Britain used canoes, but the vessels of the Scoto-Irish were constructed by covering a keel of wood and a frame of wicker-work with the skins of cattle and of deer. These were denominated *currachs.* Afterwards they were enlarged, and made capable of containing a pretty numerous crew. In these currachs the first colonists must have emigrated from Ireland to the western coast of Scotland; and it was in a vessel of this description—a wicker boat, covered with hides—that Columba, accompanied by his twelve disciples, sailed from Ireland to Iona.

Currachs.

Such, then, was the condition of the different nations inhabiting North Britain in the ninth century. The Picts were by far the most powerful of these nations. Their territories were bounded by the Frith of Forth on the south, the German Ocean on the east, the Pentland Frith on the north, and on the south partly by a range of hills termed Drumalban, which form the present western boundary of Perthshire and Inverness-shire, and partly by the sea from Loch Linne to Cape Wrath. The Pictish kingdom, therefore, consisted of the present counties of Kinross, Fife, Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Moray, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, and the northern part of Argyle. The original capital of the kingdom appears to have been at Inverness, but was afterwards removed to Abernethy in Strathearn. The Dalriads were much less power-

Territories of the Picts.

* Among the Irish a marriage portion was called *Spre'*, which literally means cattle. *Crodh* also signifies both cattle and dowry.

† Cox's Apparatus to his History; Harris's Ware, p. 70.

‡ Ibid. p. 71; Leland's Pref. Disc. p. 29; Skene's Stat. of King William, ch. vi.; Regiam Mag. lib. iv. ch. xxiv.; Caledonia, vol. i. p 308.

ful. Their original territory seems to have been limited to that part of the county of Argyle which lies to the south of Loch Linne, and they appear to have maintained their possession of a territory so inconsiderable in comparison with that of the Picts, partly by the strong natural boundaries and impervious nature of the country itself, partly by the close connexion which they at all times preserved with their native country, and perhaps also, partly by the policy with which they took advantage of the jealousies and rivalry between the northern and southern Picts.* The former of these tribes, indeed, on three several occasions, actually entered into a league with the Dalriadic Scots against their own countrymen. And it is by no means improbable, as Mr. Skene has conjectured, that the Scots obtained political pre-eminence in the first instance, only over the southern Picts, and that the northern tribes, if they did not actually assist the Dalriads in the struggle, at least did not actively oppose them. But the union of the various independent tribes under the rule of one monarch, led to most important changes, both in the internal condition of the country, and in its external relations; hereditary succession was established, the once formidable designation of Picts disappeared, and the name of Scotland gradually extended itself over the whole of North Britain.

Of the Scots.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SCOTTISH PERIOD.—A.D. 843 TO 1097.

THE union of the two nations of the Picts and Scots under one sovereign, exercised an important influence, both on the security and extension of the united kingdom. Kenneth Macalpin appears to have been an able and a warlike prince, and he vigorously repelled the aggressions of the Saxons and Danes on his newly-acquired territories, and even made frequent incursions into Lothian.† It required, indeed, all his energy and valour to defend his kingdom against the assaults of the invaders, by whom its independence was menaced. On the one hand, the Britons wasted the country adjoining Strathclyd, and burnt Dumblane; and on the other, the Danish pirates, under Ragner Lodbrog, plundered the east coast, and carried their ravages as far as Dunkeld, on the Tay.‡ Kenneth, however, succeeded in making good his position against all his assailants, and, after a successful reign, he died at his capital of Forteviot, or Abernethy, A.D. 859, having governed the Scots seven years, and the Scots and Picts jointly, sixteen years. Kenneth is said to have been a religious prince, "as religion was then understood and practised." He erected a church in Dunkeld, to which he removed the relics of Columba from Iona. He has been celebrated also as a legislator, which may probably be correct; but the laws which have been ascribed to him are undoubtedly spurious.

Reign of Kenneth Macalpin.

Kenneth left both a son and a daughter; but he was succeeded by his brother Donald, according to a mode of inheritance common both in the Scottish and Pictish royal families, by which the brother of a deceased monarch was called to the throne in preference to the son, probably in order to escape the inconvenience of frequent minorities. Of Donald there is scarcely anything to be said. The Gaelic bard calls him "Dhomknaill dhreachruaid," or Donal of the ruddy countenance; and the Chronicon Elegiacum states that he was strenuous in war. After a reign of four years, he died at his palace of Balachon, A.D. 863, and was buried at Icolm-Kill, "the grand storehouse of his progenitors." It is said, that during the reign of Donald the old laws of Aodfin, the son of Eochan III. were re-enacted by the Scoto-Irish chiefs, at Forteviot.*

Donald, A.D. 859.

Donald was succeeded by his nephew, Constantine, the son of Kenneth, who, during a reign of eighteen years, was engaged in almost uninterrupted warfare with the Danish pirates. After half a century of fierce contests, they succeeded in establishing themselves in Ireland, and took possession of the commodious harbours on the east and north of that island, from which they were enabled to extend their destructive ravages along the whole of the western coast of Scotland. Fresh bands of these roving depredators issued from their native shores and penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, by all its maritime inlets; by the Clyde on the west, and by the Friths of Moray, Tay, and Forth on the east. According to the old chroniclers, these marauders were first called in by the subjugated Picts, to assist them in obtaining revenge on the son of their conqueror; but, as might have been expected, friend and foe appear to have equally suffered from their plundering incursions. In 866, under Aulaf, or Olave, a descendant of the famous Vi-kingr Ragner Lodbrog, they ravaged the coasts of Scotland for the space of three months. Four years later a more formidable armament sailed from Dublin, under the same ferocious leader, took Alcluyd, or Dumbarton, the capital of Strathclyd, ravaged the whole extent of North Britain, and returned to Dublin laden with plunder and glutted with slaughter. Thrice, during the reign of Constantine, did their vessels re-appear on the coasts of the devoted country; and, at last (A.D. 881), the Scottish monarch was slain on the shores of the Forth, in an ineffectual attempt to defend his territories against these ruthless invaders. According to another, but less trustworthy account, he was taken prisoner in the battle, and

Constantine, A.D. 863.

Invasion of the Danes.

* Skene's Highlanders of Scotland, pp. 33, 45, and 59.
† Innes, Append. Chron. No. 3.
‡ Ibid. Turner's Hist. Anglo-Sax. vol. ii. pp. 115—117.

* Chron. Pict. Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 178; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 377.

sacrificed in a cave on the sea-coast, near Crail, in Fife, to the manes of the leader of the pirates who had fallen in the engagement.*

Hugh, A.D. 881.

Constantine's immediate successor was his brother Aodh, or Hugh, whose reign was short and unfortunate. Grig, the Maormor, or chief of the country between the Dee and the Spey, now forming the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, raised the standard of rebellion against him. Hugh was wounded in a battle which took place at Strathallan, and died two months after at Inverury, having held the reins of government only one year.† The sceptre was immediately seized by the successful rebel, who associated with himself on the throne, Eocha, or Eth, son of the King of Strathclyd by a daughter of Kenneth Macalpin. Grig is said to have reigned for about eleven years, with a more extensive authority than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors. The monkish chroniclers, who have conferred on him the high-sounding title of Gregory the Great, represent him as a mighty conqueror, who not only overthrew the Picts and the Britons, but even subdued England and Ireland. According to Chalmers, the virtues, the valour, the successes of Gregory, which shine so resplendent in the pages of these fablers, may all be traced up to the pious gratitude of the monks of St. Andrews. Grig, like other usurpers, appears to have conferred some privileges on the ecclesiastics of his age, and they were studious, by grateful falsehoods, to eulogize his character and asperse the reputation of his predecessor.‡ In spite of the favour of the church, however, he and his colleague were expelled from the throne by a popular insurrection, A.D. 893, and were succeeded by Donald IV., the son of Constantine II.§ During his reign the Danish pirates re-appeared in Scotland, and were defeated at Collin, on the banks of the Tay, in the vicinity of Scone. Notwithstanding this defeat they returned from Ireland, in 904, under Ivar O Ivar, and having penetrated to the neighbourhood of Forteviot, were bravely encountered by Donald, who lost his life in the engagement, after having slain the Danish leader.‖

Usurpation of Grig, 882.

Donald IV., 893.

Donald was succeeded, A.D. 904, by Constantine III., the son of his uncle Hugh, who, like his predecessors, had to sustain repeated attacks of the Danes. In 907, they invaded Scotland, and plundered Dunkeld; but, in an attempt to assault Forteviot, they were defeated and driven from the country. This did not prevent their return in 918, when Constantine, with the assistance of the Northern Saxons, encountered and repulsed them at Tinmore—a defeat which appears to have given a considerable period of repose to the kingdom.*

Constantine III.

A new adversary, however, appeared in the person of the Saxon, Athelstan, son of Edward the Elder. The causes which led to an open rupture between this prince and Constantine have been variously stated. Some writers assert that the Scottish king had given offence by breaking the league which he had made with the Saxon prince; others, that he had provoked the wrath of Athelstan by affording an asylum to Godred, a fugitive Northumbrian prince.† Be this as it may, the English chroniclers affirm that the Saxon monarch, in 934, invaded Scotland by land and sea, and wasted the country, while Constantine remained secure in his inaccessible fastnesses beyond the friths. In revenge for this invasion, Constantine, along with his son-in-law Aulaf (or Olave), the Danish chief of Northumberland, who had lately made considerable conquests in Ireland, and his allies, the people of Strathclyd and Cumbria, and the northern Welsh, invaded England, and entered the Humber with six hundred and fifteen ships. But in the memorable battle of Brunanburgh, (A.D. 937)—a place, the situation of which is now uncertain‡—the united army was completely routed, with great slaughter. Aulaf escaped with the remnant of his forces to Ireland; and Constantine, whose son was left among the slain, with difficulty made good his retreat into his own dominions beyond the Forth. A few years after this defeat, in A.D. 944, he retired into a monastery, and passed the remainder of his life as Abbot of the Culdees of St. Andrews. According to Fordun, Constantine was the first of the Scottish kings who made the heir-apparent to his crown Prince of Cumberland.§ But there is reason to believe that Cumbria was not connected with Scotland till the reign of his successor, Malcolm I., the son of Donald IV., to whom it was ceded by the Saxon king, Edmund, A.D. 945. The territory thus ceded to the Scots consisted of the modern Cumberland and Westmoreland. It had constituted an independent British kingdom under the name of Reged, and had strenuously resisted the attempts of the Saxon kings to destroy its independence. At length Edmund the Elder, of England, succeeded in conquering this little kingdom, and put out the eyes of the five sons of Dunmail, its last British king. He then bestowed his new acquisition on Malcolm, on condition that he would become his associate in war, or, as the terms are explained by Matthew of Westminster, "that he

Invasion by Athelstan.

Acquisition of Cumberland by Malcolm I.

* Ware's Antiq. pp. 102—108; Ulster Annals, sub an. 852; Innes, Append. Chron. No. 3; O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 484.

† Chronicles in Innes, App. No. 3 and 6; Reg. of St. Andrews; Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xvii.

‡ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 382; Chron. in the Reg. of St. Andrews.

§ Chron. No. 3, in Innes, Append.

‖ Ibid. Annals of Ulster, sub anno 904.

* Colbert, Chron.; Chron. No. 3, in Innes, Append.; Annals of Ulster.

† Saxon Chron. p. 111; Ogygia, p. 485. It is worthy of notice, that North Britain is for the first time called Scotland by the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 934.

‡ Supposed by some to be Brun, in the south of Lincolnshire, by others Burgh, on the Humber, in the north of the same county. See Simeon of Durham; Saxon Annals; Innes, App. Chron. No. 3; Irish Annals; Enquiry, vol. ii. p 183.

§ Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xxiv. xxv.; Saxon Annals.

would defend the northern parts of England from the invasions of his enemies, whether they came by sea or land." Some ingenious writers have attempted to discover in this transaction an acknowledgment of feudal dependence on the part of the Scottish monarch; but they have overlooked the important fact, that the agreement was entered into between two independent princes,—the one of Saxon, the other of Celtic race,—more than a century before the feudal usages or tenures were introduced into England by the Normans.

Malcolm I. appears to have been a prince of great ability and prudence; but having overthrown and slain Cellach, the insurgent Maormor or chief of Moray, he was assassinated at Fetteressoe (A.D. 953) by one of the Moraymen, in revenge for the death of his chief.*

Malcolm I., A.D. 944.

Indulph, the son of Constantine III., succeeded Malcolm. "In his reign," says the ancient Pictish Chronicle,† "the town of Eden was vacated and left to the Scots to this day." It is supposed that allusion is here made to Edinburgh, which had been seized by Athelstan in his invasion of Scotland, A.D. 934. The reign of Indulph was grievously troubled by the invasions of the northern pirates; and he at last lost his life in a successful engagement with these fierce plunderers, fought near the bay of Cullen, in Banffshire, where a considerable number of barrows on a moor still preserve the memory of the defeat of the Danes.‡ This encounter, which took place in 961, is called, by the old writers, the Battle of the Bauds.

Renewed invasions of the Danes.

Duff, or Odo, the son of Malcolm, now mounted the throne, according to what appears to have been the legal order of succession at this time, when each king was succeeded, not by his own son, but by the son of his predecessor; but his right was disputed by Culen, the son of Indulph, who laid claim to the sceptre which his father had wielded. In an engagement which took place at Duncrub, in Perthshire, Culen was defeated, and Doncha, Abbot of Dunkeld, and Dubdou, the Maormor of Athol, his most influential supporters, lost their lives. But in the following year Duff was driven from Forteviot into the north, and was assassinated at Forres, A.D. 965, after a troubled reign of four years and a half.§

Duff, A.D. 961.

Culen, the son of Indulph, succeeded to the vacant throne. "During this reign," says Fordun, "which was equally unfit and remiss, nothing either kingly or worthy of recollection is to be recorded." But Culen did not long retain the power which he had so traitorously obtained and so unworthily held. Having committed an act of atrocious violence on his relation, the daughter of the King of Strathclyd, the Britons took up arms to avenge the injury, and Culen, with his brother Eocha, was slain, A.D. 970, in a battle fought at a place situated to the south of the Forth.*

Culen, A.D. 965.

The crown now fell to Kenneth III., another son of Malcolm I., and the brother of Duff. Kenneth was evidently a prince of great ability, but of a daring and unscrupulous character. His first act was to follow out the war with the Britons of Strathclyd, rather, it is to be presumed, with ambitious views of conquest, than to avenge the merited fate of his predecessor, who was of a rival family. The Britons had enjoyed a precarious independence for upwards of five centuries, under various reverses and the multiplied attacks of powerful adversaries; but, pressed on every side, their territories were gradually narrowed, and their power diminished. They made a gallant struggle for independence, but, weakened by the frequent devastating invasions of the Danes, they were unable to resist the attacks of their powerful neighbours. Dunwallon, the last king of Strathclyd, after exhibiting the utmost courage in defence of his kingdom, was defeated by Kenneth at the battle of Vacornar, in A.D. 973, retired to Rome, where he assumed the religious habit and died a monk, and his territories were incorporated with the rest of the Scottish dominions.† During the reign of Kenneth, the northern pirates, undismayed by their repeated defeats, renewed their invasion of Scotland, and sailed up the Tay with a numerous fleet. They were met by the Scottish forces at Luncarty, in the vicinity of Perth. The battle was long and fiercely contested. At length the two wings of the Scottish army were compelled to give way; but they rallied behind the centre, which was commanded by the king in person, and taking up a new position on more advantageous ground, they renewed the conflict, and finally defeated the invaders with great slaughter, and drove them to their ships. Monumental barrows, filled with the relics and arms of the slain, attest the truth of this battle, although some historians have affected incredulity on the subject. Connected with this memorable engagement, which is still famous in Scottish story, is the well-known tradition of the origin of the family of the Hays, Earls of Errol. It is said, that when the Scots were flying from the field, with the Danes in pursuit, a husbandman, named Hay, with his two sons, who happened to be at work in a neighbouring field, armed only with their ploughbeams, placed themselves in a narrow pass through which the vanquished were hurrying, and impeded their flight. "What!" said the gallant rustic, "had you rather be slaughtered by your merciless foes than die honourably fight-

Kenneth III., A.D. 970.

Conquest of Strathclyd.

Defeat of the Danes at Luncarty.

* The ancient chronicles differ as to the circumstances of Malcolm's death; but the above seems the most trustworthy account. See Chron. No. 3 and 5 in Innes; Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xxvii.; Wyntown, vol. i. p. 179; and Dalrymple's Collections, p. 99.

† Innes, App. No. 3

‡ Ibid. Chron. No. 5.

§ Chron. No. 5, Innes, App.; Ulster Annals.

* Ulster Annals, and Chron. No. 3; Fordun, vol. i. p. 330.

† Caledonia, vol. i. p. 856.

ing for your country? Come, rally, rally!" With these words, brandishing his ploughbeam, he rallied the fugitives, and led them back to victory. "Sone efter," to use the simple language of Boece, "ane counsal was set at Scone in the quhilk Hay and his sons war maid nobil and dotad for thair singular virtew provin in this field, with sundray lands to sustene thair estait. It is said that he askit fra the king certane lands liand betwixt Tay and Arole and gat als mekil thairof as ane falcon flew of ane mans hand or scho lichtit. The falcon flew to ane town four milis fra Dundo called Rosse and lichtit on ane stane quhilk is yet callit The Falcon Stane and sa he gat al the lands betwixt Tay and Arole six milis of lenth and four of breid quhilk lands ar yit inhabit by his posterite."* In proof of this story, an appeal is made to the arms of the Hays—three escutcheons supported by two peasants, each carrying the beam of a plough on his shoulder, with a falcon for the crest. But it is quite as likely that the story may have been invented to explain the arms; and there can be no doubt that the tradition is entirely fabulous. It has been proved that armorial bearings were unknown at the date of the battle of Luncarty—that the Hays are a branch of the Norman De Hayas, and did not come to Scotland till more than a hundred years after the period referred to—that they only obtained the lands of Errol from William the Lion about the middle of the twelfth century—and that it was not till the middle of the fourteenth century that they were ennobled.

This decisive victory over his foreign enemies afforded Kenneth leisure and opportunity to mature and execute his domestic projects. With characteristic energy he proceeded to take measures for the abrogation of the most remarkable peculiarity of the Scottish regal constitution—the mode of succession to the throne—and procured the consent of the states to a law, settling the succession on the nearest surviving descendant or blood relation of the deceased monarch, of whatever age; and providing that, in case the heir should not be of age at the time of the king's decease, a regent should be appointed to govern the kingdom until the minor attained his fourteenth year. In the prosecution of the line of policy he had adopted, Kenneth is believed to have put to death Malcolm, the son of his brother Duff, who had been already recognised as Tanist, or next heir to the throne, and invested with the lordship of Cumberland. Some of the English chroniclers† state that Lothian was ceded to Kenneth by the Saxon king Edgar; but as no mention is made of this important event in the Saxon Chronicle, or in the more ancient English annals, or in Fordun, the accuracy of the statement has been called in question. Mr. Allen, however, whose authority is entitled to the greatest weight, is of opinion that the account given by Wallingford may be relied on, as, although he wrote in the twelfth or thirteenth century, he appears to have possessed original materials, which are now lost. From the defeat of the Northumbrian king Egfrid by the Picts, in 685, the district of Lothian seems to have been a kind of debateable land, alternately subject to the Scotch or Pictish, and to the Northumbrian kingdoms, though it was probably at this time in the actual possession of the Scottish King. Wallingford's account of the manner in which the quarrel respecting this disputed territory was at last determined, is, that when Kenneth came to London on a visit to Edgar, he represented to the English monarch that Lothian belonged, by hereditary right, to the English kings; that Edgar, after consulting with his nobles, agreed to resign the territory to Kenneth, as it was difficult to maintain, and of little advantage to England, but only on condition that he should do homage for it to the English crown; that Kenneth assented to these terms, and promised that he would allow the people to retain their ancient customs, and to continue English in name and in language: all which, adds the historian, remains firmly established to this day. Mr. Allen is of opinion that the whole, or part of the district, was re-annexed to Northumbria on the defeat of Malcolm II., in 1005; but, after the victory over the Northumbrians, gained by the same monarch, at Carham, in 1020, a final cession of the district to the Scottish king was formally made by the Northumbrian earl Eadulf.

Change in the rule of succession.

Cession of Lothian to the Scots.

One of Kenneth's acts of cruelty recoiled upon him to his own destruction. After the suppression of an insurrection in the Mearns, he had put to death the only son of the chief of the district.* By some means or other Kenneth was induced to pay a visit to Fenella, the mother of the victim, in her castle near Fettercairn, and here he was assassinated by her orders.† Immediately after the commission of the murder, she fled down a valley, still called Strath-Fenella, to a place in the parish of Fordun, where she was overtaken and put to death. This event took place, A.D. 994, after Kenneth had reigned twenty-four years.

In spite of the energetic and unscrupulous policy of Kenneth, his son did not, after all, succeed him on the throne. The right of succession was contested by three competitors. Of these, Constantine IV., the son of the ruthless Culen, is believed to have been first crowned; but in a few months he was defeated, and slain in a conflict near the river Almond, in Perthshire,‡ with a son of Duff, and younger brother of the murdered prince, Malcolm, who immediately mounted the throne as Kenneth IV., surnamed the Grim by the Scottish chroniclers, from the strength of his body. His claims, however,

Kenneth IV.

* Bellenden's Boece, book xi. chap. viii.

† Wallingford; Matthew of Westminster; Allen's Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scotland.

* Chron. No. 5, in Innes.

† Ulster Annals, anno 994; Chron. Elegiacum; Wyntown's Chron.

‡ Chron. No. 5, in Innes; Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xxxvii., but he is mistaken as to the place of Constantine's death; Ogygia, p. 487.

were opposed by Malcolm, the son of Kenneth III., and who, after the murder of his cousin Malcolm, the son of Duff, had been recognized as the heir to the throne, and as such appointed Regulus, or Prince, of Cumberland. At length the rival claimants met in conflict at Monivaird, when the contest was decided by the death of Kenneth, A.D. 1003, after a reign of eight years. The scene of the battle is marked by a large barrow, called Carnchainichin—the Cairn of Kenneth.*

Malcolm II. was an able prince, and renowned leader. He is styled "Rex Victoriosissimus," by the ancient chroniclers; but his reign appears to have been of a chequered character, according to the saying of the Gaelic bard:—

Malcolm II., A.D. 1003.

"Thirty years of variegated reign
Was king by fate, Malcolm."

In the earlier part of his reign he was harassed by successive invasions of the Norsemen, who had now, for some time, obtained possession of the Orkney islands. They made their appearance in great strength on the coast of Moray, and seized and fortified the promontory called the Burghead, where they found a commodious harbour and a secure retreat. Sigurd, the Earl of Orkney, one of these Danish Vikings, carried on his depredations along the shores of the Moray Frith, even after he had formed a matrimonial alliance with Malcolm, by marrying his daughter; but friends and foes were equally laid under contribution by these marauders. In the year 1010, they made a fresh descent upon Moray; but they were encountered near Mortlach, and defeated with great slaughter, after a protracted struggle, by Malcolm, who, in pursuance of a vow which he is said to have made on the field of battle, endowed a religious house near the scene of his victory. This endowment was, shortly after, confirmed by Pope Benedict, and Mortlach became the seat of the earliest Scottish bishopric. Several Danish skulls, the relics of distinguished warriors who fell in the battle, were built into the walls of the church of Mortlach, and were still to be seen there not many years ago. The scene of this bloody conflict is marked by a number of sepulchral mounds, which contained human bones, broken armour, and other relics of the slain.† In spite of this severe defeat, Sweno, the Danish king, renewed the attempt at invasion, by detaching a fleet and army, under Camus, one of his most renowned leaders. They appear to have effected a landing on the coast of Angus, near to Panbride; but they had advanced only a few miles, when they were encountered at Aberlemmo, by Malcolm. After an obstinate contest, the Danes were overthrown with great slaughter, and their leader, in his retreat from the field of battle, was overtaken and slain. A tall and highly sculptured monumental stone, which bears the name of Camus-cross, is supposed to mark the spot where he was killed.*

Danes defeated by Malcolm, A.D. 1010.

Still the Danes were not discouraged, and they renewed their attempts to subjugate Scotland by landing on the coast of Buchan, about a mile west from Slaines Castle, in the parish of Cruden; but they were attacked and defeated by the Maormor of the district. Sweno, at length, disheartened by so many defeats, appears to have entered into a convention with Malcolm, A.D. 1014, by which he engaged to evacuate the kingdom, and to abstain from future invasion. Thus, after a severe struggle, which appears to have continued, at intervals, for nearly a century and a half (866 to 1014), the valour and energy of the Scots triumphed over the efforts of the Norsemen. It was certainly highly to the honour, both of Malcolm and his people, that these fierce Norsemen, who had been the scourge and terror of every other country in Europe, and had even placed their leaders on the English throne, should thus have been baffled in their attempts to establish themselves in the Scottish territory, and have been at last compelled to desist from the contest.

Final departure of the Danes, A.D. 1014.

Soon after the termination of his warfare with the Danes, Malcolm was involved in a contest with the Northumbrians; and in the year 1018 he led his army to Carham, near Wark, on the southern bank of the Tweed, where he was encountered by Uchtred, Earl of Northumberland. The battle was fiercely contested, and the issue was doubtful, though the victory was claimed by the Northumbrian earl. Uchtred, however, was soon after assassinated by the Danes, and his brother and successor, Eadulf-Cudel, from the dread of a second invasion, was induced to purchase the friendship of Malcolm, by ceding to him, or confirming the former cession, of the rich district of Lothian, including not only the whole of the three counties which now bear this designation, but Berwickshire, and the lower part of Teviotdale.

War with the Northumbrians.

Cession of Lothian to Malcolm, A.D. 1020.

The last important event which occurred in the reign of Malcolm, was his dispute with the celebrated Canute, the Danish king of England. The cause of the war is involved in much obscurity; but it appears to have been connected with some dispute respecting the homage due by the Scottish king for the principality of Cumberland. Canute led an army against Malcolm, who, on his part, prepared to repel the invasion; but, by the interposition of mutual friends, the dispute was amicably adjusted,

War with Canute.

* Chron. No. 5, in Innes; Chron. Eleg.; Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xli.

† Caledonia, vol. i. p. 399; Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xl.; Old Stat. Acc. vol. xvii. p. 444.

* There are several other stones in different parts of the county, which bear the same name. Dr. Wilson is of opinion that these Cambus-stones have all probably served as landmarks, or hoar-stones, and that the name is derived from the Celtic, *cam*, crooked, which enters into many Gaelic compounds and proper names. About the year 1610, however, a huge skeleton was dug up near Camus-cross, which appeared to have received a mortal stroke upon the head, as part of the skull was cut away. It was found lying in a sepulchre, which was inclosed with four stones.

and it was agreed that Malcolm should retain possession of Cumberland on performing the conditions upon which it had been transferred to him by the Saxon kings.* Malcolm died peaceably, in 1033, after an eventful reign of thirty years, and was buried at Iona. The story of his assassination at Glammis is a fiction, invented by the monkish chroniclers, and the laws which are ascribed to him by Boece and Buchanan, have been clearly proved to be the forgery of a much later age.

Accession of Duncan, A.D. 1033.

Duncan, grandson of Malcolm, by Bethoc, or Beatrice, one of his daughters, now ascended the throne, which he occupied for six years—"the gracious Duncan," who fell by the dagger of Macbeth. "On reading these names," says Sir Walter Scott, "every reader must feel as if brought from darkness into the blaze of noonday, so familiar are we with the personages whom we last named, and so clearly and distinctly we recall the events in which they are interested, in comparison with any doubtful and misty views which we can form of the twilight times before and after that fortunate period. But we must not be blinded by our poetical enthusiasm, nor add more than due importance to legends, because they have been woven into the most striking tale of ambition and remorse that ever struck awe into a human bosom. The genius of Shakespeare having found the tale of Macbeth in the Scottish Chronicles of Holinshed, adorned it with a lustre similar to that with which a level beam of the sun often invests some fragment of glass, which, though shining at a distance with the lustre of a diamond, is, by a near investigation, discovered to be of no worth or estimation." Macbeth was the Maormor of the remote district of Ross, where, it is probable, he was all but nominally independent of the royal authority. His lady, whose real name was Gruoch, had regal blood in her veins. She was the granddaughter of Kenneth IV., surnamed the Grim, who was slain fighting against King Malcolm; she had, therefore, deadly injuries to avenge on the reigning monarch. Her grandfather had been dethroned and killed by Malcolm, her brother assassinated, and her first husband, Gilcomgain, the Maormor of Moray, burned in his castle along with fifty of his friends, whilst she herself had to fly for her life along with her infant son Lulach. She sought shelter in the district of Ross, of which Macbeth was hereditary lord, and to him she gave her hand. Macbeth, on the other hand, had wrongs of his own to avenge, for his father also had been slain by Malcolm; and thus, instigated both by ambition and revenge, he attacked and slew Duncan at a place called Bothgowan, or the Smith's House, near Elgin, in 1039, and not, as the chronicler or the dramatist allege, in his own castle of Inverness.† Macbeth immediately mounted the throne, to which, it has been alleged, his title, according to the old rule of Scottish succession, was better than that of Duncan. He appears to have been in reality a just and equitable prince, and there is reason to believe that his administration was conducted with great ability, and to the general satisfaction of the people. The adherents of the family of the murdered monarch, however, resisted his authority from the first. After several unsuccessful attempts to dispossess him, they were at length joined by Siward, the Danish Earl of Northumberland, whose relation Duncan had married, and by Macduff, the Maormor of Fife, whose patriotism is said to have been inflamed by some personal injuries. These two powerful chiefs having espoused the cause of Malcolm, Duncan's elder son, who had fled to England on his father's death, they advanced against Macbeth at the head of a formidable army, during the year 1054. Their first encounter is believed to have taken place at Dunsinane Hill, on the summit of which Macbeth, according to tradition, had a stronghold. He was defeated, but escaped from the battle to his fastnesses in the north, where he appears to have protracted the war for nearly two years. He was at length defeated, and slain at Lumphanan, Aberdeenshire, on the 5th of December, 1056, in the seventeenth year of his reign.* His adherents did not immediately abandon the contest, but set up as king, Lulach, the son of Lady Macbeth by her first husband. After a brief struggle, however, he too was defeated, and lost his life in a battle which was fought at Essie, in Strathbogie, on the 3rd of April, 1057. All opposition to his claims being thus completely crushed, Malcolm was crowned at Scone, on the 20th of the same month, the Festival of St. Mark.† The powerful chief to whom he was mainly indebted for his restoration to the throne of his ancestors, was rewarded with the important privileges,—that he and his successors, Lords of Fife, should have the right of placing the kings of Scotland on the throne at their coronation,—that they should lead the van of the Scottish armies whenever the royal banner was displayed,—and that if he, or any of his kindred, "committed slaughter of suddenty," they should have a peculiar sanctuary, and obtain remission on payment of an atonement in money.‡

Revenge of Macbeth.

His defeat and death, A.D. 1056.

Malcolm III., surnamed Canmore (Cean-mohr), or Great-head, ascended the throne in 1057. He was a prince of great energy and valour, and his reign forms an important era in the early history of Scotland. His dominions included not only the ancient possessions of the Scots and Picts, but the kingdom of Strathclyd, the province of Cumbria, consisting of Cum-

Malcolm Canmore, A.D. 1057.

* Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xli.; Matthew of Westminster, p. 209.

† Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xlix.; Register of St. Andrews.

* Wyntown, vol. i. pp. 238-9; Simeon of Durham, p. 187; Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 404—416; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 2.

† Pinkerton strenuously maintains that Malcolm must have been not the son, but the grandson of Duncan, and the great length of the interval—fifty-four years—between the dates assigned to the death of Duncan and that of Malcolm, is adduced by him in support of this conjecture. Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 203.

‡ Fordun, lib. v. chap. ix.; Buchanan, lib. vii. p. 115; Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 3.

berland and Westmoreland, and the district of Lothian, forming the south-eastern portion of modern Scotland. The Cumbrians and the people of Strathclyd were of British race, while the inhabitants of Lothian appear to have been chiefly of Saxon and Danish extraction. The south-western angle of Scotland, on the other hand, known by the name of Galloway, was inhabited by a mixed race, partly of Scottish and partly of Pictish descent, and their numbers had been increased in the course of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, by various bodies of colonists from Ireland. "They appear," says Mr. Allen, "at all times to have owed subjection to the Scottish kings, but they long retained the barbarous habits and the ferocious manners, which the ravages of the Northmen had impressed on the country they had quitted. In the twelfth century they are called Picts or Galwegians, and as late as the fourteenth century, they are distinguished by the appellation of the Wild Scots of Galloway."

The accession of Malcolm Canmore was followed by events which ultimately led to most important changes in the manners and customs of his subjects. He had passed about fifteen years at the court of Edward the Confessor before he became king, and the habits and connexions which he had formed there, induced him to maintain a more friendly intercourse with England than had been customary with his predecessors; so that, with the exception of the short and hasty incursion which he made into Northumberland in 1061,* nothing occurred during the reign of the Confessor, to interrupt the harmony between the sister kingdoms. He had contracted a most intimate friendship with Tostig, brother of Harold, and earl or governor of Northumberland. Simeon of Durham says they were so much attached to each other, that they were popularly termed "the sworn brothers." On the accession of Harold to the English throne, Tostig took up arms against him; but having been repulsed, he took refuge with Malcolm, and remained in Scotland during the whole summer.† But the Scottish king took no part in the invasion of England made by Tostig and his ally, Hardrada, King of Norway, in the close of the same year, and in which they both lost their lives at the battle of Stamford Bridge, near York, 25th September, 1066.

His friendship with the Saxons.

The death of Harold, at Hastings, a few weeks later, and the conquest of England by the Normans, caused a considerable number of the friends of the Saxon dynasty to seek refuge in Scotland from the oppressions of the victorious Normans. The most distinguished of these was the unfortunate Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Saxon line, who, along with his mother, Agatha, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christian, fled to Scotland in the beginning of 1068, accompanied by Maerleswegen and Gospatric, two powerful Northumbrian chiefs, who were disgusted at the Norman tyranny.

* Simeon of Durham, p. 190. † Ibid. p. 193.

Soon after the arrival of these illustrious fugitives in Scotland—probably about 1070—Malcolm espoused Margaret, the elder of the two princesses, at Dunfermline She was beautiful, accomplished, and pious; and as Edgar was weak, almost to imbecility, she might be looked upon as inheriting the claims of the Saxon royal line. The marriage of the Scottish monarch was soon followed by his invasion of England, in conjunction with the Danes and the Northumbrian barons, who were hostile to William the Conqueror. The Danes, however, after storming York, and putting the Norman garrison to the sword, were repulsed, and returned to their ships; and the discontented Northumbrians were gained over by William before Malcolm took the field. Entering England with a numerous army, the Scottish king routed the English, who opposed him at Hunderskelde, and mercilessly ravaged Durham, and the northern and western parts of Yorkshire. Gospatric, who had made his peace with William, in the meantime laid waste the district of Cumberland, and Malcolm, exasperated by this retaliation on his own frontiers, continued his ravages with increased severity. Even the churches were destroyed and burnt, while the miserable inhabitants, who had fled to them for refuge, were consumed in the flames. Malcolm returned home, leading captive, says an English historian, such a multitude of young men and maidens, "that for many years they were to be found in every Scottish village, nay, even in every Scottish hovel."*

Marriage of Malcolm.

His invasion of England.

William was incensed to the highest degree by the repeated insurrections of the Northumbrians, and both to punish their recent revolt, and to oppose an obstacle, in the desolation of the country, to the future invasions of the Danes, he laid utterly waste the fertile district between the Humber and the Tees.† "At this time," says William of Malmesbury, "there were destroyed such splendid towns, such lofty castles, such beautiful pastures, that, had a stranger viewed the scene, he might have been moved to compassion, and had one inhabitant been left alive, he would not have recollected the country."‡ The inhabitants of this once populous and fertile district seem to have been almost wholly exterminated. Many who escaped the sword, died of famine; many sold themselves into slavery, to escape starvation; and many thousands of the lower orders, together with a considerable number both of Anglo-Saxons and Normans of condition, who had incurred the displeasure of the Conqueror, fled for refuge into Scotland, and found a cordial reception at the court of Malcolm, who, sensible of the value of such auxiliaries, conferred honours and estates upon them with no sparing hand.

William the Conqueror retaliates.

William, having secured peace at home, prepared to chastise Malcolm for his inroads into Eng-

* Simeon of Durham, p. 201.
† Ingulphus p. 79.
‡ William of Malmesbury, p. 103.

land, and, in 1072, he invaded the Scottish territories both by sea and land. He overran and wasted the country as far as the Tay; but as the inhabitants, according to the policy which they seem to have followed from the earliest times, destroyed or removed everything of value as the enemy advanced, William, as the Saxon Chronicle expresses it, "nothing found of that which to him the better was." In the end, Malcolm met him at Abernethy,* when a peace was concluded between the two kings, on the conditions that Malcolm should give hostages and pay homage to William.† The question has been raised, and keenly disputed,—For what was this homage performed? The advocates of the English supremacy contend that it was for the Scottish crown. No satisfactory evidence, however, can be produced in support of this assertion. It is true that certain of the Anglo-Saxon kings assumed the title of Monarch, or Emperor, of all Britain. But this vain-glorious assumption of a vaunting title proves nothing; and it would be easy to produce a parallel case of similar pretensions having been put forth without any foundation. The notion that the Scottish kings were the acknowledged vassals of the Anglo-Saxon princes of England, is directly opposed to the whole course of the history of the two countries. Scotland was never conquered by any of these monarchs; nor is there any evidence that they ever made an attempt to wrest it from its ancient possessors. There is as little trustworthy evidence that any acknowledgment of the dependence of the kingdom of Scotland upon the English, was ever made by any of Malcolm's predecessors. The only homage which was paid by the Scottish kings, prior to the Norman Conquest, was not for the kingdom of Scotland, but for the territories which they held in England, such as Cumbria and Lothian, and which were ceded to them by the English kings on this express condition. For these possessions they of course did homage to the English crown, exactly in the same manner as the Norman kings of England did homage to the French crown, for the possessions which they held in France.

Invasion of Scotland.

English claim of supremacy over Scotland.

When Malcolm espoused the cause of Edgar Atheling, he necessarily at the same time denied the right of William to the English throne, and refused to acknowledge him as his liege lord. But when William took measures to assert his authority, and invaded Scotland, Malcolm submitted to his claims, and acknowledged his title to the same homage as had been paid to his Saxon predecessors. To employ the words of Lord Hailes, one of the ablest inquirers into this subject, "According to the general and most probable opinion, this homage was done by Malcolm for the lands which he held in England."*

William, on his return from this expedition, deprived Gospatric of his earldom of Northumberland, under the pretext that he had secretly instigated the murder of Comyn, the former governor. Gospatric a second time took refuge in Scotland, where, notwithstanding of his former defection, he was again cordially welcomed by Malcolm, who bestowed upon him extensive estates on the eastern marches, together with the castles of Dunbar and Cockburnspath.† The possessor of these strong fortresses was popularly said to have the keys of Scotland at his girdle. "And the circumstance is worthy of remembrance," says Mr. Tytler, "not only as marking the origin of a potent family, destined to act a leading part in the future history of the country, but as indicating the policy of Malcolm, who, conscious of the inferiority of his own Celtic race, manifested a wise anxiety to prevail on strangers, whether Normans, Danes, or Saxons, to settle in his dominions."

Gospatric takes refuge in Scotland.

After this agreement with William, Malcolm seems to have remained quiet for some years; but, in 1079, hostilities were renewed with England, on what grounds historians have omitted to state. Availing himself of the favourable opportunity afforded by the absence of the English king, who was on the Continent, carrying on a war with his son Robert, Malcolm again invaded Northumberland, and wasted the country as far as the river Tyne, returning home laden with plunder.‡ The following year, as Robert was now reconciled to his father, he was intrusted with the command of an army against Scotland. But the expedition proved unsuccessful, and Robert soon returned without effecting anything worthy of notice. It was at this period that the fortress of Newcastle on the Tyne was erected as a protection against the inroads of the Scots. It necessarily and professedly tended to render insecure the authority of the Scottish king over the district of Northumbria.

Renewal of hostilities.

After the death of William the Conqueror (A.D. 1087) and the accession of his son, William Rufus, various causes of dispute took place betwixt England and Scotland. This prince appears to have withheld from Malcolm part of the English possessions to which he claimed a right; and, probably with the view of vindicating his claim, the Scottish king invaded England in May, 1091, and penetrated as far as Chester-le-Street, between Newcastle and Durham,

Dispute with William Rufus.

* The place where Malcolm met the Conqueror is called "Abernithi" by Ingulphus, and "Abernithici" by Florence of Worcester. Lord Hailes, Pinkerton, and other writers, have contended that it was probably some place on the river Nith. But in a speech ascribed by Ealred, Abbot of Rievalle, a contemporary of David, Malcolm's son, to Walter Espec, before the battle of the Standard, it is said that William penetrated through Lodonia, Calatria, and Scotia, as far as Abernith, (evidently Abernethy,) where the warlike Malcolm surrendered himself to William as his vassal. Ridpath's Border History, p. 63, and note.

† Sax. Chron., Goodall, Introd to Fordun, p. 46.

* Annals, vol. i. p. 316; Allen's Vindication; Pict. Hist. of England, vol. i. pp. 534—536.

† Simeon of Durham, p. 205; Gospatric is a corruption of Comes Patricius, the name and title of this powerful baron, who was the ancestor of the Earls of March.

‡ Ibid. p. 210.

where, receiving intelligence that Rufus was advancing to meet him with a superior force, he prudently retreated without risking a battle. In the autumn of the same year, William made preparations to invade Scotland, both by sea and land. His fleet was destroyed by a tempest, and many of his cavalry perished by want and cold; but in spite of these disasters he advanced with his army to the shores of the Forth. Meanwhile the Scots, in accordance with their usual policy, had driven away their cattle, and laid waste the country; so that their enemies were reduced to great extremities by the want of provisions. Malcolm crossed the Forth with his forces, and advanced into Lothian to meet the invaders. The hostile armies met, and were ready to engage; but through the mediation of Robert, the brother of Rufus, and Edgar Atheling, who was at that time with Malcolm, a peace was concluded between the two monarchs. "King Malcolm," says the Saxon chronicler, "came to our king, and became his man, promising all such obedience as he formerly rendered to his father, and that he confirmed with an oath. And the king William promised him in land and in all things whatever he formerly had under his father." Malcolm consented to do homage to William, and to hold his land under the same tenure of feudal service as he had formerly paid to his father. William on his part agreed to restore twelve manors which Malcolm had held under the Conqueror, and to make an annual payment to him of twelve marks of gold.* At the same time Edgar Atheling was reconciled to William, and permitted to return to England.

Peace between Malcolm and Rufus.

The peace thus made was not of long continuance. In the following year (1092) William erected a castle at Carlisle, a step which Malcolm appears to have resented, as an encroachment on the freedom of the territories which he held in Cumberland. A personal interview between the kings was proposed as the best mode of settling their differences. Malcolm accordingly repaired to Gloucester (24th August, 1093); but on his arrival, William demanded that he should do homage there, in the presence of the English barons. With this demand the Scottish monarch refused to comply, but offered to perform his homage according to the ancient usage, on the frontiers, and in the presence of the chief men of both kingdoms.† This proposal was contumeliously rejected by William, and Malcolm returning home in great displeasure, assembled an army, and burst into Northumberland, which he wasted with fire and sword. But while he was besieging Alnwick Castle, he was suddenly attacked and slain by Robert de Mowbray, a Northumbrian earl. His eldest son, Edward, shared his fate. The manner of Malcolm's death has been variously related. According to Fordun, the castle of Alnwick was sore pressed, and the garrison despaired of relief, when one of the besieged undertook either to deliver them or to perish in the attempt. Issuing, therefore, from the castle, and carrying the keys of it on the point of his spear, he advanced to the Scottish camp, where he inquired for the king, in order that he might deliver the keys into his hand. Malcolm, informed of his approach, came hastily out of his tent, without his armour, when the traitor pierced him with his spear, and in the confusion succeeded in making his escape. In the old chronicle of Alnwick Abbey, the soldier who slew King Malcolm is called Hammond, and it is stated that he escaped through the river Aln, at a place which was long after called Hammond's Ford. Fordun relates that the English, availing themselves of the confusion caused by the death of the king, made a fierce attack upon the Scots, and put them to the rout, and that Prince Edward was severely wounded in the encounter, and died three days after.*

New disputes between them. A.D. 1092.

Death of Malcolm. A.D. 1093.

The death of Malcolm was followed, in a few days, by that of his excellent queen, who had exercised a great and most beneficial influence over the fierce and impetuous character of her husband. When the king set out on his fatal expedition to England, Margaret, worn out, it is said, by her vigils and fastings, was suffering from a fatal and lingering complaint. Her biographer, Turgot, acknowledges that abstinence ruined her constitution, and brought on excruciating pains in her stomach, which death alone removed. Her last moments are described by that faithful minister, who related what he saw. Her thoughts were much occupied with the welfare of her children. "Farewell," said she to Turgot, "my life draws to a close, but you may survive me long. To you I commit the charge of my children; teach them, above all things, to love and fear God, and whenever you see any of them attain to the height of earthly grandeur, O, then, in an especial manner, be to them as a father and a guide! Admonish, and if need be, reprove them, lest they be swelled with the pride of momentary glory, through avarice offend God, or, by reason of the prosperity of this world, become careless of eternal life. This, in the presence of Him who is now our only witness, I beseech you to promise and to perform." During a short interval of ease she devoutly received the communion. Soon after, her anguish of body returned with redoubled violence. She stretched herself upon her couch, and calmly waited for the moment of her dissolution. Cold, and in the agonies of death, she ceased not to put up her supplications to Heaven. These were some of her words: "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to the multitude of thy tender mercies; blot out my iniquities; make me to hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice;

Death of Queen Margaret.

* Simeon of Durham, p. 216; Sax. Chron. pp. 147—198; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 22.

† Simeon of Durham, p. 218; William of Malmesbury, p. 122; Annals, vol. i. p. 24.

* Chr. Sax. p. 199. Fordun, lib. v. c. 25; Border Hist. p. 69.

cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me; restore unto me the joy of thy salvation!" "At that moment," continues Turgot, "her son Edgar, returning from the army, approached her couch. 'How fares it,' said she, 'with the king and my Edward?' The youth stood silent. 'I know all,' cried she, 'I know all. By this holy cross, by your filial affection, I adjure you to tell me truth.' He answered: 'Your husband and your son are both slain.' Lifting up her eyes and her hands to heaven, she said: 'Praise and blessing be to thee, Almighty God, that thou hast been pleased to make me endure so bitter anguish in the hour of my departure, thereby, as I trust, to purify me from the corruption of my sins; and thou Lord Jesus Christ, who, through the will of the Father, hast enlivened the world by thy death, oh deliver me!' While pronouncing the words, 'deliver me,' she expired."

Her character.

The character of this excellent princess is worthy to be "held in everlasting remembrance." Her piety was sincere and deep, though somewhat tinged with asceticism; and her biographer expressly admits that her health was injured by her long vigils, fasts, and mortifications. Her beneficence was exhibited, not merely in public and somewhat ostentatious almsgiving, in feeding indigent orphans with her own hands, ministering at table to crowds of poor persons, and washing their feet; but in secret acts of charity, and in her unwearied efforts to relieve the necessities, and assuage the afflictions, of her Saxon countrymen, of high or low degree, who had been expelled from their homes by the oppressions of the Norman invaders. Many of these unhappy exiles had been compelled, by the want of the common necessaries of life, to sell themselves into slavery, and were dispersed over the country. She employed her agents to seek out such persons, and to inquire into their condition, and whenever their bondage appeared oppressive, she secretly paid their ransom and restored them to liberty.

Margaret appears to have laboured to elevate the condition of the people, as well as to improve their manners and morals. We are told by her biographer, that she encouraged merchants to come from various parts of the world with many precious commodities, which had never before been seen in that country. Among the articles thus imported, special mention is made of highly ornamented vestments of various colours, which, when the people bought, adds the chronicler, and were induced by the persuasions of the king to put on, they seemed to become new beings, so fine did they appear in their new-fashioned clothes. She was also magnificent in her own attire. She increased the number of attendants on the person of the king, augmented the parade of his public appearances, and caused him to be served at table in gold and silver plate. "At least," says the honest historian, "the dishes and vessels were gilt or silvered over." In the management of her own household, she displayed such a mixture of strictness and kindness, that she was equally revered and loved by all who approached her. She entertained many ladies, employed their leisure hours in the amusements of the needle, and paid strict attention to the decorum of their conduct. "In her presence," says Turgot, "nothing unseemly was ever done or uttered."

Her influence over Malcolm.

The gentleness and amiability of this excellent woman, together with her prudence and good sense, enabled her to acquire complete control over the fiery temper of her husband; and her influence over him appears to have been exerted with the most beneficial effect. To her he seems to have committed the management of the religious affairs, and the internal polity of his kingdom. "Malcolm," says Turgot, "respected the religion of his spouse, was fearful of offending her, and listened to her admonitions. Whatever she loved or disliked so did he. Although he could not read, he frequently turned over her prayer-books, and kissed her favourite volumes. He had them adorned with gold and precious stones, and presented them to her in token of his devotion. She instructed him to pass the night in fervent prayer, with groans and tears. I must acknowledge," he adds, "that I often admired the works of the Divine mercy, when I saw a king so religious, and such signs of deep compunction in a layman."

Her reformations among the clergy and the laity.

Various abuses appear at this time to have crept into the church, as well as among the people, and Margaret employed her learning and eloquence, not only in the instruction of her husband, but in controversy with the clergy, and in urging them to reform their various errors of doctrine and discipline. At this period, the Scottish clergy had ceased to celebrate the communion of the Lord's Supper, on the plea that they were sinners, and dreaded to communicate unworthily. They made no distinction between Sabbath and week days; and they permitted the marriage of a man with his step-mother, or the widow of his brother—a practice originating probably in avarice, as it relieved the heir of a jointure. All these abuses the queen corrected, in a firm yet temperate manner. "She displayed to the clergy," says Lord Hailes, "the vanity of their superstitious or indolent excuse for their neglect to celebrate the communion, and she restored the religious observance of Sunday, an institution no less admirable in a political than in a religious light." She held a solemn conference with the clergy regarding the proper season for celebrating Lent; and "three days," says Turgot, "did she employ the Sword of the Spirit in combating their errors. She seemed another St. Helena, out of the Scriptures convincing the Jews."

Her canonization.

After her death, Margaret was received into the Romish calendar. "Others," says her candid biographer, "may admire the indications of sanctity which miracles afford: I much more admire in Margaret the works of mercy. Such signs are common to the good and

the evil, but the works of true piety and charity are peculiar to the good. With better reason, therefore, ought we to admire the deeds of Margaret, which made her a saint, than her miracles—*had she performed any*—which could only have pointed her out to mankind as a saint." Nearly two hundred years after her death, her body was removed to a tomb of more distinction, in the church of Dunfermline. A legend of "a well imagined miracle" narrates, that it was found impossible to lift the body of the new saint until that of her husband had received the same honour; as if, in her state of beatitude, Margaret had been guided by the same feelings of conjugal deference and affection which had regulated this excellent woman's conduct while on earth.*

Character of Malcolm.

The character of Malcolm Canmore himself, it has been justly said, stands high, if his situation and opportunities be considered. Though he was not altogether free from the fierceness and barbarity of his age, he was a man of undaunted courage, and of a noble and generous disposition. "From his early youth," says Lord Hailes, "to his last invasion of England, his conduct was uniform. He maintained his throne with the same spirit by which he won it. Though he was the ruler of a nation uncivilized and destitute of foreign resources, and had such antagonists as the Conqueror and William Rufus to encounter, yet for twenty-seven years he supported this unequal contest; sometimes with success, never without honour. That he should have so well asserted the independency of Scotland is astonishing, when the weakness of his own kingdom, and the strength and abilities of his enemies, are fairly estimated."†

An incident is related concerning Malcolm by Aldred, on the authority of David I., Malcolm's son, which is strongly illustrative of his courage and generosity. A nobleman of his court had formed a design against his life. His traitorous intentions became known to the king, who, during the amusement of a hunting-match, drew the conspirator into a solitary glade of the forest, upbraided him with his treachery, and defied him to mortal and equal combat. "Now," said the gallant monarch, unsheathing his sword, "we are alone, and armed alike. You seek my life; take it." The traitor, surprised at this act of generosity, threw himself at the king's feet, confessed his crime, and intreated forgiveness. The king pardoned and restored him to his confidence, and never had any reason to repent of his manly and generous conduct.‡

Alleged claims as a legislator.

An attempt has been made to claim for Malcolm the character of a great legislator. It is asserted by Boece, that immediately after his accession, he held a parliament at Forfar, and restored to their estates, dignities, and jurisdictions, all the nobles whose fathers had been murdered by Macbeth—that he introduced among his nobles the custom of taking surnames from the lands which they possessed—that he invented new titles of honour, such as those of Earls and Barons;* and it has even been alleged by later and abler writers, that Malcolm introduced the feudal system into Scotland.† The story is circumstantially told, how he summoned all his nobles to meet him at Scone, and how each, bringing with him, as directed, a handful of earth from his lands, surrendered them by that symbol to the king, who granted charters of them anew to each proprietor, under the form of feudal investiture. The Moathill at Scone is said to be composed of earth brought together for this purpose, and thence called *omnis terra*. But this legend is not supported by any trustworthy authority, and is totally incredible. It is very probable, as Lord Hailes remarks, that Malcolm assembled the chief men of his kingdom immediately after his accession, and that he restored the estates forfeited in the reign of his predecessor; but the other political acts ascribed to him are merely conjectural. The modern title of Earl may be traced nearly to his time, and it is probable that it was now assumed by some of those who had previously borne the designation of Maormor, or Thane. Surnames also began to be employed about this period, though they were not in general use till long after the days of Malcolm. The collection of laws ascribed to this monarch has been proved to be a forgery of the fourteenth century; and the assertion, that the systematic introduction of the feudal system into Scotland is to be ascribed to his policy, is destitute both of proof and of probability. That system was not introduced by any one monarch, or in the course of a single reign, but appears to have grown up gradually under the fostering influence of various natural causes, assisted from time to time by a train of favourable circumstances. Lord Hailes is of opinion that this important change was accomplished so slowly that in some parts of Scotland the custom of feudal investitures did not begin to prevail, till its rigour began to be mitigated in others. Great changes, doubtless, took place in the manners and customs of the Scottish people during the reign of Malcolm Canmore; but these changes were brought about, not by any new institutions which he established, but by the example of his queen, and of the Saxon nobles and their followers, whom the oppressions of the Normans forced to take refuge in his kingdom. The revolution which the introduction of English manners at the court of Malcolm produced in the frugal and abstemious habits of the Scotch, is thus piteously bewailed by an old chronicler:—"It is said that such outrageous riot ensued at this time, and began to grow in use among the Scottish men, together with the language and manners of the English nation (by reason that such a multitude of the same, flying out of their country, were

Innovations.

* Turgot, Acta Sanctorum, 10 Jun. 328, quoted by Lord Hailes, Annals, vol. i. pp. 36—45.
† Annals, vol. i. p. 25.
‡ Ibid. p. 26, and note.
* Boece, xii. 256.
† Lord Kaimes's Essays concerning British Antiquities, Essay i.

daily received into Scotland to inhabit there), that divers of the nobles perceiving what discommodity and decay to the whole realm would ensue of this intemperance, came to the king, lamenting grievously the case, for that this venomous infection spread so fast over the whole realm, to the perverting and utter removing of the ancient sobriety of diet used in the same. Wherefore they besought him to provide some remedy in time, before hope of redress were past, that the people might be again reduced into their former frugality, who hitherto used not to eat but once in the day, and then desiring no superfluous meats and drinks to be sought by sea and land, nor curiously dressed or served forth with sauces, but only feeding to satisfy nature, and not their greedy appetites. Hereupon King Malcolm took great pains to have redressed this infectious poison, and utterly to have expelled it forth of his realm. Howbeit, the nature of man is so prone and ready to embrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scottish people before had no knowledge nor understanding of fine fare or riotous surfeit, yet, after they had once tasted the sweet-poisoned bait thereof, there was no means to be found to restrain their liquorish desires. But to bewail that in words," he sagely adds, "which cannot be amended in deeds, is but a folly."*

Malcolm's family.

Malcolm had a family of six sons and two daughters: Edward, who died of his wounds at Alnwick a few days after his father; Etheldred, who entered the church; Edmund; Edgar; Alexander; David; Maud, the wife of Henry I., king of England; and Mary, the wife of Eustace, count of Boulogne. They all, as it has been remarked, received English names, apparently after their mother's relations. All the children of Malcolm were under age at the time of their father's death. He was succeeded by his brother, Donald Bane, who had fled to the Hebrides on the death of his father, Duncan, and does not appear to have visited his brother Malcolm at any period of his reign. As soon as he received intelligence of his brother's death, he hurried to Scotland with a powerful armament, collected in the western isles, by the assistance of Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway,† and apparently with little opposition took possession of the throne. According to the Celtic law of succession, Donald, as the eldest male of the royal family, was heir to the crown, and his pretensions were supported by a powerful party among the Scottish nobles, to whom the innovations of the last reign, and the preference shown to strangers, had been peculiarly obnoxious. The children of the late king were hastily conveyed to England, and placed in a state of security by their uncle Edgar Atheling.

Donald Bane seizes the crown, A.D. 1093.

The first edict of Donald Bane was a sentence of banishment against all the foreigners who had taken refuge at the Scottish court—an ignorant and foolish attempt to arrest the progress of civilization, and to bring back the country to the savage state of the western isles, in which his own life had been spent.* His triumph, however, was short-lived. Duncan an illegitimate son of the late king,† who had been sent as a hostage to England, with the permission of William Rufus, collected a numerous force of English and Normans, expelled Donald from the country, and took possession of the throne (May, 1094,) whether in his own right, or for the lawful family of Malcolm, does not clearly appear. After a reign of only a few months, Duncan was assassinated by Malpedir, the Maormor, or Earl, of the Mearns, in November, 1094, at the instigation, it is alleged, of Edmund, the second of the legitimate children of Malcolm Canmore, who had entered into an agreement with his uncle, Donald Bane, to share the kingdom between them.‡ On the restoration of Donald to the throne, his inhospitable edict for the expulsion of foreigners was strictly enforced, and every effort was made to overthrow the measures which his brother had taken for the civilization of the country. Matters remained in this state for more than two years. At length, in 1097, Edgar Atheling, along with his nephew Edgar, raised a powerful army in England, and marching against Donald, overcame him in battle, and having obtained possession of his person, imprisoned him and put out his eyes. William of Malmesbury states, that Edmund, the unworthy son of the pious Margaret, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, for his accession to the murder of Duncan; that, during his captivity, he was touched with remorse, and in token of penitence for his guilt, ordered the fetters he had worn in his dungeon to be buried with him in his coffin.§ Donald Bane died at Roscobie, in Forfarshire, and with him terminated the line of the Scottish kings.‖

Duncan.

Donald.

We are informed by the learned Chalmers,¶ that throughout the Scottish period, Scotland proper was divided into ten districts, exclusive of Lothian, Galloway, and Strathclyd. I. FIFE, comprehending the country between the Forth and the Tay, below the Ochil Hills. Of this extensive district the celebrated Macduff was the Maormor. II. STRATHERN, including the country between the Forth and the Ochil Hills on the south, and the Tay on the north. III. ATHOL and Stormont, comprehending the central highlands, lay between the Tay and Badenoch. IV. ANGUS, comprehending the country from the Tay and the Ila on the south, to the northern Esk upon the north. V. MEARNS comprehended the district which lay between the North Esk and the Dee. Fenella, the inhospitable murderess of Kenneth III., was the wife of the Maormor of this district, and

Districts of Scotland.

Banishment of foreigners.

* Holinshed, vol. v. p. 281. † Fordun, lib. v. chap. xxvi.

* Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 49; Sax. Chron. pp. 199, 200.
† Annals, p. 49, note; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 422.
‡ Ibid. p. 423; Fordun, lib. v. chap. xxviii.
§ William of Malmesbury, p. 158.
‖ It is worthy of notice, that John Comyn, the lord of Badenoch, during the great competition for the crown, claimed the succession as heir of Donald Bane, through the female line.
¶ Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 453—454.

the daughter of the Maormor of Angus. VI. ABERDEEN and BANFF comprehended the extensive country between the Dee and the Spey. Greg, the Maormor of this district, occupied the Scottish throne from A.D. 882 to 893. VII. The extensive district of MORAY comprehended the country from the Spey to the Farar or Beauly, and reached, westward, to the limits of northern Argyle. The Maormors of Moray were persons of great importance at that period, and the Moray men acted a conspicuous part in the bloody scenes of Scottish history. VIII. ARGYLE, which formed the ancient kingdom of the Scots, extended along the mainland of Scotland, from the Clyde to Ross, and comprehended the adjacent isles. IX. The great district of Ross was composed of the counties of Ross and Cromarty. The powerful chiefs of this province were often engaged in bloody conflicts with the rapacious Norsemen. Macbeth was Maormor of Ross-shire when he slew "the gracious Duncan," and seized his sceptre. X. SUTHERLAND and CAITHNESS formed a district which, at the end of the tenth century, was governed by Sigurd, the Norwegian Earl of Orkney, and after him, by his son, Thorfinn, the grandson of Malcolm II. These districts, during the Scottish period, were connected by very slight ties. The inhabitants of each province possessed peculiar rights, followed their own customs, and were governed by their own chiefs or Maormors, who could not be appointed or displaced by the king; and there was scarcely any recognition of a supreme legislative body or authority, having the power to make laws for the whole community. The authority of the king, though it was acknowledged, was often resisted, because it could not easily be enforced.

To every careful student of the events and institutions of this period, it must be evident that the predominant people were a Celtic race. The laws were Celtic, the government Celtic, the titles of honour Celtic, the usages and manners Celtic, the church Celtic, the language Celtic. "If," says Chalmers,* "Malcolm Canmore, a Celtic prince, who did not arrogate the character of a lawgiver, had been disposed to effect a considerable change in this Celtic system, he would have found his inclination limited by his impotence. The Scottish kings, during those times, seem not to have possessed legislative power. Whenever they acted as legislators, they appear to have had some coadjutors, either some Maormors, a term by which we are to understand the civil ruler of a district, or some bishop."† At a later period, when the children and grandchildren of Malcolm attempted to introduce new institutions and maxims of government in the provinces of Galloway and Moray, so firmly attached were the people to their ancient customs and habits, that the innovations gave rise to frequent insurrections.‡

Mention has already been made of the residence of Donald Bane, in the Hebrides, and the powerful support which the inhabitants of these remote islands gave to him in his attempts upon the Scottish crown. It is evident that they had at this period little or no political connexion with the mainland of Scotland, but were under the domination of petty chiefs, who were sometimes independent, and at other periods under the superiority of the kings of Norway. During the early portion of the ninth century they suffered much from the depredations of the Norwegian pirates, whose incessant ravages were severely felt by the various religious communities scattered over the Western Islands. It appears from the Irish annals, that these fierce marauders not only laid waste the country, and plundered the monasteries of their treasures, but also carried off great numbers of captives, both male and female, and sold them for slaves in the markets of Norway and Sweden. They had not as yet, however, effected any permanent settlement either in the isles or on the mainland of Scotland. But towards the latter end of the ninth century the number of these pirates was greatly increased by a revolution which had taken place in Norway. Harold Harfager, or the light-haired, after a protracted struggle, obtained possession of the Norwegian throne,* and united the provinces of the Scandinavian peninsula into one monarchy. The Vikings who had unsuccessfully opposed his ambitious designs, fled for refuge to the Scottish Hebrides and Orkneys. The numerous bays and inlets of these islands afforded shelter to their galleys, as well as facilities for the incessant excursions with which they harassed the conqueror who had expelled them from their native country. Harold was not slow to retaliate on these marauders, and every summer sent out his fleet to chastise them for their depredations, and to expel them from the fastnesses in which they had taken refuge. They easily evaded his attacks, however, by flying to the open sea; and as soon as his ships were withdrawn, they returned again in winter to their old retreats.

State of the Hebrides.

Erection of the Norwegian kingdom of the Isles and earldom of Orkney, A.D. 888.

At length Harold, exasperated by the failure of these repeated attempts to protect his newly-acquired dominions from the incursions of these plunderers, resolved to put an end to their predatory inroads by the conquest of the islands which had afforded them shelter. Accordingly, in the year 875, he set sail from Norway with a powerful fleet, and proceeding successively to the Shetland Isles, the Orkney Isles, and the Hebrides, he subdued and expelled the pirates, and took possession of their settlements. Continuing his course, he came to the Isle of Man, which he found entirely deserted—its inhabitants having fled to the Scottish mainland on his approach. Returning homeward, ravaging the coast of Scotland as he proceeded, he conferred the government of his newly acquired possessions on Sigurd, a distin-

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 455.
† Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 182. ‡ Ibid.

* Torfæus, Hist. Norw. vol. ii. b. ii. chap. xii.; Skene's Highlanders, vol. i. p. 91.

guished Norwegian chief, who was accordingly installed first Jarl of the Orkneys.

His return to Norway was the signal for revolt. The native Hebridean chiefs immediately availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by his absence, and the dispersion of the pirates whom he had expelled from their settlements, to take possession of the islands, and to drive out or put to death the Norwegians whom Harold had left behind him to secure his newly conquered territory. On hearing of this revolt, Harold sent out a second expedition, under the command of a powerful chief, named Ketil, to chastise the insurgents, and to re-establish his authority. As Harold bestowed the title of Jarl on Ketil before he set out, it is evident that he intended to adopt the same method, for the permanent subjection of the Hebrides to his sway, which had proved successful with the Orkneys. The islemen appear to have been quite unprepared for the vigorous measures which Harold adopted, and were easily subdued by Ketil, who compelled the native chiefs to acknowledge his authority, and to pay him tribute.

No sooner, however, did the Norwegian Jarl find himself in the quiet possession of his new dominions, than he resolved to renounce his allegiance to Harold, and to declare himself the independent sovereign of the Hebrides. With this view, he sought to gain the favour of the islanders by confirming to them their ancient privileges, and by forming alliances of various kinds, both with the native chiefs, and with several of the leaders of the pirates. He then dismissed the troops he had brought with him from Norway, and declared himself independent of the Norwegian king. His plans were so skilfully laid and so vigorously executed, that, in spite of the power of Harold, Ketil remained sovereign of the Western Isles during the remainder of his life. He was succeeded by his son Helgi, and his grandson, Thorstein the Rod; but the native chiefs of the Isles seem soon after to have succeeded in throwing off the Norwegian yoke altogether. Helgi, with his adherents, settled in Iceland, while Thorstein, in company with his mother, Audur, the daughter of Ketil, proceeded to the Orkneys. At a subsequent period, the Western Isles fell under the power of Sigurd, Jarl of Orkney, and his son, Thorfinn, although they seem never to have been altogether independent of Norway, as they received their rulers from the Scandinavian peninsula, and paid tribute to its monarchs. But their subjection was little more than nominal, till, in the last year of Malcolm Canmore's reign, Magnus Barefoot, king of Norway, invaded the Hebrides with a powerful fleet, and completely subdued them, together with the Orkneys and the Isle of Man. Many of the inhabitants fled for refuge to the mainland of Scotland, and the remainder, with their chiefs, were compelled to submit to the power of the conqueror. As the Scottish king was at that time making preparations for that fatal expedition into England in which he lost his life, he found it impossible to defend these remote parts of his dominions, and was compelled to leave them in the possession of the Norwegian monarch.

Norwegian dominion in the North of Scotland, A.D. 894—900.

At the time of Ketil's death, Sigurd was Jarl of the Orkney Islands. He gave a hospitable reception to Thorstein the Red, the grandson of the deceased chief, on his expulsion from the Hebrides, and entered into a close alliance with him. With their united forces the two pirate chiefs invaded the northern districts of Scotland, and made themselves masters of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and Moray. Two of the Scottish Maormors of these provinces, Meldun and Melbrigda Tonn, were slain. According to the Norse Sagas, the death of the latter was revenged upon Sigurd in a very singular manner. Melbrigda Tonn, or Maolbride the Buck-toothed, say these writers, derived his appellation from a peculiarly prominent tooth; and Sigurd having slain him in battle, cut off his head, and suspended it to the front of his saddle as he galloped over the battle field. The violence of the motion caused the prominent tooth to inflict a wound on the thigh of the Jarl, which inflamed, and ultimately caused his death.*

Sigurd was succeeded by his son, Guttorm, as Jarl of Orkney, while Thorstein the Red took possession of the newly acquired territories on the mainland, and assumed the regal title. But his sovereignty was of short duration. He had enjoyed his conquests only about six years, when a vigorous attempt was made to wrest them from his possession by the native chiefs of the district, under the command of Duncan the Maormor of Caithness. A fierce battle ensued, in which Thorstein was defeated and slain, and the Norwegians were expelled from the mainland of Scotland about A.D. 900.†

Expulsion of the Norwegians.

About eighty years after this date, the Norwegian inhabitants of the Orkney Islands were converted to the Christian faith, by the influence of the Norwegian king, Olaf, on his return from an expedition to Ireland, in the year 998. The Celtic part of the population had, at an early period, been induced to embrace Christianity, by the zealous followers of St. Columba.‡

Conversion of the Orcadians.

For nearly a century after the death of Thorstein, the Scottish chiefs appear to have retained undisturbed possession of the northern districts of the country, with the exception of Caithness, which fell into the hands of Thorfinn, Jarl of Orkney, in consequence, it is supposed, of his marriage with the daughter of Duncan, the Maormor of that province. Towards the close of the tenth century, an attempt was made by the Scots, under Finlay, son of Ruari, Maormor of Moray, to recover possession of Caithness; but, after an obstinate engagement, they were defeated by Sigurd, then Jarl of Orkney, who immediately overran the whole of the northern districts of Scotland with his victorious army, and

Conquests of Sigurd, A.D. 986—993.

* Landnamabok, Olafs Saga, &c., quoted by Mr. Skene vol. i. p. 95.

† Ibid.

‡ Torfæus, Orcades, chap. ii.; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 340.

took possession of Sutherland, Moray, Ross, and Argyle. After holding these territories for seven years, the Norwegians were surprised and expelled by a sudden rising of the Scottish Maormors and their followers. Sigurd, on receiving intelligence of this successful revolt, collected a numerous army among the islands, and proceeding at once to the Scottish mainland, attacked and put to flight a hostile army stationed near Duncansbay Head, for the purpose of arresting his progress. But on learning that Malcolm, the Maormor of Moray, was approaching with an overwhelming force, the Norwegian Jarl retreated to his own dominions in the Orkneys, and left the Scots in possession of the disputed territory.

Soon after this success, Malcolm obtained possession of the Scottish throne on the defeat and death of his rival, Kenneth Macduff, at Monivaird, A.D. 1003. Two years after his accession to the throne, a reconciliation was effected between the new monarch and his former antagonist, Sigurd; and their alliance was strengthened by the marriage of the Norwegian earl with the daughter of Malcolm. The only issue of this union was a son, named Thorfinn, who afterwards became the most powerful earl of his race. On the death of Sigurd in the bloody battle of Clontarf, near Dublin,* the Scottish king took charge of Thorfinn, who was at that time only five years of age, and ultimately put him in possession of the province of Caithness, which had so often been the subject of contention between the Norwegians and Scots. Mr. Skene, who has altogether departed from the generally received history of this period, is of opinion, that instead of Malcolm II. having reigned thirty years over Scotland, there were two Malcolms, of different families, the first of whom reigned twenty-six, the latter four years.† He contends that, on the death of Malcolm II., his successor, who belonged to a rival faction, endeavoured to dispossess Thorfinn of the territories which he held on the mainland of Scotland, and that the Norwegian not only overcame his assailants in repeated engagements, both by sea and land, but followed up his success by conquering the whole country as far as the Frith of Tay, and completely subjugating the inhabitants.

Alliance between Sigurd and Malcolm II.

"The Norwegians," he adds, "thus obtained effectual possession of the greater part of the north of Scotland; and their kingdom, which, by the talents and energy of Thorfinn they were enabled to retain for thirty years, was unparalleled in its extent and duration by any previous or subsequent conquest. Besides the Orkneys, which was their original seat, their possessions in Scotland consisted now of the Hebrides, and of nine of the great districts, or earldoms, of Scotland, which, as far as can be gathered from the Sagas, appear to be those of Caithness, Ness, Sutherland, Ross, Moray, Garmoran, Buchan, Marr, and Angus, while to the Scots there remained nothing north of the Friths of Forth and Clyde, except the districts of Fyfe, Strathern, Menteith, Gowry, and Lennox, with the two northern districts of Atholl and Argyll."

Norwegian conquests in the north of Scotland, A.D. 1034—1064.

The version which the Norwegian Sagas give of the history of Duncan and Macbeth also differs considerably from the account contained in the pages of the Scottish chroniclers. According to the former, Duncan, who was the son of Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, by Beatrice, daughter of Malcom II., reigned only over the southern part of Scotland, while Thorfinn, who also was the grandson of Malcolm, possessed the northern portion of the kingdom. After Duncan had enjoyed the throne for six years, his people resolved to attempt the recovery of the extensive territories in the north which Thorfinn had conquered. Taking advantage of the absence of the Norwegian prince on an expedition to England, the Scots, with Duncan at their head, penetrated as far as the district of Moray, without encountering apparently any resistance. The Gaelic inhabitants of the north, however, who preferred remaining under the Norwegian yoke rather than submit to a chief of their own race, whose title to the throne they could not admit, opposed the farther progress of Duncan, and Macbeth, the Maormor of Moray, attacked him in the neighbourhood of Elgin, defeated his army, and put him to the sword.

Norwegian account of the history of Duncan and Macbeth.

The victorious chief, following up his success, made himself master of the whole country that had acknowledged the authority of Duncan, and with the sanction and assistance of the Norwegians, kept possession of the Scottish throne for a period of eighteen years. The adherents of Duncan's family made several unsuccessful attempts to dispossess him. In one of these, A.D. 1045, Crinan, the father of Duncan, was slain, with a great number of his supporters. Nine years after, Malcolm Canmore, Duncan's eldest son, who had taken refuge in England, obtained the assistance of a Saxon army, under his uncle Siward, earl of Northumberland, to recover possession of his father's throne, but he succeeded in wresting from Macbeth only the province of Lothian. Four years afterwards, Macbeth was defeated and slain in the battle of Lumphanan, during the absence of his Norwegian allies, on a maritime expedition, in which their fleet was almost totally destroyed by a tempest. And on the death of Thorfinn, which took place six years after the accession of Malcolm Canmore, nearly the whole of the Scottish mainland returned under the dominion of the native chief, though the northern and western isles continued in the possession of the Norwegian Jarls; and about the close of the eleventh century, were sub-

* This event is celebrated in an ancient poem, of which Gray's celebrated Ode, "The Fatal Sisters," is a paraphrase. Sigurd had gone to the assistance of Sigtrig, the Viking of Dublin, against the famous Irish monarch, Brian Boru.

† This view he has adopted, he says, in consequence of finding the most remarkable coincidence between the Irish Annals and the Norse Saga, both of whom agree in these particulars. See Skene's Highlanders, vol. i. pp. 108—114.

jugated by Magnus Barefoot, the powerful king of Norway.*

It is difficult to say how far this narrative of the Norse Sagas is to be relied on, in those points in which it differs from the generally received history. It is evident, however, from the statements, both of the Norwegians and of the Scottish chroniclers, that the incursions and settlements of the Norsemen must have produced a great change on the character of the population of the northern provinces of Scotland. In the more mountainous districts, the impervious nature of the country presented an almost insuperable barrier to the incursions of the pirates, and the ancient Celtic inhabitants retained possession of their territory. But in the eastern and more level provinces, especially near the sea-coast, the ancient inhabitants were almost entirely driven out and replaced by Norwegian colonists. About the middle of the eleventh century, therefore, the pure Celtic race, who once possessed the whole of the north of Scotland, from the western to the eastern sea, were confined within those limits, which they have never since exceeded, while the eastern districts became inhabited by a mixed race, principally, however, of Norwegian origin.

Norwegian colonists.

In the meantime, the population of the south of Scotland remained partly of Saxon, and partly of Celtic descent,—the Saxons possessing the whole of the country south of the Frith of Forth, while the Celts occupied the remaining districts. The numbers and influence of the former, however, were rapidly augmented by what has been called "the Saxon Colonization of North Britain,"—the emigration of Saxon colonists of all classes, into the country, which, during the succeeding reigns, led to the introduction of Saxon laws, institutions, and forms of government into Scotland, and produced a great revolution in the manners and customs of its ancient Celtic inhabitants.

CHAPTER V.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

CHRISTIANITY was introduced into Scotland at a very early period. Towards the latter end of the fourth century, Ninian, the son of a British prince of Cumberland, visited Rome, and remained there till the succession of Siricius to the bishopric of Rome, A.D. 384, who, according to Bede, ordained the young Briton, and sent him to preach the gospel to the pagan tribes of Caledonia. St. Ninian or St. Ringan, as he is commonly styled in Scotland, arrived in Britain about the year 397, and established the chief seat of his mission at Whitherne, in Galloway, where he erected the celebrated "Candida Casa," which Bede describes as "a church of stone, built by the southern Picts, in a manner unusual among the Britons." This "white-walled cathedral church" of Whitherne, which, notwithstanding its reputation, was doubtless a very humble and primitive structure, became the shrine of its famous founder, and continued to be the resort of many a royal and noble pilgrimage, down even to the Reformation. The death of St. Ninian took place on the 16th of September, A.D. 432—a day which, for ages, was celebrated as a festival in honour of the virtues and labours of this primitive bishop, whose memory is still preserved in Scotland by the numerous churches, chapels, and caves which bear his name. From Whithern, as a centre, the Christian faith speedily radiated to the surrounding districts, and there is reason to believe that the labours of "the brethren of St. Ninian" extended even to England and Ireland. So rapid was the progress of the new faith in the British Isles, that about the time of St. Ninian's death, Palladius was sent from Rome "to the Scots believing in Christ, as their first bishop." * This statement has occasioned a great deal of controversy. There can be little doubt now, however, that the chief mission of Palladius was not to the Scots of Britain, but of Ireland, though it appears that, after leaving that country, he personally visited the converted Picts of North Britain, and sent his disciple, St. Servanus or St. Serf, to the northern islands to preach the gospel to the inhabitants of Orkney and Shetland. The author of the Scoti-chronicon states that King Eugenius gave Palladius and his companions a place of residence where he asked it, at Fordun in the Mearns, and there he is said to have ended his days. There is good reason to believe that the influence of his labours was not evanescent, for before the close of the century, a number of churches had been founded, both in the islands and on the mainland of Scotland.

The gospel preached by St. Ninian.

Mission of Palladius.

About the middle of the sixth century, St. Kentigern imparted the knowledge of Christianity to the Strathclyd Britons, and is said to have founded the see of Glasgow. In honour of his pious labours the cathedral of that diocese was afterwards dedicated to him, under the endearing name of St. Mungo,† and many other localities in Scotland perpetuate his memory. St. Rule, St. Adrian, St. Woloc, and St. Kieran, are also deserving of notice, as taking part in the good work of preaching the Christian faith to the inhabitants of the southern districts of Scotland. But the conversion of the northern Picts, which took place in the sixth century,

Conversion of the Strathclyd Britons—

—and of the Northern Picts by St. Columba.

* Prosper of Aquitaine, Chron. Temp. p. 26; Bede, b. i. chap. xiii.; Jamieson's Account of the Ancient Culdees, p. 7; Goodall's Introd. to Fordun.

† Mungo, in the Norwegian language, signifies "dear friend;" in the British, it means "kind, gentle, courteous."—See Caledonia, vol. i. p. 316, note.

* See Skene's Highlanders of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 106—119; Caledonia, vol. i. b. iii. chap. iii.: Torfæus, Orcades, chap. xiii.; Orkneyinga Saga, pp. 5—29.

was effected, as we have seen,* by the labours of St. Columba; and the religious establishment which he founded at Iona is justly regarded as the great centre from which the blessings of religion and of civilization diffused themselves over the whole country. It was certainly not owing to its natural features that this island was selected to become "the luminary of the Caledonian regions." It is scarcely three miles in length, and one in breadth. The highest elevation in it is 400 feet, and the surface is diversified with rocky hillocks and patches of green pasture, or of mossy and boggy soil. At the southern extremity, with the exception of a low sandy tract, it is a mere labyrinth of rocks. It has been supposed that the isolation of this little island, placed "far amid the melancholy main," and the security which it seemed likely to afford, were the principal attractions to Columba and his twelve disciples, when they sought an asylum among the Scottish Picts, from the troubles of their native land. But the old Celtic traditions seem rather to indicate, that in the true missionary spirit, this noble-minded benefactor of our country "bearded the ancient faith in its stronghold, and reared the primitive Christian fane of Iona, where of old the pagan circle had stood." The Highlanders, to the present day, frequently designate Iona by the name of *Innis nan Druidheanach*, or the Island of the Druids or magicians; and a green eminence, close to the sound which separates it from the west point of the Island of Mull, is still called *Claodh nan Druidheanach*, or the Druids' Burial-place.† Odonellus relates, that when Columba first landed in Iona on Pentecost eve, some Druids who had been there disguised themselves in the habits of monks, and pretended that they had come to that place to preach the gospel, with a request that he and his followers might betake themselves to some other place, but that Columba immediately discovered the imposture, and that they resigned the field to him.‡

We are informed by Bede, that the first churches of the Britons were constructed of timber; but the ecclesiastical structure erected by Columba and his disciples seems not even to have aspired to the dignity of a wooden church, but to have been composed only of stakes and wattles. A curious passage in his Life by Adomnan, speaks of the primitive apostle of the Picts as sending forth his attendants to gather bundles of twigs with which to build their hospice, and as being challenged by the proprietor from whose lands they had collected the materials. After spending two years in erecting the sacred edifice, and the private dwellings of the monks, and in organizing the religious establishment, Columba commenced his pious labours among the northern Picts. In the execution of the arduous duties to which he had devoted himself, the zealous missionary met with astonishing success. He and his disciples seem to have travelled through every part of the Pictish territories. In a few years the greater part of the nation was converted to Christianity, and hundreds of churches, monasteries, and cells were established throughout the country. The indefatigable zeal of the Culdee clergy induced them to carry the knowledge of the Christian faith to the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of Northumbria; and, not satisfied with the range of action afforded by the mainland of Britain, they undertook voyages to the northern islands and the Norwegian seas, for the purpose of propagating the gospel in these far distant regions. Columba himself is said to have made a voyage to the North Sea in his *currach*, and to have remained there twelve days. His biographer mentions, that the Saint happening to meet with a prince of the Orkneys in the palace of King Brude, at Inverness, requested him to extend his protection to certain monks who had lately sailed to the Northern Seas, and that the missionaries were afterwards rescued by him from a situation of imminent danger.* Dicuil, an Irish monk of the ninth century, states that monks from Ireland resided in Iceland for six months, and when the Norsemen first visited that island in the latter half of the ninth century, it was uninhabited, but they discovered traces of the former presence of Irish monks, and found their books, croziers, and bells. The monks referred to were, in all probability, Culdees of Iona; for it is well known that there existed in ancient times a church in Iceland dedicated to St. Columba.† There is ample evidence that the inhabitants of the Western and Northern Isles were converted to the Christian faith prior to any Norwegian settlement among them; and in many of these islands interesting traces still remain of the collegiate establishments founded by St. Columba and his followers.‡ After a life of unwearied activity in doing good, this illustrious benefactor of our country died on the 9th of June, 597, at the advanced age of seventy-seven, "leaving his monastery firmly settled, a people converted by his labours from Paganism to Christianity, and a name for the celebration of every age."

Conversion of the Northern Picts—

—and of the inhabitants of the Northern and Western Isles.

Oswald, who succeeded to the throne of Northumbria in the year 634, had spent his youth in Iona, to which northern sanctuary he had fled for refuge, and having been instructed in the doctrines of the Christian faith by the primitive disciples of Columba, he naturally made application to them for religious teachers who might communicate the knowledge of Christianity to his people also. "He sent to the elders of the Scots," says Bede, "amongst whom, during his banishment, he had been baptized, that they might send him a bishop by whose doctrine and ministry the nation of the Angles whom he governed might be instructed in the

Culdee mission to Northumberland.

* Ante, pp. 25—27.
† Old Stat. Acc. vol. xiv. p. 199.
‡ Smith's Life of Columba, p. 92.

* Vita St. Columb. lib. ii. chap. xvii. apud Messingham.
† Wilson's Archæology, p. 485.
‡ Chalmers (Caledonia, vol. i. p. 320, and note), enumerates upwards of twenty churches, chapels, and monasteries bearing the name of St. Columba.

Christian faith." A monk, named Corman, was accordingly sent from Iona to Northumberland, but his temper and disposition seemed to have rendered him unfit for the difficult duty intrusted to him, and he speedily returned to the monastery. A council of the elders was convened to hear his report. While he was describing the barbarous dispositions and gross ignorance of the Northumbrians, and vindicating on that ground the abandonment of his mission, a voice was heard exclaiming, "Brother, you seem to have forgotten the apostolic injunction, that little children should be fed with milk, that they might afterwards be fitted for stronger food." Every eye was turned upon the speaker, who was Aidan, a monk of the establishment. The council immediately determined that he should be sent "to instruct the unbelieving and the illiterate—it being proved that he was supereminently endowed with the gift of discretion."* He was accordingly ordained and sent to the court of Oswald, where he was eminently successful in instructing and civilizing the rude Northumbrians. He was, it seems, but imperfectly acquainted with the English language, but Oswald, who understood the Celtic tongue, acted as interpreter between the preacher and the people. Aidan was appointed Bishop of Lindesfarne, where he fixed his seat and erected a monastery in the year 635. The northern limits of his bishopric extended into Teviotdale and Lothian, and the monastery of Mailros owes its original foundation to his zealous labours. Finan, his successor in the bishopric, was also ordained and sent by the College of Iona, A.D. 651, and he, as we shall see, sent missionaries to preach the gospel to the East Saxons. Ten years later, on the death of Finan, the Culdees appointed Colman, one of their number, to discharge the duties of the office. But, in consequence of a dispute with the Romish bishops respecting the proper mode of observing Easter, in which they were supported by King Oswy, Colman resigned his bishopric, and, along with his disciples, returned to Iona, about A.D. 664. The religious community which Aidan had established on the island of Lindisfarne continued to flourish for more than two centuries, until it was destroyed by the Danes.

Doctrines of Columba.

With regard to the doctrines held by Columba, we are informed that he was accustomed to draw them from the unpolluted fountain of Divine truth. As he was himself much given to the study of the Holy Scriptures, he taught his disciples to appeal constantly to the same infallible standard, and declared that only to be the Divine counsel which he found in the word of God.† His followers, as we learn from Bede, would receive those things only which are contained in the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, diligently observing the works of piety and purity. And of Aidan, one of the most distinguished of their number, who, as we have seen, was sent to instruct the Northumbrians in the truths of Christianity, he says, "All the gifts which were conferred on him by kings, or by the rich of this world, he immediately distributed with the greatest cheerfulness to the poor who came in his way. So far was his mode of living removed from the indolence of our time, that he required of all his associates, whether clergy or laity, that they should give themselves to meditation, either by reading the Scriptures, or by being at pains to learn the psalmody."*

* Bede, lib. iii. chap. v.
† Vita St. Columb. lib. iii. chap. xii.

Nature of the Culdee establishments.

The establishments of the Culdees,† although they were characterized by not a few of the peculiarities of the monastic societies, yet in many important points differed widely from these ascetic institutions. So far were they from regarding the marriage relation as inconsistent with their character, that it seems to have been held in honour among them. Although, as members of the same society, they possessed some things in common, yet their wives and children, or their nearest relations after the death of any of them, divided their property and laid claim even to the offerings which had been made at the altar.‡ At a later period, it appears that their abbots, in some places at least, succeeded to their office by hereditary right; and so strictly did they follow this mode of succession in the bishopric of Armagh, in Ireland, that fifteen generations of the same family filled the episcopate. The Culdees of St. Andrews, however, were not permitted to keep their wives in their own houses; but this regulation is supposed to have been framed in a subsequent age, when the increasing influence of that system of superstition which "forbids to marry," and presumes to put asunder those whom God hath joined together, constrained the Culdees so far to yield to the tide of popular feeling in favour of celibacy.

Their main design.

The members of the Culdee establishments lived under a rule usually called "The Rule of Columbkill," which is said to have been drawn up by Columba himself, and is still extant.§ But though they might deem certain regulations necessary for the preservation of order, they were not, like the monastic societies, associated expressly for the purpose of observing this rule. Their main design was to train up others for the work of the ministry. Their establishments were, in fact, seminaries of the church, both in North Britain and in Ireland. Hence it has been justly observed, that they may more properly be viewed as colleges, in which the various branches of useful learning, both human and divine, were taught, than as monasteries. The clergy of Iona passed much of their leisure time in working at the mechanical arts and in the practice of music, and their pupils were not only

* Bede, lib. iii. chap. iv. and v.
† Culdee is supposed to have been derived either from *Cuil*, or *Cel*, a retreat, and *De*, God—or more probably from *Gille-De*, a servant of God.
‡ Excerpt Reg. St. Andr. Pinkerton's Enq. i. App. p. 462.
§ Smith's Life of Columba, p. 135; Jamieson's Account of the Culdees, p. 33.

instructed in theological learning and in the knowledge of the arts and sciences which were at that time known, but were also taught experimentally the benefits arising from bodily labour and the exercise of some mechanical art. The purity of their lives, their industry and frugality, and their disregard of secular honours and preferments, obtained for them universal esteem, and gave them vast influence among all classes of the community.

In each of the monasteries or colleges established by the Culdees there were twelve brethren, with a provost or abbot, who had supreme authority over the rest, and who was chosen by the brethren from among themselves. The form of church government established among the Culdees has been the subject of a keen and lengthened controversy.* The zealous Presbyterian maintains, that the church established by Columba was formed on a Presbyterian model, and that it recognized the great principle of clerical equality. The devout believer in the apostolic origin and authority of Episcopacy, can discover nothing essentially different from the diocesan episcopacy which at that time generally prevailed; and the Roman Catholic sees evidence of the existence of his own peculiar doctrines in that church, which both the other parties are agreed in pronouncing to be the solitary exception to the universal prevalence of its dogmas, and the earliest witness against its corruptions. Each party has, unfortunately, been more anxious to prove its resemblance to their own cherished system of church-government than to ascertain its actual constitution. They have eagerly seized hold of every circumstance which appeared to favour their hypothesis, and attempted to neutralize and explain away whatever was adverse to their system.†

Form of government—

The principal authority with regard to the form of government in the Culdee church is the following passage of Bede: "That island (Iona) is always wont to have for its governor a presbyter-abbot, to whose authority both the whole province and even the bishops themselves, by an unusual constitution, ought to be subject, after the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a presbyter and monk."‡ From this passage the Episcopalians argue, that Bede must have used the word bishop (episcopus) in its ordinary sense, and consequently, that the church of the Culdees must have been an Episcopalian one; and they attempt to explain the anomalous circumstance of these bishops being subject to a presbyter, by asserting that the monastery of Iona possessed a bishop as well as an abbot, and that the bishops (episcopi) who were subject to the presbyter-abbot were merely those bishops of Iona over whom the abbot had some jurisdiction in temporal matters. They farther allege, that in mentioning the mission of Aidan and Finan, from the college of Iona, to preach the Christian faith to the Northumbrians, Bede adds, in both cases, that they "received the degree of episcopacy;" that the same author elsewhere states, that "Cedd the presbyter had been sent to preach the gospel to the East Saxons, and that Bishop Finan, seeing his success in the work of the gospel, and having called to him two other bishops for the ministry of ordination, made him bishop over the nation of the East Saxons; and that he, having received the degree of episcopacy, returned to the province, and with greater authority fulfilled the work which he had begun, erected churches in different places, ordained presbyters and deacons, who might assist him in the work of faith and in the ministry of baptism;"* and that, in another part of his work, Bede mentions that Pope John wrote a letter to the heads of the Scottish or Culdee church, addressed to the bishops, presbyters, doctors or abbots of the Scots, and implying both the existence and the superiority of the episcopal order in the church.† The evidence of Adomnan is also adduced, who narrates, that Columba upon one occasion sent for a priest at the consecration of the eucharist, and that, suddenly casting a look at him, he desired him to use the privilege of his order and to break the bread according to the episcopal mode.‡ On the other hand, it is argued by the Presbyterians, that if a presbyter possessed the supreme government of the Culdee church, it must have been essentially a Presbyterian church; and in answer to the objection derived from the mention of bishops by Bede, they assert that the word had a different signification in the Culdee church from that in other churches, and did not imply a distinct or superior order of clergy. They deny that the monastery of Iona possessed a bishop as well as an abbot, as there is not, either in the Irish annals—which contain many particulars regarding that island—or in other historians, the smallest trace of any Bishop of Iona different from the Abbot of Iona, and they contend, that if there was nothing unusual or anomalous in the constitution of the Culdee church, with the mere exception that the abbot exercised jurisdiction over the bishop in some temporal matters, it is difficult to suppose that Bede would have intimated the existence of an unusual form of government in the strong and precise terms which he uses. With regard to the mission of Aidan and Finan it is alleged, that they were not only chosen and sent forth, but ordained by the college of Culdees at Iona, in which there were no bishops; and consequently, that though these missionaries were termed bishops, they could not have been diocesan bishops, as they received holy orders from the hands of presbyters. Colman, who succeeded Finan, and was also sent from Iona, expressly declares that he received his episcopal honours, of what kind soever they were, from the College of Elders. "The Easter which I keep," says he, "I received from my Elders, who sent me hither as

—controversy regarding.

* On the Episcopalian side, Lloyd, Stillingfleet, and Keith may be consulted; on the Presbyterian, Selden, Sir James Dalrymple, and Dr. Jamieson.

† Skene's Highlanders, vol. i. p. 183.

‡ Hist. lib. iii. chap. iv.

* Hist. lib. iii. chap. xxii. † Ibid. lib. ii. chap. xix.

‡ Vita St. Columb. lib. i. chap. xvi.

bishop." The missionaries sent to the Northumbrians, though clothed with episcopal honours, considered themselves as still subject to the authority of the Council of Elders, by whom they were ordained and sent out, and supplied from time to time with coadjutors, and to whom, on their return, they gave a report of their mission. The ordination of Cedd took place among the Saxons, and is accounted for by the fact that the Church of Rome had greater influence in the south than in the northern part of Britain, as, half a century before that event, Augustine had been sent to England by Pope Gregory, for the purpose of subjecting it more effectually to his authority. The letter of Pope John, it is affirmed, was addressed to the dignitaries of the Scots in Ireland, not in North Britain; and in proof of this statement, reference is made to the fact, that mention is made in the superscription of the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishops of Connor and Clonmacnois, and of the Abbot of Roscree,—all in Ireland; and it is argued that, as the seats and titles of the rest of the bishops and abbots are not known, the presumption is, that they were Irish too. The statement of Adomnan is regarded as of little weight, because it rests on the authority of a very credulous writer, who makes it appear that Columba discovered the bishop by some supernatural impulse, and who, moreover, is known to have strained every nerve to bring the monks of Iona under the papal authority. And at all events, it is alleged, all that can be inferred from this solitary proof is, not that Columba did not claim an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over "bishops themselves," but that he paid this respect to a stranger who had come from a distance, and did not belong to the province over which he presided. The testimonies of various other ancient writers are adduced in support of the account given by Bede. In the Saxon Chronicle it is stated, under the year 560, that "there ought to be always in Ii an abbot but no bishop, and to him ought all the Scottish bishops to be subject, for the reason that Columba was an abbot, not a bishop." Fordun says, that before the coming of Palladius, "the Scots had, as teachers of the faith and administrators of the sacraments, only presbyters and monks, following the custom of the primitive church."* And in the Breviary of Aberdeen it is said, that before the time of Palladius "the Scots had for teachers of the faith and ministers of the sacraments, presbyters and monks, following only the rite and custom of the primitive church."

A theory, differing in some respects from both of these views, has been advocated by Mr. Skene, in his "History of the Highlanders of Scotland."† In his opinion, the Culdee church was essentially an episcopal church, but at the same time it differed in various respects from that form of church-government. To understand the peculiarities of its constitution, he says it will be necessary to bear in mind that the Culdee church included the province of the northern Scots in Ireland, as well as the northern Picts in Scotland; and that it was the work of St. Patrick in the fifth century, not that of Columba in the sixth (as generally supposed), who merely added the nation of the northern Picts to its jurisdiction. The churches of Britain, of the southern Scots, founded by Palladius, and of the southern Picts by Ninian, had all emanated from Rome, and unquestionably derived their form of government and worship from her. The Culdee church—the church of the northern Picts and northern Scots—was in a very different situation, for it as unquestionably emanated from the church of Gaul, a church always opposed to that of Rome, and claiming a descent from the church of Ephesus, and its founder, St. John the Evangelist; and it was under the teaching of St. Martin, of Tours, that St. Patrick framed the system of church-government which he afterwards introduced. In the year 380, about fifty-two years before the Culdee church was established by St. Patrick, the monastic system was, for the first time, introduced into Europe by St. Martin. In the monastery which he established at Tours, the monks consisted of laymen, and the abbot was at first an ordained presbyter. But in a short time a bishop was provided for the exclusive use of the monastery, who was elected by the abbot and monks, and ordained by the adjacent bishops, to the end that he might preach and discharge episcopal offices in the monastery; and this bishop was obliged to reside within its walls, and submit to its monastic rule. St. Patrick was the nephew of St. Martin, whom he visited at Tours; and Mr. Skene contends that the system of church-polity which he afterwards introduced into Ireland, was framed on the model of his uncle's monastic institutions. In the Culdee monasteries, however, the monks were not laymen, but ordained clergymen, and their system presented the still more remarkable peculiarity, that many of the abbots possessed the same character, exercised the same functions, and in every respect occupied the same position with the bishops of the other churches; and the monasteries over which these abbots presided possessed a jurisdiction over a certain extent of territory in the neighbourhood, in the same way as the bishops did in other churches. Mr. Skene therefore concludes, that the great peculiarity of the Culdee church was the union of the clerical and monastic orders into one collegiate system, where the abbot and the bishop was the same person, and the inferior orders of presbyters and deacons formed the monks, who were under his control. This conclusion, he maintains, is borne out by the statements of the older historians, in whose works we can distinctly trace a division of the Culdee abbots into two orders, of bishop-abbots, and presbyter-abbots; the former being the rulers of the monasteries which had been founded by the primate, the latter, of the monasteries which had emanated from those ruled by a bishop-abbot, and were intended to remain subordinate to the monastery from which they proceeded, and not to form a separate jurisdiction. In

* Scotichron, lib. iii. chap. viii. † Vol. i. pp. 192—197.

its polity, then, the Culdee church may be regarded as a collegiate system carried to its fullest extent; and in its mode of operation it may be viewed as a missionary church, peculiarly adapted to the state and character of the people among whom it was established.

The Culdee church, at first, consisted of the province of the northern Scots in Ireland alone, and the primacy of the whole church was vested in the monastery of Armagh. In the middle of the seventh century, the primacy was removed from Armagh to Iona, the abbot of which, though only a presbyter, assumed the office of primate of the whole Culdee church. On the conquest of the southern Picts by the Scots of Dalriada, the Culdee system of polity was introduced among that race, and appears to have supplanted the system founded by St. Ninian, who, as we have seen, was educated at Rome. In consequence, it would seem, of this great accession of territory to the Culdee church, the primacy was removed from Iona to Dunkeld, a monastery belonging to the northern Picts. After an interval of only forty years, the primacy was once more removed from Dunkeld to St. Andrews, during the usurpation of Grig, the Gregory of the chroniclers, probably with the view of conciliating the clergy of the southern Picts. After this period there appears to have been no alteration in the outward form of the church until the reign of David.*

The religious houses of the Culdees.

The most important religious establishments which the Culdees possessed in Scotland were at Abernethy, Dunblane, Scone, Brechin, Monymusk, Mortlach, St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Lochleven. Many of these afterwards became episcopal sees. According to the Pictish Chronicle, a religious house was founded at Abernethy, by Nectan, King of the Picts, who reigned about the year 455. He dedicated the royal foundation to God and to St. Brigid, and endowed it with lands "until the day of doom;" the boundaries of which are minutely specified from the stone at Apurfeirt to the stone near Cairfuill.† The structure erected by Nectan was in all probability a wooden church, "after the manner of the Britons," and so remained until about A.D. 711, when we are informed by Bede that a second Nectan, King of the Picts, sent messengers to Ceolfred, Abbot of Jarrow, requesting him to send architects, who, according to the manner of the Romans, should erect a church of stone among his people. A collegiate church was founded here during the reign of William the Lion, and it attained high celebrity as a place of learning. William bestowed the church of Abernethy, with its chapels, lands, and tithes, on the abbey of Aberbrothoc, and the Culdees were replaced by canons regular in the year 1273. Every vestige of the ecclesiastical buildings has been annihilated, except a single round tower, which still remains, as the only evidence of the former glory of this once celebrated seat of religion and learning.

Abernethy.

A religious house, which was dedicated to St. Servanus, or St. Serf, was erected at a very early period on an islet in Lochleven. In the Register of St. Andrews it is stated, that Brude, the King of the Picts, about the year 700 bestowed the island of Lochleven on St. Serf, and the Culdees residing there and serving God. St. Serf was (according to Wyntown, the Prior of Lochleven) contemporary with Adomnan, Abbot of Iona. This religious establishment was enriched by liberal donations from successive kings of Scotland. Macbeth, Malcolm III., Edgar, and his brother Ethelred, appear in the list of its benefactors. The brethren of St. Serf were expelled from their secluded retreat by David I., and their establishment was merged into the new priory of canons regular of St. Austin, established at St. Andrews. A catalogue of the Lochleven library has been preserved,* at the time of its spoliation by the "soir sanct," as David was termed by one of his successors. It consisted of seventeen volumes, among which were the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the three books of Solomon; a Commentary on the book of Genesis, and another on the Song of Solomon,—no discreditable indication, it has been justly said, of the studies of these recluses of St. Serf's Isle.

Lochleven.

At Portmoak, on the eastern margin of Lochleven, there was founded during the ninth century, by Hungus, the Pictish king, a religious house, where the Culdees performed their accustomed functions for many a generation, till they, too, became the prey of the prior and canons of St. Andrews, during the general re-organization of the ancient religious establishments.

Portmoak.

Dunkeld was selected for the site of a Culdee house at a very early period. It is stated by Abbot Myln, who was a canon of Dunkeld, that Constantine, King of the Picts, "from his devotion for St. Columba, *at that time patron of the whole kingdom*, founded and endowed an illustrious monastery here, about the year 729, and in this monastery he placed those religious called Keldees, having wives, according to the custom of the oriental churches." † Dunkeld for some time possessed the primacy of the kingdom, and was long regarded as a second Iona.

Dunkeld.

The house of the Culdees, at St. Andrews, was one of the most celebrated of their religious establishments. According to an old monkish legend, it owes its origin to

St. Andrews.

* Skene's Highlanders, vol. i. pp. 200, 201.

† Now written and pronounced Carpow—a place about a mile east from the present village of Abernethy.

* Reg. of St. Andr. pp. 44, 45. The remaining volumes consisted of the works of Origen, the Book of Sentences, written by St. Bernard; three Quires or Books concerning the Sacrament; the Reader, or Companion; a Lectionarius, or Lectionarium, or book containing the ecclesiastical lessons; a work ascribed to Jerome; the writings of Prosper of Aquitain; a Dictionary; a Book of Sentences; a Pastoral for explaining the Duties and Privileges of Bishops and Abbots; the Gradual, or Book of Responses; the Missal, or Mass-Book, and part of a book which is supposed to have been a collection of the writings of the fathers.

† Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 267; Wyntown, b. vi. chap. vii.

Regulus, a monk of Achaia, who, being warned of God in a dream or vision, that the Emperor Constantine intended to translate the relics of St. Andrew the martyr, then deposited in Patræ, to Constantinople, removed a portion of them, with which he sailed westward, and after being long tossed about at sea, he was driven into a bay near the place where St. Andrews now stands,—which then bore the name of Mucros (the Promontory of Swine), and subsequently of Kilrymont (the cell or church on the King's Moor), and there, about the middle of the fourth century, he built the tower and church now known by his name. This account places the date of this edifice probably 400 years earlier than that of any building in Scotland, of which the age is satisfactorily ascertained. In all probability, the religious house at St. Andrews was founded by Hungus, the Pictish king, who died in 833; for it is certain that, about the year 825, he founded a church at Kilrymont, which henceforth received the name of the Apostle Andrew, to whom it was dedicated.

There is an ancient legend recorded in the Register of St. Andrews, respecting the foundation of the church of St. Regulus, which is worthy of notice, rather as a curious example of the earliest tradition as to the national emblem of the cross of St. Andrew, than on account of the authenticity of its statements. Hungus, King of the Picts, it appears, had invaded Northumberland, and upon his return was overtaken by Athelstan, King of the West Saxons, at the head of a powerful army. "Having given order for battle against the next day," says the historian, "Hungus betook himself to prayer, spending most part of the night in that exercise. A little time before day, falling into a slumber, it seemed to him that the Apostle St. Andrew stood by him, and assured him of the victory; which vision being related to the army, did much encourage them. The history addeth, that in the joining of the battle, there appeared in the air a cross in the form of the letter X, which so terrified the enemies as presently they gave back, King Athelstan himself being killed. Hungus, to express his thankfulness for the victory, gave to the church of Regulus, now called St. Andrews, divers rich gifts, as chalices, basons, the image of Christ in gold, and of his twelve apostles in silver. He gave, likewise, a case of beaten gold for preserving the relics of St. Andrew, and restored to the spirituality, the tithe of all corn, cattle, and herbage within the realm, exempting them from answering before any temporal judge; farther, he did appoint the cross of St. Andrew to be the badge and cognizance of the Picts, both in their wars and otherwise, which, so long as that kingdom stood, was observed, and is by the Scots as yet retained."*

These gifts of the Pictish king were undoubtedly intended for the benefit of the Culdees; for the register of St. Andrews states, that a tract of land, called "the Barony of the Culdees, below the Boar's Raik," was given by King Hungus to St. Rule. In the tenth century, such was the celebrity of the Culdee establishment at St. Andrews, that Constantine III. abdicated his throne, and took up his residence among them, and died, A.D. 943, abbot of this monastery. It is supposed by some antiquarians of high authority, that the interesting little church of St. Regulus or Rule, to which allusion has already been made, owes its origin to the Culdees, and was used by them as a place of worship. Others, however, are of opinion that it was erected by Bishop Robert, the founder of the Priory of Canons Regular of St. Andrews, about A.D. 1144.

Brechin.

The ecclesiastical foundation at Brechin belongs to the era of the kings of the Scottish race, and is believed to have been erected by Kenneth, the son of Malcolm, who reigned from 967 to 991. The ancient Pictish chronicle sums up the brief record of his reign in these words: "This is he who gave the great city of Brechin to the Lord." Connected with this establishment is one of those curious edifices called round towers, so plentiful throughout Ireland, but of which there are only two examples in Scotland, at Abernethy and at Brechin. The wildest theories of antiquarian speculation have, from the days of Giraldus Cambrensis to those of O'Brien, been framed to account for the origin and purpose of these singular buildings. They have been regarded as intended for the performance, respectively, of the religious rites of the followers of Budha and of the Druids, and of the early worshippers of fire and of the sun. They have been identified with minarets for calling the people to prayer; they have been regarded as the representatives of the material object of Phalic worship; they are supposed by some to have been penitentiary prisons; by others, monumental tombs; while others, again, affirm them to have been the observatories of ancient astronomers. Some writers have maintained that they were erected by the Phœnicians, others by the Danes. At length the conclusions which Mr. Petrie has come to in his instructive Prize Essay, published by the Royal Academy of Dublin, seem to be generally acquiesced in. 1. That the towers are of Christian and ecclesiastical origin, and were erected at various periods, between the fifth and thirteenth centuries. 2. That they were designed to answer, at least a two-fold use, namely, to serve as belfries and as keeps or places of strength, in which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables were deposited, and into which the ecclesiastics to whom they belonged could retire for security in cases of sudden predatory attack. 3. That they were probably also used, when occasion required, as beacons or watch-towers.* The round tower of Brechin is a slender turret of freestone, eighty-five feet in height to the cornice, and fifteen feet more to the pinnacle of the roof or spire, of later date, which

Round towers.

* Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 23; Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 457.

* Petrie's Round Towers; O'Brien's Round Towers of Ireland; Moore's Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. p. 30; Billing's and Burn's Baronial and Eccles. Antiq. of Scotland, part xx.

has been added when the cathedral church was re-erected in the thirteenth century. The sides of the doorway are adorned with sculptures of a singular and very antique style of carving. The tower has a decided inclination in one direction, and in storms of wind is seen visibly to sway from side to side.

The Culdees had establishments also at Mortlach, Dunblane, Scone, Culross, Kirkaldy, Mailros or Melrose, and in Oronsay, and Colonsay, and various other places; but these, and all the other ancient Culdee houses, were merged by David I. into the monastic establishments which he founded. Columba, as we have seen, taught his disciples to appeal to the Holy Scriptures as the source of Divine truth, and from a very early period they abjured the errors and strenuously resisted the encroachments of the Church of Rome. It has already been shown that the Culdees denounced the Romish doctrine respecting the marriage of the priests, and there is reason to believe that their practical opposition to celibacy was one great cause of their suppression. They obstinately refused to conform to the mode in which the Church of Rome observed Easter, and the rite of the clerical tonsure.* It is believed, on the authority of the celebrated Alcuin, who was nearly contemporary with Bede, in the eighth century, that the Scottish clergy rejected auricular confession and priestly absolution.† "They rejected auricular confession as well as authoritative absolution," says Toland, "and confessed to God alone, as believing God alone could forgive sins." And the famous St. Bernard denounces the Irish Culdees for this among other reasons, that "they do not go to confession; no one can be found who applies for the prescription of penance, nor any one who will prescribe it;" * and he elsewhere states that "Malachy, Bishop of Armagh, anew introduced the most salutary use of confession and the sacrament of confirmation." It has been supposed, from the language of Bede, that the Culdees did not administer the sacrament of baptism according to the practice observed in the Romish Church, which is confirmed by the complaint made by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, against the Irish Culdees, that "they baptized infants by immersion, without the consecrated chrism." That they were also opposed to the doctrine of the real presence, has been inferred from the commentary which Sedulius, a bishop of Scottish extraction, who lived in the early part of the eighth century, has given on 1 Cor. xi. 24: "Do this in remembrance of me." "He has left his memorial to us in the same manner as any one who was about to go to a great distance, should leave some pledge to him whom he loved, that as often as he saw it he might be able to recollect the benefits and the love of his friend." †

Opposition of the Culdees to the errors of Rome

The Culdees, it would appear, also withstood the worship of angels and saints. "They paid no respect to holy relics or to the mass; and they condemned the Romish practice of appointing masses for the dead, and offering up prayers to them." Toland observes of the Irish Culdees, that "in their public worship they made an honourable mention of holy persons deceased, offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their exemplary life and death, but not by way of propitiation for sins." For he says, "They neither prayed to dead men nor for them. And though naming particular men on such occasions gave a handle for creating them afterwards into tutelary saints, yet, at that time, the Irish were as far from addressing themselves to saints as to angels. For they were persuaded (to use the words of Claudius, one of their most celebrated divines) that 'while we are in the present world, we may help one another, either by our prayers or by our counsels; but when we come before the tribunal of Christ, neither Job, nor Daniel, nor Noah, can intercede for any one, but every one must bear his own burden;' which is plain sense and Scripture. But that which is plain nonsense, and nowhere authorized in Scripture—I mean the service for the dead—the Irish never practised till they were obliged to do it by the Council of Cashel, convoked by order of Henry the Second, in the year 1172."‡

They were equally opposed to the doctrine of works of supererogation. "They were so far," says the same author, "from pretending to do more good than they were obliged to do, much less to superabound in merit for the benefit of others (but

* As this matter has been very often misunderstood, it may be well to quote the following correct explanation:—

"The difference between the Roman and Eastern Church concerning Easter, which began about the year 200, lay in this:—The churches of Asia observed this feast on the fourteenth moon, upon whatsoever day of the week it fell out, being the day on which the Jews offered their paschal lamb. The church of Rome celebrated it on the Sunday following that day, if it chanced not to fall on Sunday; but did not, as the eastern churches had from perpetual practice and tradition ever done, celebrate Easter on a week-day. Thus the difference between the Roman and Eastern church only consisted in six days at most; and the only question was, whether Easter was to be celebrated on the week-day on which it fell, or on the Sunday following.

"Very different was the dispute between the Roman Church, and those of Britain and Ireland, concerning Easter. It began in the sixth century upon this ground:—In 532, Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman priest, introduced a great variation into the mode of computing Easter, of which the technical terms would neither instruct nor entertain the reader. Suffice it to say, that his rule, adopted by the Roman Church, threw the celebration of Easter a whole month farther back than before. But Britain and Ireland were as obstinate for their old Easter, as they were lately for the old style; and thus kept Easter a whole month before the Roman Church. Cuminius, who lived at the time, specially mentions this difference of a month; and the dispute between the Roman and the British and Irish churches was not known till Augustin the monk was sent to convert the Saxons in 597."—*Pinkerton's Enquiry*, vol. ii. p. 265.

With regard to the tonsure, the Romish priests wore the hair round the temples, in imitation of a crown of thorns, while the Scottish clergy, according to the custom of the Eastern Church, shaved it from their foreheads into the form of a crescent.

† Epistle to the very learned Men and Fathers in the Province of the Scots; Sibbald's Fife, p. 169.

* Vit. Malach. chap. vi. p. 357, ap. Messingham; Jamieson's Culdees, p. 218.

† Toland's Nazar. Lett. ii. p. 23.

‡ Ibid. p. 26.

such others as should purchase these superfluities of grace from their executors the priests), that they readily denied all merit of their own, and solely hoped for salvation from the mercy of God, through faith in Jesus Christ, whose faith, as a living root, was to produce the fruit of good works, without which it were barren or dead, and consequently useless; for as Claudius observes, from some other sage, 'The faithful man does not live by righteousness, but the righteous man by faith.' This excellent sentence, culled out of numberless testimonies to the same purpose in the oldest writers, comprehends at once and decides the whole controversy."*

Since such doctrines as these were held by the Culdees, it is not to be wondered at that they were the objects of dislike and hostility to the supporters of the Papal pretensions, who denounce their exclusive devotedness to the authority of Scripture, their rejection of the ceremonies, doctrines, and traditions, enjoined in "the statutes of the holy fathers," the rudeness of their forms of worship, and the unauthorized character of their ecclesiastical government. In the acts of the second Council of Chalons, A.D. 813, the Scottish clergy are denounced in the following terms:—"There are in certain places Scots who call themselves bishops, and contemning many, without the licence of their lords or superiors, ordain presbyters and deacons; the ordination of whom, because for the most part it falls into the Simonian heresy, and is subject to many errors, we all with one consent decree that it ought to be invalidated by all possible means." And the fifth canon of the Council of Ceal-hythe, A.D. 816, decrees, that no Scotch priest shall be allowed to perform any duty of his function in England,—ungratefully overlooking the important fact, that a great part of the north of England was converted by missionaries sent from Iona.

"The chief reasons," says Dr. Henry, "assigned by that Council for refusing to keep communion with these Scotch Culdees were—that they had no metropolitan amongst them, paid little regard to other orders, and that the Council did not know by whom they were ordained, *i. e.*, whether they were ordained by bishops or not. The rectors or bishops of the several cells of the Culdees were both chosen and ordained, or consecrated by the members of these societies, which was probably the very thing with which the Council of Ceal-hythe was dissatisfied."† It is not without sufficient grounds, therefore, that the following testimony has been given to the noble resistance made by the Culdees to the corruptions of Rome:—

"About the end of the seventh age, men from Scotland, given to ambition and avarice, went frequently to Rome for preferment in the church; and seeing it lay much that way then, they did their best to advance the design of the Romish party, wherein all the skill of worldly men was employed, both in Rome and among the sects of that party. Many men went to and fro, between Rome and Scotland, to bring the Scots to a full obedience unto Rome, and conformity. By name there was one Boniface sent from Rome to Scotland, a main agent for Rome in these affairs; but he was opposed openly by several of the Scots Culdees, or divines, namely, by Clemens and Samson, who told him freely, 'That he, and those of his party, studied to bring men to the subjection of the Pope, and slavery of Rome, withdrawing them from obedience to Christ;' and so, in plain terms, they reproached to him and to his assistants, 'That they were corrupters of Christ's doctrine, establishing a sovereignty in the Bishop of Rome, as the only successor of the apostles, excluding other bishops; that they used and commanded clerical tonsure; that they forbad priests' marriage, extolling celibat; that they caused prayers to be made for the dead, and erected images in the churches;' to be short, 'that they had introduced in the church many tenets, rites, and ceremonies, unknown to the ancient and pure times, yea, contrary to them.' For the which and the like, the said Clemens, and those that were constant to the truth with him, were excommunicated at Rome as heretics, as you have in the third volume of the Concels, although the true reasons of their excommunication be not there set down."*

Throughout the whole of Europe, at this period, learning was at a low ebb; but, all circumstances considered, the literature of the Culdees will bear a comparison with that of the clergy in any other part of Christendom. Their Irish brethren were held in the highest estimation for their scholarship; and, indeed, Ireland was at this time regarded as the chief seat of learning in Europe. Bede informs us that it was customary for the English of all ranks to retire for study and devotion to Ireland, where they were all hospitably received, and supplied gratuitously with food, with books, and with instruction.† His contemporary, Aldhelm, describes Ireland as "rich and blooming in scholars, and adorned, like the poles of the world, with innumerable bright stars," and speaks of the "troops of scholars daily transported thither." We know, from other sources, that at this time, and down to a considerably later period, the most distinguished scholars in Europe were either Irishmen, or had received their education in Irish schools. "That the Hibernians," says the learned Mosheim, "who were called Scots, in this (the eighth) century, were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselves in these times of ignorance by the culture of the sciences beyond all the other European nations, travelling through the most distant lands, both with a view to improve and to communicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have been long acquainted; as we see them in the most authentic records of antiquity, discharging, with the highest reputation and applause, the function of doctor in France, Germany, and Italy, both during this and

Learning of the Culdees.

* Toland's Nazar. pp. 25, 26.
† History of Britain, vol. iii. p. 254.

* Pref. to Knox's Hist.
† Bede, Hist. lib. iii. chap. xxviii.

the following century." Now the monastery of Iona was an Irish foundation, and many of the Scottish Culdees, in subsequent times, were either natives of Ireland, or were educated there, and must, consequently, have been imbued with the learning for which the Culdee establishments of that country were so famous. So early as the fourth century, the celebrated heresiarch Pelagius, a Scottish monk, enjoyed the highest reputation for his intellectual ability and accomplishments; and some controversial writings attributed to his pen still exist. His disciple, Celestius, whose reputation was nearly as great as his master's, appears to have been his fellow-countryman; for Jerome, the great opponent of the Pelagian heresy, in one of his scurrilous invectives, calls him a blockhead, swollen with Scotch pottage.*

St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, and the real founder of the Culdee Church, who flourished in the fifth century, was a native of North Britain. He was a great patron of learning, and his chief religious foundation, which was at Armagh, soon became so famous as a school of theology, that at one time it was said to have communicated instruction to seven thousand students. The monastery of Armagh long possessed the primacy of the Culdee Church, both of Scotland and Ireland, and many of the Scottish Culdees received their education in that seminary. The Confession of St. Patrick was written in Latin; but the auther apologizes for the rudeness of his Latinity, owing to his long habit of speaking Irish. To this period also belongs Gildas, our earliest historian, the author of two declamatory effusions in Latin, the one entitled a "History of the Britons," the other an "Epistle to the Tyrants of Britain." Historians differ both as to the degree of credibility due to this author, and as to his country and parentage; but he appears to have been the son of Caw, Prince of Strathclyd, and to have been born about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. He was the brother of Aneurin, the famous bard. The historian Nennius, or Ninian, one of the monks of Bangor, was, in all probability, a fellow-countryman of Gildas. Contemporary with Nennius was the Irish Culdee, St. Columbanus, who died in 615. "The writings of this eminent man," observes Mr. Moore, "display an extensive and various acquaintance, not merely with ecclesiastical, but with classical literature. From a passage in his letter to Boniface, it appears that he was acquainted both with the Greek and Hebrew languages; and when it is recollected that he did not leave Ireland till he was nearly fifty years of age, and that his life afterwards was one of constant activity and adventure, the conclusion is obvious, that all his knowledge of elegant literature must have been acquired in the schools of his own country. Such a result, from a purely Irish education in the middle of the ninth century, is, it must be owned, not a little remarkable."† Another learned Culdee of this age was St. Cummian, the author of an epistle, still extant, in defence of the Roman mode of computing Easter, addressed to Segienus, Abbot of Iona, in which he shows a very extensive acquaintance both with the subject of chronology and with the works of the fathers, Greek as well as Latin. "The various learning, indeed," says Mr. Moore, "which this curious tract displays, implies such a facility and range of access to books, as proves the libraries of the Irish students at that period to have been, for the times in which they lived, extraordinarily well furnished." Among the Culdee scholars of this age, mention must also be made of Cuminius, the successor of Columba as Abbot of Iona, in 657, and of Adomnan, who succeeded Cuminius in the same office, 679. Both of these learned men wrote a Latin Life of their illustrious predecessor. The work of Adomnan, in particular, gives a most interesting picture of the early condition of the country, and of the arduous labours of these primitive missionaries of the Cross.

Learned men among the Scottish clergy.

Alcuin, the chief ornament of the imperial court of Charlemagne, and the president of the University of Paris, was by birth a Scot.* So also was Clement, the undaunted opponent of papal errors, who was at the same time set over a public school in Italy;—Albin, the author of a treatise, published in the name of Charlemagne, against the proceedings of the Council of Nice, which had decided in favour of image-worship, and Dungal, who presided ever the institution at Pavia, and was selected by the Emperor Lothaire I. to superintend the whole system of the Italian universities, and who has left various works, "which bear honourable testimony, both to his scientific and his literary acquirements." Among the learned Scotch ecclesiastics of this age, mention must also be made of Sedulius, the author of a celebrated commentary on the Gospel of Matthew and on the Epistles of Paul, and of a treatise, entitled "The Concordance of Spain and Hibernia," who subscribed himself at a council of Pope Gregory II., "a British bishop of Scottish descent." His countryman, Virgilius, the Bishop of Saltzburgh, a skilful philosopher and mathematician, as well as a good divine, is the author of a treatise in which he refuted the then received opinion, that the earth is a plain surrounded by the heavens at its verge, and proved that it is of a spherical form, and, consequently, that every nation had their antipodes. For broaching this opinion, he was persecuted as a heretic by his British contemporary, Boniface, and nearly lost his life. Rabanus Maurus, another Scotchman, who finished his education under Alcuin, was an accomplished scholar, and wrote several commentaries on portions of the

* "Scotorum pultibus prægravatus."

† Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. p. 267; Pict. Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 290.

* So great was the resort of learned men from Scotland to the court of Charlemagne at this period, that Hericus, in the dedication of his Life of Cæsarius to that monarch, says, "Why do I speak of Scotland? that whole nation, almost despising the dangers of the sea, resort to our country with a numerous train of philosophers, of whom the most famous, abdicating their native soil, account themselves happy under your favour, as the servants of the wise Solomon."

Sacred Scriptures, a dissertation on etymology, a treatise upon the signification and properties of words, one on the respective duties of parents and children, and various other works which attained to high celebrity, both for scholarship and genius.

But by far the most illustrious of these learned Scots was Joannes Scotus, or Erigenia, who was undoubtedly of Scottish origin, though it has been disputed whether the place of his birth was in Scotland or Ireland. This accomplished scholar, who was probably the most learned man in Europe during the ninth century, is the author of a considerable number of treatises on metaphysics and theology, and the translator from the Greek of certain mystical works on the Divine Names and Celestial Hierarchy, ascribed to Dionysius, the Areopagite, and also, it is alleged, of a treatise of Aristotle, on the Right Government of Princes. The works of Scotus furnish conclusive evidence that the Greek language was at that time taught in the Culdee schools. His principal work, "On the Division of Nature," is characterized by Mr. Turner as "distinguished for its Aristotelian acuteness and extensive information." In one place it is observed, "he takes occasion to give concise and able definitions of the seven liberal arts, and to express his opinion on the composition of things. In another part, he inserts a very elaborate discussion on arithmetic, which he says he had learned from his infancy. He also details a curious conversation on the elements of things, on the motions of the heavenly bodies, and other topics of astronomy and physiology. Among these, he even gives the means of calculating the diameters of the lunar and solar circles. Besides the fathers Austin, the two Gregories, Chrysostom, Basil, Epiphanius, Origen, Jerome, and Ambrosius, of whose works, with the Platonising Dionysius and Maximus, he gives large extracts, he also quotes Virgil, Cicero, Aristotle, Pliny, Plato, and Boethius; he details the opinions of Eratosthenes and of Pythagoras on some astronomical topics; he also cites Martianus Capella. His knowledge of Greek appears almost in every page." * The subtle speculations of Scotus exercised a very remarkable influence on the philosophy, both of his own age and of succeeding times, and the introduction of the later Platonism of the Alexandrian school into the theology and metaphysics of Europe, has been ascribed to the influence of his writings. The learned Mosheim states that the Scots were also the first teachers of the scholastic theology in Europe, and that so early as the eighth century they illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy.

Among the branches of literary and scientific knowledge taught at this time in the schools of the Culdees, were arithmetic, geometry, under which geography was comprehended, astronomy, music, grammar, logic, and rhetoric, to which must be added divinity, or the study of the Holy Scriptures, and controversial theology. In the eighth century the seven liberal arts were divided into two great classes: the first, or more elementary of which, comprehending grammar, rhetoric, and logic, was called the Trivium; the second, comprehending music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, the Quadrivium. It is impossible to say when this system originated; but John of Salisbury speaks of it as an ancient one in his day. "The Trivium and Quadrivium," he says, "were so much admired by our ancestors in former ages, that they imagined they comprehended all wisdom and learning, and were sufficient for the solution of all questions and the removing of all difficulties; for whoever understood the Trivium could explain all manner of books without a teacher; but he who was further advanced, and was master also of the Quadrivium, could answer any questions and unfold all the secrets of nature."* Latin was the language of the learned at this period; not only the scholastic divines and philosophers, but also all writers on geometry, astronomy, and other branches of science, composed their works in this tongue. But the great body of the people, and even the kings and chiefs, still employed the Celtic speech of their ancestors.† The oldest existing compositions in the Celtic language are some fragments of metrical productions which have been preserved in the old annalists, and are supposed to be of the date of the fifth century. The earliest Irish or Celtic prose writings of this period are the annals of Tigernach and of the four masters of Ulster, which contain a large amount of valuable information respecting the early history both of Ireland and of Scotland. Tigernach, the oldest of these writers, lived in the latter part of the eleventh century, but both his annals, and those of the other chroniclers, are believed to have been compiled from authentic records of much greater antiquity. The Albanich Duan, a metrical composition in the Celtic tongue, written in the early part of the reign of Malcolm Canmore, whatever may be its merits as a poem, has supplied some interesting historical notices.

Branches taught in the Culdee schools.

Works in the Celtic language.

What learning existed, however, was for the most part confined to the religious and monastic orders. Few, if any, even of the higher classes, appear to have been acquainted with the Latin language, which was then the key to all other erudition. Malcolm Canmore himself, as we have seen, was unable to read. We may easily conceive, then, what must have been the intellectual condition of the great body of his subjects.

The abrogation of the privileges and peculiar observances of the Culdees began with Margaret, the queen of Malcolm Canmore. This pious princess, the grand-niece of Edward the Confessor, not contented with redressing the abuses of the Scottish Church, strove to assimilate it to the ecclesiastical system of her

Suppression of the Culdees.

* Turner's Anglo-Sax. vol. iii. p. 393; Pict. Hist vol. i. p. 292

* Joan. Salis. Metalog. lib. i. chap. xii.

† "Totaque cum Scotia *prisco sermone* et institutis uteretur."—*Buchanan's Hist.* p. 167. See Caledonia, book iii. chap. xi.

Saxon countrymen, which was closely formed after the model of Rome. She appears to have held frequent conferences with the clergy for the purpose of persuading them to lay aside what she termed their novelties, and to embrace the Catholic faith. The proper period for the celebration of Lent was the subject of a solemn conference, held in 1074. When the council met, it was found that the Scottish clergy could only speak Gaelic. Margaret could only speak Saxon; but the king, who understood the English language as well as his own, acted as interpreter between the fair and royal reformer and the Scottish ecclesiastics. As might have been expected, the queen's arguments prevailed. Her biographer states, that "the clergy, overcome by the arguments of reason and truth, abandoned their erroneous usage, and observed Lent according to the Catholic institution." According to Lord Hailes, "conscious of their own ignorance, they dutifully acquiesced in the dictates of a learned queen, as delivered by the royal interpreter."* A similar course was followed by the sons of Queen Margaret, Edgar, Alexander, and David, who all concurred in carrying out the reorganization of the Scottish Church on the model of the Church of England. They founded bishopries, endowed monasteries, and filled them with English monks; merged the primitive societies of the Culdees into the new orders of the canons regular, and superseded their missionary bishops by a complete parochial system. The suppression of the Culdees was completed by David I., who founded or restored most of the Scottish sees and of the principal monasteries. This revolution in the Scottish ecclesiastical system was effected, first, by the establishment of parochial clergy, and consequently superseding the missionary system, which had hitherto supplied the spiritual wants of the people; secondly, by the introduction of the monastic orders of the Roman Catholic Church into the country; and, thirdly, by appointing a bishop over the parochial clergy, and declaring the territory over which the Culdee monastery had exercised their jurisdiction to be his diocese in the Roman Catholic sense of the word.†

Ecclesiastical districts were not unknown, however, previous to this period, but they were inconveniently large, and were established by private persons rather than by public authority. "That parishes existed during the reign of Malcolm Canmore," says Chalmers, "is certain from unquestionable records. It seems equally certain, that when churches were erected, parishes laid out, and parochial duties statedly performed, ecclesiastical dues must have been incidentally paid. In the charters of Alexander the First, and of David, tithes are mentioned as if they were familiarly known and had been long established. It is clear that tithes were paid to the clergy during the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and probable that such ecclesiastical dues were paid to the clergy as early as the commencement of the tenth century (910), when Constantine the king, and Kellach the bishop, solemnly vowed to observe the faith, discipline, and rights of the churches."

Origin of parochial districts.

We conclude this sketch with the following list of the Scottish bishoprics, according to the date of their foundation, taken from Keith's Catalogue. In some of its dates, however, it must be regarded rather as an approximation to the truth, as far as it can be ascertained from authentic sources, than as fixing the exact years of the erection. It is to be observed, also, that the See of Galloway, or Whithern, founded by St. Ninian, was destroyed about the commencement of the ninth century; and this and some of the other early sees are believed to have been restored by David I.

	A.D.
1. See of the Isles	447
2. See of Galloway	450
3. See of Glasgow	560
4. See of Dunkeld	729
5. See of St. Andrews	892
6. Mortlach, afterwards Aberdeen	1010
7. See of Ross	1128
8. See of Brechin	1150
9. See of Caithness	1150
10. See of Dunblane	1160
11. See of Moray	1162
12. See of Argyle	1200

* Annals, vol. i. p. 39, and note.
† Skene's Highlanders, vol. i. p. 203.

CHAPTER VI.

SCOTO-SAXON PERIOD. A.D. 1097—1306.

EDGAR, the son of Malcolm Canmore, ascended the Scottish throne in 1097, while still a youth, and retained it till his death, on the 8th of January, 1107. During his reign the country appears to have enjoyed tranquillity both at home and abroad. The marriage of his sister Matildis, or Maud, to Henry Beauclerk, King of England, doubtless contributed to the maintenance of peace between the two countries, and the disposition of Edgar was little likely to provoke hostilities. "He was a sweet-tempered, amiable man," says Aldred, a contemporary chronicler, "in all things resembling Edward the Confessor, mild in his administration, equitable and beneficent."*

Edgar, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother, Alexander I. Soon after his accession, the existing amity with England was strengthened by the marriage of Alexander with the Lady Sibilla, one of the numerous illegitimate daughters of Henry I. Such an alliance, Lord Hailes remarks, was not held dishonourable in those days. The extent of Alexander's territorial dominions, however, was lessened by the separation of Cumberland, which Edgar, on his deathbed, had bequeathed to his youngest brother David. Alexander at first disputed the validity of this bequest; but, as David was supported both by the English barons and by Henry, he found himself obliged to acquiesce in the settlement.†

Alexander I., 1107.

* Aldred, Gen. Reg. Angl. p. 367; Hailes's Annals vol. i. p. 53.
† Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 54, and note.

Struggle for the independence of the Scottish Church.

The leading event of Alexander's reign was the struggle which he maintained for the independence of the Scottish Church against the pretensions of the English archbishops. Turgot, a monk of Durham, and the confessor of the late Queen Margaret, had been appointed by Alexander to the bishopric of St. Andrews, A.D.1109, but his consecration was delayed for two years, in consequence of a dispute respecting the right of performing the ceremony. This privilege was claimed both by the Archbishop of Canterbury and of York, while the king and the Scottish clergy denied that it belonged to either. The dispute was on this occasion terminated by a compromise, which left the point unsettled.

On the death of Turgot, in 1115, the see remained vacant for five years. At length, in 1120, Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, was appointed to the bishopric. The dispute concerning the right of consecration was immediately renewed, and the English prelates used every effort to obtain the recognition of their assumed authority over the clergy of Scotland. But Alexander steadily resisted their pretensions, and vindicated, with complete success, the freedom and independence of the Scottish church.

This contest lasted for fourteen years, and Alexander did not long survive its termination. He died on the 27th of April, 1124, about two years after the death of his queen, who had brought him no issue. He is traditionally remembered by the epithet of the "Fierce," according to Wyntown, on account of the vigour and promptitude with which he quelled an insurrection of the Moraymen, and punished them for their rapine;* or rather, perhaps, as Lord Hailes supposes, from his imperious and passionate disposition. The resolute manner in which he maintained the rights and privileges of the Scottish church shows him to have been possessed of undaunted courage, and great firmness of character. "He was humble and courteous to the clergy," says a contemporary writer, "but to the rest of his subjects terrible beyond measure; high-spirited, always endeavouring to compass things beyond his power; (he does not appear, however, to have ever been foiled in any of his undertakings); not ignorant of letters, zealous in establishing churches, collecting relics, and providing vestments and books for the clergy; liberal even to profusion, and taking delight in the offices of charity to the poor."†

Death of Alexander.

On the death of Alexander, David his brother, the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, ascended the throne. Having passed his youth at the court of his sister in England, "his manners," says Malmesbury, "were polished from the rust of Scottish barbarity;" while his possession of Cumberland, bequeathed to him by his brother Edgar, had accustomed him to the cares and labours of administration, and had made him acquainted with the more advanced civilization and the better regulated government of the sister country. He had also, before his accession to the throne, married an English wife, Matilda, the daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, and the widow of Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton. On the separation of Cumberland from the Scottish kingdom, the king ceased to be an English baron; and accordingly it appears, that Alexander never attended at the English court. But David, both by his tenure of the earldom of Cumberland, and of the earldom of Huntingdon in right of his wife, was bound to pay homage to the English king; and accordingly, when Henry I., in 1127, summoned the clergy and nobles of his realm to swear that they would maintain the rights of his daughter Matilda as heir to the throne, David was present at the assembly, and was the first who took the oath.

Accession of David, 1124.

While David was residing at the court of Henry, Angus, Earl of Moray, rose in rebellion against him, and claimed the crown as the lineal descendant of Kenneth IV., the son of Duff, the eldest son of Malcolm I.; while David was descended from Kenneth III., the youngest son of Malcolm I. David was zealously supported by the martial barons of Northumberland, and at the head of a numerous army he marched against the northern insurgents, and overthrew them at Stracathrow, in Forfarshire, A. D. 1130.*

Insurrection in Moray.

On the death of Henry, in 1135, his nephew Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, in spite of his oath to maintain the settlement of succession made by his uncle, deposed Matilda, and forcibly seized the English crown. David, however, was faithful to his engagements, and immediately led an army into England, and, taking possession of the whole country to the north of Durham, excepting the castle of Bamborough, compelled the northern barons to swear fealty to Matilda, his niece, and to give hostages for the performance of their oath.† When the news of this inroad was brought to Stephen, he said, "What the king of Scots has gained by stealth, I will manfully recover." He immediately collected a powerful army and marched to Durham. On the approach of Stephen, David, finding himself deserted by the English barons, who had sworn to maintain the pretensions of Matilda, retreated to Newcastle. A compromise was ultimately effected, (Feb. 1136,) by which David consented to withdraw his troops, and to restore the country of which he had taken possession; while Stephen engaged to confer upon Henry, Prince of Scotland, David's eldest son, the earldom of Huntingdon,

Contest for the English crown—

* Wyntown's Chronicle, vol. i. p. 283: "He was callit the Feirse, or Strenthie, because he was ane gritt punisser of malefactouris and evil doaris. He dantonit Murray and Ross that had rebellit, and causit hang the Lord of Mernis, broder and sone, because they tuik away the guddis of ane puir wyff." David Chalmers' Chronicle, p. 56.

† Aldred, Gen. Reg. Angl. p. 368.

* Chron. Melrose, p. 165.

† Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 77.

from the L

with the towns of Carlisle and Doncaster, and promised not to make any grant of the earldom of Northumberland, until the claim of Prince Henry to that earldom, in right of his mother, was heard and determined. For these possessions Prince Henry did homage to Stephen; but David himself refused to do so, although still retaining the earldom of Cumberland in his own hands.

—and war between England and Scotland.

The war was however renewed before the end of the same year, by David, on the ground that Stephen had refused or delayed to put Prince Henry in possession of Northumberland; but in reality, in consequence of a confederacy with the partisans of Matilda, to eject her rival from the throne. Stephen was at that time in Normandy; but through the efforts of Thurstan, the aged Archbishop of York, David consented to a cessation of hostilities till the English monarch should return to England. But Stephen, on his return, having rejected the demands of David, the truce was at once broken off, and the Scottish king again entered Northumberland (A.D. 1137), and ravaged the country with merciless barbarity. The English historians impute these shocking excesses, not to the leaders of the Scots, of whose moderation they give some examples, but to the soldiers, who were composed, they tell us, of Normans, Germans, and Angles, of Northumbrians and Cumbrians, the men of Teviotdale and Lothian, the Picts, or Galwegians, and Scots.* "As for the king of Scots himself," says an old chronicler, "he was a prince of a mild and merciful disposition; but the Scots were a barbarous and impure nation; and their king, leading hordes of them from the remotest parts of that land, was unable to restrain their wickedness." "They exercised their barbarity in the manner of wild beasts," says another contemporary writer, "sparing neither sex nor age, nor so much as the child in the womb." On the approach of Stephen, in the beginning of the following year, David deemed it advisable to fall back upon Roxburgh, where he took up a strong position and waited the approach of the English king. Stephen, however, having, it is said, discovered that some of the leaders of his army had a secret understanding with the enemy, avoided the snare laid for him, and, after laying waste the Scottish borders, hastily returned to the south.

Merciless character of the warfare.

David re-entered Northumberland in March, 1138, with the main body of his army, sending, at the same time, his nephew William, at the head of a body of Galloway men, into the west of England, where he defeated a considerable body of English, near Clitherow (4th June), and carried off a great quantity of plunder. Meanwhile, David laid siege to the strong castle of Norham, which Ralph Flambard, Bishop of Durham, had erected in 1121, to repress the inroads of the Scottish borderers. Norham surrendered, after a feeble resistance, and David, having dismantled the fortress, marched forward, through Northumberland and Durham, to Northallerton, in Yorkshire, without opposition. Stephen was so hard pressed by the partisans of Matilda in the south, that he could offer no effective opposition to the invaders, whose numbers exceeded twenty-six thousand, and were composed of all the various races now united under the sway of the Scottish king. The inhabitants of the northern counties were therefore left to their own resources, and they succeeded, chiefly by the efforts of the aged Archbishop of York, in collecting an army, though less numerous than that of the Scots. It consisted, however, of all the nobility and gentry of the northern counties, and was under the command of William Peveril, Gilbert and Walter de Lacy, and especially of Walter l'Espec, an aged warrior of great experience and reputation. The venerable Thurstan bestowed his blessing upon the soldiers, and the remission of their sins; assured them of victory if they were penitent; and promised eternal happiness to all who should fall in battle "in defence of Christ's Church against the barbarians."

The English army was drawn up on Cutton Moor, in the neighbourhood of Northallerton. Here they erected a remarkable standard, consisting of the mast of a ship fastened in a four-wheeled car. At the top of the mast a large crucifix was displayed, having in its centre a silver box containing a consecrated host, and lower down were suspended the banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfred of Ripon. From this standard the engagement which ensued derived the name of "The Battle of the Standard." The Scots, whose ensign was a lance, with a sprig of heather wreathed around it, advanced toward the enemy in several divisions. The van guard, commanded by Prince Henry, consisted of the men of Lothian and Teviotdale, of border troopers from Liddesdale and Cumberland, and of the fierce and barbarous "Scots of Galloway," reinforced by a small body-guard of men-at-arms, under the command of Eustace Fitz-John, a Norman baron. Next came the Highlanders and the Islesmen, armed only with their small round target and the claymore. After these marched the king, with a strong body of Saxon and Norman knights and men-at-arms, and the rear-guard consisted of a mixed body from Moray and other parts of the country. Many of the Scottish soldiers were very imperfectly armed and equipped, and were, therefore, unequally matched with the well-appointed men-at-arms who composed the great body of the English army.

Battle of the Standard, 22nd August, 1138.

David endeavoured to take the English by surprise, and, favoured by a dense fog, which concealed his advance, he succeeded in reaching the moor on which they were posted before they received the tidings of his approach. The alarm was suddenly given, and the English ran to arms in great dis-

* R. of Hexham, p. 216; I. of Hexham, p. 260. Gesta Stephani. It is worthy of notice, that this is the last time the Picts of Galloway are mentioned in history. It appears that a considerable body of the Pictish nation had remained in that district, and up to this date had preserved their national peculiarities.

order. To gain time at this critical conjuncture, and probably also actuated by a sincere desire to prevent farther hostilities, the English leaders sent to the Scottish army Robert de Bruce, Earl of Annandale, and Bernard de Baliol, two barons of Norman descent, who held lands both in Scotland and England, to offer, as conditions of peace, to procure from Stephen a grant of the earldom of Northumberland in favour of Prince Henry. Bruce, who was far advanced in years, had a high reputation for wisdom and eloquence, and, during a long residence in Scotland, had lived on terms of the closest friendship with David. He represented to his old master, the impolicy of the war which he was carrying on against his former allies, and urged upon him the duty of putting a stop to the horrible outrages of the Scottish army, which were a violation of all the laws of humanity and religion. "I charge your conscience," said he, "with the innocent blood which cries aloud for vengeance. You have beheld the enormities of your army, you have mourned for them, you have openly disclaimed any approbation of them. Prove now the sincerity of your protestations, and withdraw your people from a war disgraceful in all its operations, and dubious in the event. We are not mighty in numbers, but we are determined; urge not brave men to despair. To see my dearest master, my patron and my benefactor, my friend and companion in arms, with whom I spent the season of youth and festivity, in whose service I am grown old,—to see him thus exposed to the dangers of battle, or to the dishonour of flight, it wrings my heart."* At these words he burst into tears. David was deeply moved by the tears and expostulations of his old friend and companion in arms, but he nevertheless rejected his proposals. Bruce, on receiving this answer, and hearing himself denounced as a traitor by William Mac Donochy, the king's nephew, renounced his allegiance to the Scottish crown; Baliol also gave up the fealty which he had once sworn to David, and returned with all haste to the English army, to warn them of the approach of the Scots.

David had resolved to place the men-at-arms and the archers in the van, but that post of honour was claimed by the Galwegians, who maintained that, by ancient custom, the privilege of commencing the conflict belonged to them. The men-at-arms were, for the most part, English and Normans, who had abandoned their native country, and taken refuge at the court of the Scottish king, and the disputes between them and the half-naked clans threatened the most disastrous consequences. "Whence comes this mighty confidence in those Normans?" said Malise, Earl of Strathern, to the king; "I wear no armour, but there is not one among them that will advance beyond me this day." "Rude earl," said Allan de Percy, a Norman knight, "you boast of what you dare not do." The altercation was repressed by the interposition of the king, who unwillingly yielded to the demands of the Gallowaymen, and placed them in the van, under their chiefs, William Mac Donochy, Ulrick, and Dovenald. The second division consisted of the men-at-arms, the archers, and the men of Cumberland and Teviotdale, under the command of Prince Henry, with whom was associated Eustace Fitz-John, a powerful and valiant Northumbrian baron, whom Stephen had offended by depriving him of the important fortress of Bamborough. The third body was composed of the men of Lothian, with the islanders and the Highland Caterans. The king himself commanded the reserve, consisting of the Scots properly so called, and the inhabitants of Moray. The English were drawn up in one compact body around the sacred standard. The men-at-arms dismounted and sent their horses to the rear, and, mingling with the archers, ranged themselves in the front of the battle.

The Bishop of Orkney, as the representative of the aged Thurstan, delivered an energetic speech for the encouragement of the troops; and assured them that those who fell in this holy war should immediately pass into Paradise. The venerable Walter l'Espec also ascended the carriage in which the holy standard was fixed, and harangued the soldiers, reminding them of the glory of their ancestors, and of the barbarities perpetrated by the Scottish invaders. "Your cause is just: it is for your all that you combat. I swear," said he, grasping the hand of the Earl of Albemarle, "I swear that on this day I will overcome the Scots, or perish!" "So swear we all!" exclaimed the barons assembled around him.*

The Scots advanced to the attack, shouting their war-cry, Albanich! Albanich!† The Gallowaymen charged the English infantry so fiercely, that their front ranks were thrown into disorder; but the English archers came to the assistance of the spearmen, and overwhelmed the Scots with incessant and well-directed showers of arrows. Prince Henry advanced to their support, and, at the head of the cavalry, charged and broke through the English ranks, says Aldred, as if they had been cobwebs, and dispersed the troops which guarded the horses in the rear. The Gallowaymen, though they had lost their leaders, Ulrick and Dovenald, rallied and prepared to renew the combat, which had now continued for two hours with the greatest fury. At this critical moment, an English soldier, elevating on the point of his spear the head of one of the slain, proclaimed it the head of the King of Scots. A sudden panic seized the

* The speech of Bruce, which contains many curious facts, is reported at full length by Aldred; and, as he was not only a contemporary, but was honoured with the peculiar confidence of David, we may presume that it is substantially accurate. See Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 87; Aldred, De Bello Standardi, pp. 337—345.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 90.

† That is, "We are the men of Albyn!"—the most ancient name of Scotland. This war-cry, of course, asserted that the Galwegians were *the* most ancient inhabitants of Scotland; in other words, the descendants of the Picts or ancient Caledonians. When they were repulsed, the English shouted in derision, "Erygh! Erygh!"—"Ye are but Irish! Ye are but Irish!"—alluding to that part of the Galwegians who, though ranked among the Picts, were yet wild Scots of Irish extraction.

Scottish forces; the Gallowaymen threw away their arms, and the troops forming the third division of the army also fled without resistance. David promptly brought up the reserve, and strove to retrieve the fortune of the day, but without effect. The terror and confusion became general; and the knights and men-at-arms who attended on the king, seeing that the battle was irretrieveably lost, constrained him to retire from the field. He succeeded, however, in rallying around the royal standard a strong body of troops, which covered the retreat, and checked the pursuit of the enemy. In this memorable battle, which was fought on the 22nd of August, 1138, the Scots are said to have lost 10,000 men.

Three days after the engagement, David reached Carlisle with the remains of his army, and employed himself in collecting and re-organizing his scattered troops, which had fallen into a state of confusion bordering on mutiny. For some days he was in a state of uncertainty respecting the fate of his gallant son, who, carried away by his impetuosity, had pursued too far the troops whom he had routed. On his return from the chase of the fugitives, the Prince, finding the battle lost, commanded his men to throw away their banners, and, mingling with the pursuers, he passed through the horses ranks undiscovered, and, after many hazards, succeeded in reaching Carlisle the third day after the king his father.

Council held at Carlisle.

An assembly of the prelates and nobles was held at Carlisle, by Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, the papal legate, who earnestly entreated the Scottish king to listen to overtures of peace. He also persuaded the savage Galwegians to restore their female captives, and induced the whole Scottish army to enter into a solemn engagement that they would not in future violate churches, nor murder old men, women, and children *—a circumstance which affords conclusive proof of the ferocity of the troops, and of the barbarity with which the war had been carried on.

The Scots again take the field.

Meanwhile, the victors at Northallerton were not in a condition to follow up the advantage they had gained, and the Scottish army soon re-assumed the offensive by laying siege to the castle of Wark, which they reduced by famine; and David, having razed that fortress, "returned into Scotland," says Lord Hailes, "more like a conqueror than like one whose army had been routed." Peace was soon after concluded (9th April, 1139) through the mediation of the legate and of Stephen's wife, Maud, who was David's niece. The terms granted by Stephen were highly favourable to the Scottish king, and showed that, though defeated, he was not humbled. The earldom of Northumberland, with the exception of the two fortresses of Newcastle and Bamborough, was ceded to Prince Henry. As an equivalent for these castles, he obtained a grant of lands in the south of England. The Northumbrian barons were to hold their estates of the Prince of Scotland, reserving their fealty to Stephen; and, in return, David and all his people became bound to maintain an inviolable peace with England, and gave the sons of five earls as hostages to Stephen for their performance of this part of the treaty.* These conditions of peace were arranged at Durham; and Prince Henry, proceeding southward with the English queen, met Stephen at Nottingham, and there ratified the negotiation. The prince, who, "by his noble and generous carriage," says an English chronicler, "had so won the heart of Stephen, that he loved him no less than if he had been his own son," accompanied the English king to the siege of Ludlow Castle, which was held out against him by the adherents of Matilda. Having incautiously approached too near the walls, Prince Henry was unhorsed by the besieged, but was gallantly rescued by Stephen.

Peace concluded.

In 1141, the cause of Matilda was for a short time triumphant, and David repaired to the court of his niece, and vainly endeavoured to persuade her to follow his mild and wise counsels. Her haughty demeanour, and violent measures, speedily alienated from her the affections of the people. The Londoners rose up in arms against her. She fled precipitately from the capital, and, accompanied by her uncle, took refuge in the royal castle of Winchester, where she was besieged by Stephen, and from which she with great difficulty effected her escape. David accompanied her in her flight, and was indebted for his concealment, and his safe conveyance home to his own country, to the exertions of a young man, named David Oliphant, to whom he had been godfather, and who was at that time serving in the army of Stephen.

David's escape from Winchester.

From this period David seems to have given his almost exclusive attention to the affairs of his own kingdom. The tranquillity of the country was disturbed for a considerable time by the pretensions of an adventurer, named Wimund, who, it is alleged, had been a monk, first in the abbey of Furness, and afterwards in the Isle of Man, but claimed to be the son of Angus, Earl of Moray, slain at Stracathow, in 1130. Having succeeded in collecting some vessels, he began to make piratical excursions among the western isles. Many persons of desperate fortunes espoused his cause, and he obtained in marriage the daughter of Somerled, Thane of Argyle, who either from policy, or from a belief in the justice of his claims, favoured his enterprise. Wimund next invaded the mainland of Scotland, slew many of the inhabitants, and pillaged the country. For several years he carried on his depredations successfully, and constantly eluded the forces sent against him, either by concealing himself and his followers amid the dense forests which covered the country, or by retreating to his ships. Strange to say, the Scottish king was at length obliged, in order to put

Disturbances caused by an adventurer.

* R. of Hexham, p. 326; I. of Hexham, p. 264; Annals, vol. i. p. 93.

* Annals, vol. i. p. 95, and note.

an end to the outrages of this daring and crafty adventurer, to enter into terms of accommodation with him, and to bestow on him a certain territory, together with the government of the abbey of Furness, in which he had passed his earlier years. His insolent and arbitrary conduct, however, excited an insurrection against his authority, and the people took him prisoner, and put out his eyes. He passed the remainder of his strangely chequered life in the abbey of Biland, in Yorkshire. His audacious spirit, however, appears not to have been depressed, or even humbled, by his calamities. He took great delight in relating his adventures to the friars at Biland; and is reported to have said, "Had they but left me the smallest glimmering of light, my enemies should have had no cause to boast of what they did."*

The remaining years of the reign of this wise and just monarch were peaceful and prosperous. Relieved, both from foreign wars and from internal disturbances, he applied himself assiduously to the improvement of the country, by the encouragement of agriculture and of manufactures, the establishment of towns, the erection of churches, monasteries, and other public buildings, and the enactment of judicious and equitable laws.

David's efforts to promote the prosperity of his kingdom.

Aldred represents him as cultivating and encouraging every art that tended to soften and civilize his subjects. He speaks of his attention to his gardens, buildings, and orchards, that he might, by his example, induce his people to follow the like pursuits. He represents him as employing some part of his time, even in the last year of his life, either in planting herbs or grafting shoots, and mentions the improvements made by him in agriculture, so that a country formerly indigent and barren, was now able, out of its abundance, to supply the necessities of its neighbours. He enumerates the towns and castles which David erected, the foreign commodities he had introduced by commerce, and the improvements thence made on the dress of his subjects. Lastly, he celebrates the reformation made on the morals, both of the clergy and people, and the beneficial effects which the instructions and example of the king exercised upon all classes of the community.†

It is assumed by some writers, that the establishment of incorporated bodies in Scotland, for the promotion of trade and commerce, is to be ascribed to the wise and far-seeing policy of David. It was during his reign that Louis le Gros introduced these institutions into France, and in some of the ancient copies of the old Scottish laws, it is stated that David framed his burgh laws from the information furnished by certain learned men, whom he sent to other countries to observe the constitutions that had been there introduced.*

The death of this excellent monarch was probably hastened by that of his son Henry, which took place on the 12th of June, 1152, to the great grief of his countrymen, who had formed high anticipations of the benefits to be conferred by his accession to sovereign power. Aldred, who had lived with him from childhood, and knew him intimately, says that he resembled his father in all things, except that he had a somewhat greater suavity of manner, and that he was a son in all respects worthy of such a father. Prince Henry left by his wife Ada, the daughter of the Earl of Warenne and Surrey, three sons: Malcolm, who succeeded his grandfather; William, surnamed the Lion; and David, Earl of Huntingdon; and three daughters. The afflicted monarch roused himself from his grief to provide for the succession of his grandson, Malcolm, a child in his twelfth year. He ordered the youthful prince to be proclaimed heir to the crown, and sent him on a progress through his dominions, to receive the homage of the barons and the people. He also settled his Northumbrian territories on his grandson William, and presented the boy to the barons of that province as their future ruler, and required them to promise obedience to his authority. Having completed these prudent arrangements, the aged king, within a year, followed his son to the grave. He died at Carlisle, on the 24th of May, 1153. In striking and beautiful consistency with his life, he was found dead in an attitude of devotion. "His death had been so tranquil," says Aldred, "that you would not have believed he was dead. He was found with his hands clasped devoutly upon his breast, in the very posture in which he seems to have been raising them to heaven."

Death of Prince Henry—

—and of David.

The remarkable liberality of David to the church was highly extolled by the monkish historians his contemporaries, and has been as severely censured in later times. "Had David duly considered," says Major, "the number of religious houses founded by his predecessors, the parsimony wherein churchmen, especially monks, ought to live, and the little allowance made by the Scots to their kings in those times, he would not lavishly have given the crown lands to nourish the sensuality of bishops, and spoil the devotion of monks."† To which Buchanan adds, that, "as in bodies too corpulent, the use of the members in some measure ceases, so wit, oppressed by plenty, began to languish, learning became nauseous, piety superstition, and vice was taught in the schools of virtue."‡ These complaints respecting the donations which David bestowed upon the clergy, were summed up in the pithy saying of James, the first of that name king of Scotland, that David "was ane soir sanct

David's grants to the church.

* W. Newbr. vol. i. chap. xxiv.; Fordun, lib. viii. chap. ii.; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 100. Fordun calls this adventurer Malcolm M'Heth. It is worthy of notice, however, that Mr. Gregory, a high authority on questions of this kind, states that the claim of Wimund seems, on minute inquiry, to have been well founded. See History of the Western Highlands and Isles, p. 15.

† Aldred ap. Fordun, lib v. chap. xlix., lii., liii.

* Ridpath's Border History, p. 88.

† Major de Gestis, Scot. lib. iii. chap. xi. p. 105.

‡ Rer. Scot. lib. vii. p. 120.

THE GREAT SEAL OF ALEXANDER I.

THE GREAT SEAL OF DAVID I.

(sore saint) for the crown."* But it has been justly remarked by Lord Hailes, "that we ought to judge of the conduct of men according to the notions of their age, not of ours. To endow monasteries may now be considered as a prodigal superstition, but in the days of David I. it was esteemed an act of pious beneficence." Much may be urged, too, in justification of this beneficence; and it may fairly be questioned whether any course could have been followed, better fitted to promote the civilization of a people just emerging from barbarism, as the Scots were at this period, than the erection, in all parts of the country, of these monastic establishments, which were, at the outset, not only seminaries of piety but of learning, for training men of business for the service of the state, as well as men of letters for the church; and which, moreover, served as a kind of general reservoirs for diffusing a knowledge of architecture, of agriculture and gardening, and other useful arts. No doubt, in process of time, many monasteries became the seats of sloth, ignorance, and debauchery, but candour should forbid us to ascribe accidental and unforeseen evils to the virtuous founder.†

David's justice—

David, however, had many other estimable qualities, besides his liberality to the church. He was at all times accessible to all classes of his subjects; his apartments were always open to suitors, for he had nothing secret but his counsels, says Aldred. On certain days of the week he sat at the gate of his palace, for the purpose of hearing and deciding the causes brought before him by the poor. He took great pains also to make them understand the reasons, and to convince them of the justice of his decisions; for, says Aldred, "they often argued with him, and he with them, when he refused to accept the person of the poor in judgment, contrary to justice, and they were very reluctant to acknowledge the equity of his decisions when adverse to their claims." His custom was to dismiss all his attendants at sunset, and to retire for solitary meditation. At daybreak he resumed his labours. He was fond of hunting, but he never permitted this amusement to interfere with the discharge of his duties. "I have seen him," says Aldred, "quit his horse, and dismiss his hunting equipage, when any, even of the meanest of his subjects, implored an audience."‡ So estimable, in a word, was the character of this excellent monarch, and so faithfully did he discharge the duties of his office, that Buchanan, who was no flatterer of princes, declares, that "he equalled all former kings in military science, and excelled them in the arts of peace; in so much, that if the best heads and greatest wits should set themselves to frame the character of an accomplished prince, they could never devise nor imagine such an one as he did express himself in the whole course of his life."§

—his estimable character.

* Bellenden, fol. 185.
† Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 115.
‡ Aldred apud Fordun, lib. v. c. xlix.; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 110.
§ Rer. Scot. lib. vii. p. 122.

The tide of Saxon colonization had, as we have seen, steadily set in during the three preceding reigns, but it flowed still more copiously after the accession of David to the Scottish throne. His education at the court of Henry I., his marriage to an English countess, and his long residence in England, had made him extremely partial to the institutions, manners, and customs of that country; and great numbers of Saxon, Norman, and Flemish settlers were attracted to his court, where they received a cordial welcome and munificent grants of land. Among the Northumbrian nobles who sought an asylum in Scotland from the vengeance of William the Conqueror, were the powerful Earl Gospatric, the founder of the great family of the Earls of March; Arkel, the progenitor of the Earls of Lennox; and Siward, the founder of a distinguished family, which terminated in an heiress, who carried the estates to the Maxwells. Among the Anglo-Normans who settled in North Britain during the reign of David, the most eminent was Hugh de Moreville, the Constable of Scotland, who acquired vast possessions in Lauderdale, the Lothians, and Ayrshire, and was the original founder of Dryburgh Abbey. The ancestor of the Riddells came from Yorkshire before 1116, and settled in Roxburghshire, of which he was one of the earliest sheriffs. The Corbets, a Shropshire family, acquired lands in Teviotdale about the same period. The Lindsays came from Essex, and obtained from David, a grant of estates in upper Clydesdale and in the Lothians. The ancestor of the Somervilles was the second son of a Norman baron, who came over with the Conqueror, and obtained from him lands in Staffordshire and Gloucestershire. The Umphravilles came from Redesdale in Northumberland. The Maxwells are descended from Maccus, the son of Unwyn, who attached himself to David before his accession to the throne; as did the ancestor of the family of de Sules, or de Soulis, who followed him from Northamptonshire into Scotland, and was rewarded by a grant of Liddesdale and other lands, both in Teviotdale and in Lothian. His descendant, Nicolas de Soulis, was one of the competitors for the crown with Baliol and Bruce, in 1290, and the whole family seem to have been involved in the ruinous effects of that memorable contest. The ancestor of the Oliphants, as we have seen, accompanied David in his flight from Winchester, in 1142, and was rewarded by a grant of the manors of Smailholm and Crailing, in Roxburghshire. The ancestor of the noble family of Seton was a Norman, named de Say, who obtained from David, lands in East Lothian, designated from him Say-ton, which his descendants assumed as their surname. The Keiths, Earls Marischal, are descended from Hervei, the son of Warin, who received from David, a grant of the manor of Keith in East Lothian. The progenitors of the Maules and Melvilles, the de Quincies, Berkeleys, Herrieses, Cunninghams, Lockharts, Ramsays, Falconers, Rollos, Colvilles, Gor-

Settlement of Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Normans in Scotland.

dons, Grahams, Rosses, Sinclairs, Frasers, and many other families celebrated in Scottish history, sprung from Anglo-Norman lineage, and settled in Scotland during the twelfth century. The ancestor of the Hays was an Anglo-Norman, who acted as Pincerna to Malcolm IV., and to William the Lion, in the early part of his reign. The progenitor of the Ruthvens was Thor, a Danish chief, who came from the north of England, and settled in Scotland under David I. Radulph, the founder of the Kinnaird family, obtained from William the Lion, before the year 1184, the lands of Kinnaird in the Carse of Gowrie. The Kers are a branch of an Anglo-Norman family, which settled in Roxburghshire during the thirteenth century. The powerful family of the Cumyns, which acted so conspicuous a part in the wars of Bruce and Baliol, came from Northumberland during the reign of David I. A younger son of this family held the office of chancellor from 1133 to 1142. Bernard de Baliol, the founder of the Baliol family, came from Barnard Castle in Durham, and was a courtier of David I. Robert de Bruis or Bruce, the founder of the illustrious family of Bruce, was an opulent Yorkshire baron, who received from King David, his friend and companion in arms, a grant of Annandale. The royal family of the Stuarts are descended from Walter, the son of Alan, a Shropshire baron, who obtained from David I., and his successor Malcolm IV., extensive possessions and a high office. The progenitors of the immortal patriot Wallace settled under the Stuarts in Renfrewshire and Ayrshire. The Hamiltons derive their descent from the two younger sons of Robert, Earl of Leicester, the grandson of one of the barons who came over with the Conqueror. Their settlement in Scotland took place during the reign of William the Lion. During the same reign, the Dundasses, Grays, Mortimers, Mowbrays, Gourlays, Anstruthers, Montfichets or Muschets, Bissets, Cheynes, and Grants, all of Anglo-Norman lineage, settled in Scotland. The ancestor of the great family of the Campbells obtained a settlement in Argyle, as early as the twelfth century, by marrying the heiress of O'Dubhin, a Gaelic chief, with whom he obtained Lochow. His descendant, Sir Nigel Campbell, who married Mary, the sister of Robert Bruce, joined that hero at the outset of his enterprise, and adhered to him in prosperity and in adversity, till his final triumph at Bannockburn. Not a few of the most eminent families in Scotland are of Flemish origin. The Sutherlands, Morays, Douglasses, Leslies, Flemings, Inneses, and many others, all owe their descent to Flemish ancestors. The Flemings, indeed, were the most enterprising race of the twelfth century, and all classes of them settled in every district of North Britain, especially in the towns and hamlets. So great was the number of Flemings who settled in Scotland at this period, that they obtained the right to be governed by their own laws. The illustrious family of the Douglasses are derived from "Theobald, the Fleming," who, between 1147 and 1160, obtained from Arnold, the Abbot of Kelso, the grant of some lands on the Douglas Water in Lanarkshire. Bartholomew, a Flemish chief who settled in the district of Gairoch, Aberdeenshire, was the ancestor of the Leslies. Another Flemish chief, named Freskin, obtained from David the lands of Strathbrock in West Lothian, and at a later date, after the suppression of an insurrection among the turbulent inhabitants of Morayshire, was rewarded by the grant of some of the most fertile lands in that district. He was the progenitor both of the Earls of Sutherland, and of the celebrated family of Moray, one of whom, the gallant Sir Andrew, was the associate of Wallace and of Bruce, whose sister, Christian, he married. "Such," says Chalmers, "were the Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Belgic families, who were the principal settlers among the Gaelic people of Scotland, during this period of her annals; such were the men who governed Scotland throughout the Scoto-Saxon period, who formed her constitution and administered her laws, who established her church and transmitted her authorities, who vindicated her rights and restored her independence." *

David was succeeded by his grandson, MALCOLM IV., a youth only in his twelfth year. This was the first of the minorities which were of such frequent occurrence in the government of Scotland, and was attended with not a few of the calamities which usually fall upon the nation "whose king is a child." The old Celtic law of succession was now again in opposition to the Saxon rule. According to the former, the true heir of the throne was William, termed the Boy of Egremont, the son of William Fitz-Duncan, and grandson of Duncan, who was Malcolm Canmore's eldest son.† His claims were supported by no less than seven earls—of whom the principal were the earls of Strathern, Ross and Orkney—and by the great body of the Celtic inhabitants of the country. But notwithstanding the powerful support given to the Boy of Egremont, this attempt, like every other, to re-establish the old law of succession, failed of success, and the Celtic race were obliged to submit to the sway of the Saxon kings of the family of Malcolm Canmore, and to the prowess of the Saxon and Norman barons whom their prudent policy attracted to the Scottish court.

Accession of Malcolm IV., 1153.

A few months after Malcolm's accession, the tranquillity of the country was disturbed by the invasion of Somerled, the powerful chief of the Isles, whose daughter or sister, as we have seen, had married the adventurer Wimund, or Malcolm Mac Heth, the alleged son of Angus, Earl of Moray.‡ The events of this war, which lasted for several years, are unknown; but in 1157, the contest was brought to a close by a treaty, which was considered so important, as to form an epoch, from which royal charters were dated.§ About this time, also, occurred Malcolm's

Invasion of Somerled.

* Caledonia, vol. i. book iv. chap. i.

† The Boy of Egremont died in his nonage; his connexion with this insurrection has not been very clearly established.

‡ Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 118.

§ Sir James Dalrymple's Collections, p. 425.

first transaction with the English king. Eight years before this, Henry had an interview with David, at Carlisle, and received from him the honour of knighthood. On that occasion he made oath, that, if ever he attained the English crown, he would restore Newcastle to the Scottish king, and cede to him and his heirs for ever the whole territory between Tyne and Tweed. Instead of performing this solemn engagement, however, Henry now demanded the restitution of those territories which Malcolm already held in England. An interview between the monarchs took place at Chester, and Malcolm, young and inexperienced, either overreached by the superior cunning of the English king, or betrayed by the treachery of his counsellors, whom Henry had corrupted,* not only relinquished his claim to the territory to the north of the Tyne, but also abandoned to England his whole possessions in the northern counties, and received in return the earldom of Huntingdon, which Henry appears to have taken from Malcolm's younger brother, David, to whom it had been bequeathed by the late king.† Malcolm is stated, at the same time, to have performed homage to Henry, in the same manner as his grandfather had done to Henry I., "reserving all his dignities." This step produced deep and universal discontent among Malcolm's subjects. The following year (1158), he repaired to the English court at Carlisle, with the view of receiving the honour of knighthood from Henry. But this interview ended in a quarrel, and Malcolm returned home in disgust, without having obtained the coveted distinction. He seems, however, to have been bent on procuring the object of his ambition, at whatever cost; and when Henry set out on his expedition for the recovery of Toulouse, in 1159, Malcolm went with him to France, and was knighted by him there.

Malcolm overreached by Henry II.

The Scottish nobles and people, however, were indignant at the conduct of their king, in forgetting his station as an independent prince, and fighting under the banner of the English monarch; and they sent a deputation into France, to remonstrate against this desertion of his duty on the part of their sovereign. "We will not," said the deputies, "have Henry to rule over us." Malcolm was constrained to comply with their wishes, and to return with all haste to his own dominions. The supporters of the Boy of Egremont seem to have regarded this as a favourable opportunity for urging his claims; and while Malcolm was holding a great council at Perth,‡ Ferquhard, or Feretach, Earl of Strathern, and five other earls, conspired to seize the person of their sovereign, and assaulted the tower in which he had taken refuge; but a reconciliation was effected by the intervention of the clergy. "The intentions of these noblemen," says the continuator of Fordun, "were not traitorous or selfish, but singly directed to the welfare of the state."* At this critical period, also, a formidable insurrection broke out in Galloway; partly, it would appear, from the jealousy with which the Celtic inhabitants of that district viewed the introduction of Saxon settlers, and Saxon laws and customs. Malcolm promptly led an army against the insurgents, but was twice repulsed by them. With characteristic intrepidity he attacked them a third time, and obtained a complete victory. Fergus, the Lord of Galloway, submitted to the authority of Malcolm, gave his son, Uchtred, as a hostage, and assumed the habit of a canon-regular in the Abbey of Holyrood, where he died in 1161.†

Discontent of the Scottish people.

Insurrection in Galloway—

The turbulent inhabitants of the province of Moray, "whom," says Fordun, "no solicitations or largesses could allure, no treaties or oaths could bind to their duty," like the men of Galloway, were indignant at the intrusion of foreign settlers, and the introduction of foreign manners. They had often rebelled against the Scottish government, and at this juncture they once more raised the standard of revolt, "in support of their native principles, and in defence of their ancient laws." After a violent struggle, Malcolm finally succeeded in suppressing the rebellion, and completely crushed the powerful family which had hitherto possessed the title of Earl of Moray, and bestowed that dignity upon the earls of Mar. It is asserted by some historians, that he had recourse to the strong measure of dispossessing the ancient inhabitants of the province, removing them to other parts of the country, and planting new colonies in their room. But such a step, if adopted at all, could have been only very partially carried into effect. There can be no doubt, however, that Malcolm availed himself of the favourable opportunity afforded by the suppression of this revolt, to abrogate many of the ancient customs of the province, and to introduce Saxon laws in their room, and to subject the district completely to his authority.

—and in Moray.

From some unexplained cause, the ambitious Somerled a second time declared war against Malcolm, and, assembling a numerous army from Argyle, Ireland, and the Isles, he sailed up the Clyde (1164) with one hundred and sixty galleys, and landed his forces near Renfrew, threatening, as some of the chroniclers inform us, to make a conquest of the whole of Scotland. Here, according to the Chronicle of Melrose,‡ Somerled was slain, with his son, Gilliecolane, and his great armament dispersed by a very inferior force of the Scots. According to tradition, however, this celebrated chief was assassinated in his tent, by a person in whom he placed confidence; and his troops, thus deprived of their leader, returned in haste to the Isles, suffering severely in their retreat from the attacks of their enemies.§

Defeat and death of Somerled.

* Fordun, lib. viii. c. iii.
† R. Hoveden, p. 491; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 120.
‡ Chron. Mel. 1160.

* Fordun, lib. viii. c. iv.
† Ibid.; Chron. S. Crucis; Hailes, vol. i. p. 124.
‡ Chron. Mel. p. 169.
§ Gregory's History of the Western Highlands, p. 16.

This was Malcolm's last exploit, for he died soon after at Jedburgh, on the 9th of December, 1165, in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

Some historians affirm, that Malcolm was deprived of the government shortly before his death. Bower relates that Malcolm, having made a vow of perpetual chastity, and being intent on divine things, neglected the administration of his kingdom; that from these causes he became odious to the people, who constrained his brother William to accept the office of Regent.* The story of Malcolm's vow of chastity appears to have been a fable, in all probability founded upon his surname of the Maiden, which is supposed to have been given to him on account of his youthful and effeminate countenance; for it is known from one of his own charters, that he had a natural son.† If such a revolution as has been mentioned did actually take place, it may have been caused by Malcolm's surrender of the northern counties to England, and his impolitic attachment to the English monarch.

Malcolm was succeeded by his brother WILLIAM, the second son of Henry, Prince of Scotland, and grandson of David the First. The new monarch began his reign by courting the friendship of the English king. Contrary to the advice of his counsellors, he passed over to the Continent to Henry, who was engaged in suppressing an insurrection in Brittany, and spent his Christmas with him in the famous old castle on Mount St. Michael. If the object of William in thus paying court to the English monarch was to obtain the restitution of Northumberland, he was disappointed in his expectations. But Henry kept up his hopes with fair promises, and agreed to prolong the truce with Scotland, because it was for his own interest to preserve peace on the borders, during his absence on the Continent. William seems, ere long, to have discovered that he had been amused with fruitless expectations, for, in 1168, he sent ambassadors to France, to negotiate an alliance with that kingdom against England. This is the first negotiation between Scotland and France of which we have any authentic information.‡ Two years later, however, when Henry, the eldest son of the English king, was associated with his father in the government, both William and his younger brother, David, were present at his coronation (14th June, 1170), and both did homage to the youthful monarch along with the other English barons. But, in 1170, when a quarrel broke out between Henry and his son, the Scottish king, apparently wearied of fruitless solicitations, joined in confederacy with the young king, and obtained from him a grant of the earldom of Northumberland for himself, and of that of Cambridge for his brother David. Stimulated by these concessions, William raised an army and invaded England. This inroad terminated, however, in the fruitless devastation of the country, and a truce was agreed to, which was prolonged to the close of Lent in the following year. In 1174, he again invaded Northumberland; and while the rest of his army spread themselves over the country, burning and destroying wherever they came, William, with a small body of troops, lay in careless security near Alnwick. While thus engaged, he was, on the 12th of July, suddenly surprised and made prisoner by a party of Yorkshire barons, headed by Ranulf de Glanville. They had set out from Newcastle at an early hour that morning, with a party of four hundred horse, and reached the neighbourhood of Alnwick without being discovered. During their march, a thick mist fell and bewildered them, so that they became uncertain of their road. Some of the more cautious or timid proposed to turn back. "If you should all turn back," said Bernard de Baliol, one of their leaders, "I will go forward alone." Animated by this declaration, they rode forward, and in a short time discovered the battlements of Alnwick Castle. In their way they suddenly encountered the Scottish king, who was riding in the fields with a slender train of sixty horsemen. William so little expected an attack of this nature, that he at first mistook the English for a returning party of his own stragglers. On perceiving his error, however, he cried out, "Now it will be seen who are true knights," and instantly charged the enemy with the handful of men who attended him. But he was speedily overpowered by superior numbers, unhorsed, and taken prisoner. His companions and several of his nobles, who were not present at the conflict, voluntarily shared the fate of their sovereign. The English barons carried off their royal prize with all celerity, and returned in safety to Newcastle that night. William was at first confined in the castle of Richmond; thence he was taken to Northampton, to meet King Henry, and was brought before him with his feet tied under his horse's belly—an act of wanton and indecent barbarity, which is calculated to give a very unfavourable idea of the personal character of the English king.* A few days after, Henry carried his prisoner to Falaise, in Normandy. In this strong fortress he was confined till the month of December following, when he regained his liberty by disgracefully surrendering the independence of his country. With the consent of the Scottish barons and clergy, given at Valogne on the 8th of December, 1174, William became the liegeman of Henry for Scotland, and all his other territories.† He agreed to deliver up to the English king the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, Berwick, and Jedburgh, and gave his brother David and twenty of his prin-

Accession of William II., A.D. 1165.

War between William and Henry II.

William taken prisoner.

Disgraceful surrender of the independence of Scotland.

* Fordun, lib. viii. c. vi.
† Chart. Kelso, fol. 16; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 129.
‡ Haile's Annals, vol. i. p. 131.

* This is the account given by Hoveden (See Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 135); it is proper to add, however, that Jordan Fantosme, who has given a minute account in rhyme of William's capture, makes no mention of this circumstance, and states, that Henry had departed for Normandy before the Scottish king could be presented to him.
† Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 140; Hoveden, p. 550.

1. Seal of Malcolm IV.
2. Seal of William I.
3. Coin of William I.
4. Privy Seal David
5. 6. of Edwa[illegible] I.

cipal barons as hostages for the performance of the treaty. It is worthy of remark that, while the independence of the nation was bartered away in this weak and pusillanimous manner, a prudent and memorable clause, as it has been termed, was introduced into the treaty, leaving entire the independence of the Scottish Church. This clause was successfully pleaded by the bishops and clergy before the Papal legate, in a council held at Northampton (1176), when Henry required them "to yield that obedience to the English Church which they ought to yield, and were wont to yield in the days of his predecessors." The Scottish clergy, though on English ground, and in the power of Henry, boldly made answer, "that they had never yielded subjection to the English Church, nor ought they."*

Return of William to Scotland.

In the beginning of the following year (1175), William returned to Scotland along with his brother David, and on the 10th of August following, he and his clergy and barons did homage to Henry at York, in terms of the treaty of Falaise. Meantime his captivity was the signal for an insurrection among the turbulent inhabitants of Galloway. Fergus, the chief of that province, who was subdued by Malcolm IV., died in 1161. According to the ancient Celtic law of inheritance, his territories were divided between his two sons, Uchtred and Gilbert. At the head of their clansmen, these chiefs were in attendance upon King William during that disastrous expedition into Northumberland which terminated in his captivity. On the loss of their sovereign, the Scottish army made a precipitate retreat into their own country. The Gallowaymen retired into their native fastnesses, and, with their characteristic turbulence and jealousy of foreigners, they availed themselves of this favourable opportunity to attack the Saxons and Normans who had settled in their district, and to expel the regal officers. They proceeded next to turn their arms against each other (September 22, 1176), and Gilbert caused his brother Uchtred to be assassinated with circumstances of horrible barbarity.† His attempts, however, to possess himself of his murdered brother's inheritance were gallantly resisted by Roland, the son of Uchtred; and next year, William, having regained his liberty, marched into Galloway in order to chastise Gilbert; but instead of executing justice upon him for his double crime of murder and rebellion, he contented himself with exacting a pecuniary satisfaction, according to the ancient Celtic custom. In 1176, Gilbert presented himself, among the other Scottish barons, at York, did homage to the English king, and was received into favour. Henry is said to have sold his protection to the fratricide for a thousand marks. In 1184, this turbulent and ferocious chief, trusting probably to the protection of Henry, again took up arms, and began to lay waste and plunder the country with his wonted barbarity. Terms of accommodation were offered him, which he rejected; but his death in the following year freed the country from his devastations.

Feuds in Galloway.

Roland, the son of Uchtred, promptly availed himself of the favourable opportunity afforded by the death of Gilbert, to obtain possession of the whole province of Galloway. On the 4th of July, 1185, he defeated the adherents of Gilbert, and slew Gilpatric, their leader. With equal courage and success he overthrew and dispersed a formidable band of robbers who had overrun the country.* The Scottish king, it is alleged, was gratified by these enterprises of the gallant Roland; but Henry was highly incensed, and in 1186, he assembled a powerful army at Carlisle, with the intention to invade Galloway. Roland, however, was not dismayed. He fortified the passes of the country, and prepared to offer the most desperate resistance. But a compromise was afterwards made. It was agreed that Roland should retain the possessions which had been held by his father, Uchtred, and should submit to the decision of the English court as to what had belonged to Gilbert, and was now claimed by his son Duncan. Henry was satisfied with the acknowledgment thus made of the paramount authority of England, and William granted to Duncan the territory of Carrick, a district of ancient Galloway, as a full satisfaction for all his claims.

In the meantime, and during all the remainder of Henry's reign, entire harmony subsisted between England and Scotland. On the death of Simon de St. Lis, Earl of Huntingdon, without issue, Henry restored the earldom to the Scottish king, who conferred it on his brother David. On the 5th of September, 1186, William, on the proposal of Henry, married, at Woodstock, Ermengarde, daughter of Richard, Viscount of Beaumont, and the descendant of an illegitimate daughter of Henry I.; on which, as part of the dower of the young queen, "his cousin," the English king restored to William the castle of Edinburgh.† Two years afterwards he offered also to give up the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, if William would pay the tenths of his kingdom for the holy war. The proposal was submitted to an assembly of the clergy and nobility, but they made answer, that "they would never pay the tenth, although both kings should have sworn to levy them."

Scarcely were the commotions in Galloway suppressed, when the Celtic inhabitants, in various parts of the country, took up arms against the new settlers, and forced them to seek shelter in the fortified places. In the more remote districts, the native chiefs exercised almost a regal sway; and notwithstanding the vigorous measures adopted by Malcolm IV. to reduce them to obedience, it is evident that they still acknowledged, at the utmost, only a qualified dependence upon the Scottish

* Rym. Foed. vol. i. p. 39.
† Fordun, lib. viii. c. xxv.; Benedict. Abbas. p. 92; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 151.

* Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 152; Chron. Mel. p. 176; Fordun, lib. viii. c. xxxix.
† Chron. Mel. p. 176; Hoveden, p. 632; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 153.

crown. The inhabitants of Moray revolted in 1171.

Insurrection in Moray and Ross.

In 1179, William and his brother David were obliged to march into the district of Ross, to suppress some disturbances which had arisen there. They erected two fortresses to bridle the turbulent inhabitants of that wild and remote province, but without the desired effect. It is probable that these commotions were caused by the pretensions of Donald Bane, who claimed the crown as the son of William and grandson of Duncan, commonly called the bastard king of Scotland, and, as usual, obtained the support of the Northern chiefs. For seven years he held out the earldoms of Moray and Ross against all the power of the Scottish king, plundering the rest of the country far and wide. At length, in 1187, while William lay with his army at Inverness, a marauding party, commanded by Roland, the lord of Galloway, accidentally met Donald on the heath of Mamgarvy, accompanied only by a small body of his followers, attacked, and slew him.* By his death, tranquillity was restored to the country.

A singular incident is related by Buchanan, on the authority of an old chronicler, as having occurred to William on his return from the expedition against Donald Bane. Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, for the great services performed by him to the crown and nation in this and the preceding reign, had the king's sister given him in marriage, who, abusing his bed, he caused her to be slain. This murder so enraged the king against him, that, forgetting former services, he devastated his castles, confiscated his estate, and banished him the kingdom, whereupon he retired to England. But in the treaty between William and Henry, it being stipulated that neither of the contracting powers shall shelter their respective enemies, Gilchrist was obliged to leave England, and, returning to Scotland with his two sons, shifted from place to place, passing their time in great misery and want; but being seen by the king on the road in the neighbourhood of Perth, in the disguise of farmers, by their mien they discovered themselves to be above that station, and on William's approach left the way, to prevent discovery. This shyness raising William's curiosity, he had them brought before him, when, inquiring who they were, Gilchrist, kneeling, in a very moving speech acquainted him with their lamentable condition, wherewith the king was so sensibly touched, that he not only pardoned him, but restored him to his former honours, favour, and estate.†

The death of Henry II., 6th July, 1189, led to an important and memorable event,

Recovery of the independence of the country.

the recovery of the independence of the kingdom. Richard Cœur de Lion, his successor, then intent upon collecting money for his expedition to the Holy Land, invited the King of Scotland to his court at Canterbury, and upon William's engagement to pay to him the sum of ten thousand marks sterling—equal to about one hundred thousand pounds sterling at the present day, agreed to restore the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, "to be possessed by him and his heirs for ever, as their own proper inheritance." "Moreover," the charter proceeds, "We have granted to him an acquittance of all obligations which our father extorted from him, by new instruments, in consequence of his captivity, under this condition always, that he shall completely and fully perform to us whatever his brother Malcolm, King of Scotland, of right performed, or ought of right to have performed, to our predecessors."* The boundaries of the two kingdoms were at the same time re-established, as they had existed at the date of William's imprisonment. The Scottish king was put in possession of all his fees in the earldom of Huntingdon or elsewhere, and all the charters of homage done to Henry II. by the Scottish barons were delivered up, and declared to be cancelled for ever.

There can be no doubt that Richard, by this instrument, made a full renunciation, at least of whatever new rights of sovereignty over Scotland had been extorted from William by the treaty of Falaise. As Mr. Allan remarks, "The charter replaces the two kingdoms on their ancient footing, and leaves it open for discussion, what were the lands and possessions for which homage and fealty were due to the English crown. But from one of the most full and accurate of our contemporary chroniclers, it is apparent that the independence of Scotland was understood at the time to be the effect and purport of the treaty. Benedictus Abbas, in his account of the transaction, informs us that William did homage to Richard for his English dignities, and that Richard, on the part of himself and his successors, granted to the Scotch king, and to his heirs for ever, an acquittance from all allegiance and subjection for the kingdom of Scotland." It is owing to this wise and just treaty, which the later English historians have censured as impolitic, and to the fidelity with which it was observed on both sides, that for more than a century after its date, there occurred no national quarrel or hostilities between the two countries. The sum which William paid for this valuable boon could not have been raised without considerable difficulty among a people so poor as the Scots were at this period; and there is reason to believe that an Act was granted to him, for the payment of the ransom, by a convention of the clergy and barons held at Musselburgh. Lord Hailes concludes, from the terms of a charter granted by William to the Abbey of Scone, that the clergy (who contributed a share of the aid) re-imbursed themselves, to a certain extent at least, by imposing something of the nature of a capitation tax on the inhabitants of their territories, and that this tax was so burdensome, as to induce some of the inhabitants to leave their places of residence in order to elude payment.† It is worthy of notice, as

* Fordun, lib. viii. c. xxviii.; Chron. Mel. p. 177; Buchan. Hist. lib. vii. p. 126; Major Hist. lib. iv. c. v. p. 136.

† Lib. vii. p. 126.

* Rym. Foed. vol. i. p. 64; Hoveden, p. 662; Bened. Abb. p. 576; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 155.

† Annals, vol. i. p. 156 (note).

indicating the kindly feelings which William entertained towards his benefactor, that when Richard was treacherously made prisoner by the Duke of Austria, on his way home from the Holy Land, the Scottish king sent two thousand marks to assist in paying the price of his redemption.*

Adventures of David, the king's brother.

David, Earl of Huntingdon, heir presumptive to the Scottish crown, accompanied Richard in his crusade, and shared both in his successes and in his misfortunes.† He was shipwrecked on the coast of Egypt, and taken prisoner by the Saracens, who sold him as a slave. Having concealed his rank, he was purchased for a small sum by a Venetian, who brought him to Constantinople. There he was accidentally recognized by some English merchants, who ransomed and sent him home. On his homeward voyage he was overtaken by a violent storm, and narrowly escaped a second shipwreck on the coast of Scotland. He ascribed his deliverance to the Virgin Mary; and, as a token of his gratitude for her intercession, he founded a monastery for Tyrone monks, at Lindores, in Fife.

Scarcely any events worthy of notice occurred during the remaining years of William's reign. In

Insurrection of Harold, Earl of Orkney.

1196, the peace of the northern counties was disturbed by an insurrection, headed by Harold, Earl of Orkney and Caithness. William, with his usual promptitude, marched against the insurgents, and speedily dispersed them. In the following year, however, they again appeared in arms near Inverness, under Torfin, the son of Harold, and a second time they were defeated by the royal army. The king now marched through Ross and Caithness to the northern extremity of the country, where he seized Harold, and detained him in captivity until his son, Torfin, surrendered himself as a hostage. Harold was allowed to retain the northern part of his earldom, but the southern division was bestowed upon Hugh Freskin, the progenitor of the earls of Sutherland. Fordun says, that William, returning from this expedition into Caithness, "passed over again into Scotland," which shows that at this period the northern province was not included in Scotland proper. The chiefs of that remote district had hitherto been accustomed to consider themselves subject to the Danish, rather than to the Scottish crown. Harold having again rebelled, his son, as a punishment for his father's reiterated insurrections, and his own turbulence, had his eyes put out, and perished miserably in prison, in the castle of Roxburgh.‡

On the accession of John to the English throne, A.D. 1199, William did homage to him at Lincoln, "saving his own rights." After the performance of the ceremony, the Scottish monarch endeavoured, but without effect, to obtain the restitution of the three northern counties of England, which he claimed as his ancient inheritance. Two years after, a misunderstanding arose between the two kings, respecting a fort which John erected at Tweedmouth to overawe the garrison at Berwick, and which William repeatedly demolished as soon as it was built. The quarrel increased to such an extent, that a war threatened to arise out of it; and, in 1209, John led an army to Norham, while William assembled his forces at Berwick. But by the intervention of the barons of both countries, hostilities were averted, and a treaty of peace was concluded between the kingdoms. John became bound not to rebuild the castle of Tweedmouth, and William, on his part, agreed to pay fifteen thousand marks "for procuring his friendship, and for fulfilling certain conventions between them."* William also delivered his two daughters to John, that they might be provided with suitable matches. The Scottish writers affirm, that by the terms of the agreement, Henry and Richard, the sons of John, were to marry the two princesses. If so, this stipulation was not fulfilled. At a great council or parliament held at Stirling, in 1211, William asked assistance to enable him to fulfil the stipulations of this treaty, and received from the barons a grant of ten thousand marks, and six thousand from the boroughs.†

Misunderstanding between John and William.

In the meantime, a new insurrection broke out among the turbulent inhabitants of Ross, who were not even yet reconciled to the government of the Saxon descendants of Malcolm Canmore. Guthred, a descendant of William Fitz-Duncan, and the son of Donald Bane, who fell A.D. 1187, asserted his claim to the throne, and, landing from Ireland, spread devastation through the northern provinces. William, in spite of his age and infirmities, led an army against him in person; but Guthred kept possession of the mountain fastnesses of the north for some time, and baffled every attempt on the part of the king to take him, until he was treacherously betrayed into the hands of Comyn, Earl of Buchan, Justiciary of Scotland, and executed, A.D. 1212.‡

Insurrection of Guthred.

This was the last exploit of William, who, after a long illness, died at Stirling on the 4th of December, 1214, in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-ninth year of his reign—the longest reign in the range of Scottish history. Besides six natural children, he left by his queen, Ermengarde de Beaumont, one son and two daughters, Marjory and Isabel; the former of whom was married to the celebrated Hubert de Burgh, Justiciary of England, and the latter to Gilbert, Earl-marshal of that kingdom. Before the reign of William, none of the Scottish kings seem to have assumed armorial bearings.§ The Lion Rampant, the Royal Arms of Scotland, first appears on his seal;

Death of William, 1214.

Origin of the Royal Arms of Scotland.

* Chron. Mel. p. 179.

† Boece, Hist. book xiii.; Buchan. Hist. lib. vii. p. 126. Few of our readers will need to be reminded of the conspicuous part which David is made to perform in Sir Walter Scott's "Talisman."

‡ Fordun, lib. viii. c. lvi.

* Rym. Foed. vol. i. p. 155; Hailes, vol. i. p. 164.

† Fordun, lib. viii. c. lxxiii.

‡ Ibid. c. lxxvi.; Hailes, vol. i. p. 165.

§ Anderson's Diplomata, p. 54.

and it is probable, that from this circumstance he received the surname of The Lion. From a similar cause, the president of the Herald's Court in Scotland is termed Lord Lion King-at-Arms. It is worthy of notice, that most of the rulers of the northern countries of Europe, the kings of England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark, the native princes of Wales, the dukes of Normandy, the counts of Flanders, Holland, Hainault, &c., all about the same period—during the twelfth century—appear, as with one accord, to have adopted a lion as their cognizance; and that the assumption of the eagle by the monarchs of the eastern and southern portions of Europe took place almost contemporaneously.*

Accession of Alexander II.

ALEXANDER II., a youth in his seventeenth year, ascended the throne on the death of his father William, and was crowned at Scone on the 10th of December, 1214. One of the first acts of his reign was to enter into an alliance with the patriotic English barons against King John, in expectation of regaining the northern counties; and having crossed the borders, he invested the castle of Norham, but without success. John was so incensed, that he marched to the north with a mixed and savage host of mercenaries—the outcasts and freebooters of Europe—headed by "Buch the Murderer," "Godeschal the Iron-hearted," "Falco without Bowels," "Manleon the Bloody," and other ruffians of a similar character, for the purpose of wreaking his vengeance on the disaffected barons and their adherents. His progress through Yorkshire and Northumberland was marked with flames and blood. The towns and castles of Morpeth, Mitford, Alnwick, Wark, and Roxburgh, together with all the villages and hamlets on the road, were given to the flames, John himself setting fire with his own hands in the morning to the house in which he had spent the preceding night, and the most shocking tortures were inflicted upon the inhabitants by the ferocious soldiery, to make them confess where they had concealed their money.† The Scottish king retired before a superior force; and John, vowing that he would "smoke the little red fox out of his covert,"‡ followed him as far as Edinburgh, burning the towns of Dunbar and Haddington on his way. Alexander having drawn together a powerful force, encamped on the river Esk, near Pentland, a few miles to the south of Edinburgh. John feeling disinclined to risk a battle, and unable to remain longer in a country which his savage fury had laid waste, hurried back to England, in his retreat setting fire to the Priory of Coldingham and the town of Berwick.

Savage conduct of King John.

In retaliation for these outrages, Alexander marched into England, and laid waste the western border counties with fire and sword. The Chronicle of Melrose states that the Scots in his army—meaning, probably, the Galwegians—burnt the Monastery of Holmcultram, in Cumberland, and that, in returning home with their plunder, nearly two thousand of them, as a judgment for their sacrilege, were drowned in the river Eden—rather, perhaps, in the shifting sands of the Solway Frith.* The Scottish king dismissed these ferocious plunderers from his army, and then advanced to the south to join Prince Louis, of France, whom the barons had invited over to assist them in protecting their rights, against their own detested and contemptible sovereign. On his way, he took possession of Carlisle and assaulted Barnard Castle, the seat of the Baliol family, where Eustace de Vesci, one of the leaders of the barons, was slain. Alexander, on reaching Dover, is said to have done homage to Louis for the possessions which he held from the King of England;† and Louis and the barons, on their part, expressly recognized the right of the Scottish king to the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and made oath that they would not conclude a separate peace.

Alexander invades England in concert with the English barons.

After the death of the infamous John (17th October, 1216), Alexander continued to co-operate with Prince Louis and the confederated barons; and as John, before his death, had made his peace with Rome, the king of the Scots, and his whole army and kingdom, were in consequence included in the excommunication which Gualo, the Pope's legate, fulminated against Louis and his adherents. The sentence seems to have been very little regarded either by the clergy or the people of Scotland—it was not even published by the former till after the lapse of nearly a twelvemonth.‡

Papal interdict—its removal.

The disgraceful overthrow of Louis next year (25th May, 1217), induced him to make peace with Henry III., the young king of England, without paying any regard to the interest of his Scottish ally. On hearing of the treaty, Alexander, who was on his march into England, returned home. He soon after effected his reconciliation both with Henry and the Papal See. On the 1st of December, 1217, he received absolution at Tweedmouth, from the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham, the delegates of Gualo; and at the same time he yielded up to Henry the town of Carlisle, and did homage for the earldom of Huntingdon and the other possessions which he held in England. In the following year, the papal legate and his delegates exacted large sums from the Scottish clergy as the price of absolution.§ Those who satisfied their exorbitant demands were at once relieved from the excommunication and interdict under which they had been laid; others were commanded to repair to Rome, to be absolved there; while a third class, who were either reluctant to submit to the authority of the legate, or to pay the price of reconciliation, were

* Planche's Pursuivant of Arms.

† Chron. Mel. p. 190; M. Paris, p. 275; Fordun, lib. ix. c. xxviii.

‡ M. Paris, p. 191—"because Alexander was of a red complexion," he adds; Hailes vol. i. p. 171.

* Chron. Mel. p. 190.

† Ibid. p. 191.

‡ Hailes, vol i. p. 173; Chron. Mel. p. 192: Fordun, lib ix. c. xxxi.

§ Fordun, lib. ix. c xxxii.

suspended or deposed. At length the clergy, wearied of these exactions, sent a deputation of three bishops to the Papal court, where, on a profession of penitence, they easily obtained absolution. "He must have a tender conscience," said a cardinal, in their hearing, "who confesses a crime when he has not been guilty of an offence."* Gualo was recalled, and the Pope confirmed the liberties of the Scottish Church, alleging as one of the grounds of this boon, "the respect and obedience which Alexander had manifested to the Papal see." It was agreed that the disputes between Henry and Alexander should be referred to Pandulph, the new Papal legate, but they remained undecided till 1237.

Marriage of Alexander.

On the 25th of June, 1221, Alexander married the princess Joan, Henry's eldest sister. This fortunate union had a most favourable effect in strengthening the bonds of amity between the two kingdoms; and it was followed by a long period of uninterrupted peace, which enabled the Scottish king to turn his undivided attention to the regulation of the internal affairs of his own kingdom, by the enactment of wise and just laws, many of which are still in force. Almost the only events that mark the history of the country during the next twelve or thirteen years, are some insurrections which broke out among the turbulent inhabitants of Argyle, Galloway, Moray, and Caithness, and were suppressed by the vigorous measures of the king. The disturbances in Caithness were caused by the rigorous exaction of tithes and other ecclesiastical dues, by the officers of Adam, the bishop of that province; and the bishop himself is alleged to have excommunicated the people for their refusal to comply with his demands. A great multitude having assembled to consider what course they should follow in these circumstances, one of them exclaimed, "Short rede, good rede—slay we the bishop." The crowd ran instantly to the episcopal residence at Halkirk, assaulted it with fury, set it on fire, and burnt the prelate alive in his own palace (A.D. 1222). Alexander, who was at Jedburgh on his way to England when he heard of this atrocious deed, immediately hastened to the north, and inflicted condign punishment on the murderers, putting, it is said, no fewer than four hundred of them to death. The Earl of Orkney and Caithness was accused of having abetted or connived at the murder, for when some of the bishop's servants, who had escaped through the flames, came in haste to him to crave assistance for their master, he coolly answered, "Let the bishop come to mé, and I will protect him." The earl was in consequence deprived of his estate, but the king afterwards permitted him to redeem it. In the year 1231, however, he was himself murdered in his own castle by his servants, and then burned, in revenge for this atrocious crime.†

Disturbances in Caithness—

* Fordun, lib. ix. c. xxxiii.

† Chron. Mel. p. 199; Fordun, lib. ix. c. xxxvii.; Boece, lib. xiii. p. 293.

The insurrection in Moray was connected with the claims of Gilliescop McScolane, a descendant of William Fitz-Duncan, to the earldom of that province. He at first obtained a temporary success—burnt the town of Inverness, spoiled the crown lands in that neighbourhood, and baffled the king himself, who went against him in person (A.D. 1228). Next year, however, he was betrayed into the hands of the Earl of Buchan, justiciary of Scotland, who put him and his two sons to death.* "He appears to have been the last of his race," says Mr. Skene, "and thus terminated those singular attempts to place a rival family on the throne of Scotland, which lasted during a period of upwards of one hundred years, and which exhibit so extraordinary a proof of the tenacity and perseverance with which the Highlanders maintained their peculiar laws of succession, and the claims of a hereditary title to the throne."

—in Moray.

The most formidable of these internal commotions was the last, which broke out in Galloway in 1233, on the death of Alan, the son of Roland, the chief of that district, and high constable of Scotland, leaving three daughters, but no male heir. This Alan of Galloway, who was the representative, in the female line, of the great family of the Morevilles, was the most powerful subject in the kingdom. His eldest daughter, Helen, by his first wife, married Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, who became Constable of Scotland in her right. By his second wife, Margaret, eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William the Lion, he left two daughters,—Christian, who married William de Fortibus, son of the Earl of Albemarle, but died without issue; and Devorguil, the wife of John Baliol, of Barnard Castle, whose son, John Baliol, was the succesful competitor for the crown, on the death of Margaret of Norway. The rude and turbulent Galwegians, who clung pertinaciously to their ancient customs, resolutely opposed the partition of their country among the heiresses of their late lord, and headed by Thomas, a bastard son of Alan, and Gilrodh or Gilderoy, an Irish chief, who had come to his assistance, they marched against the Scottish king, who was approaching to attack them, and ravaged the adjacent country with merciless fury. Alexander got entangled among morasses, and was placed in a situation of imminent peril, from which he was extricated by the Earl of Ross, who assailed the rebels in the rear, and discomfited them with great slaughter. Their leaders, Thomas and Gilrodh, made their escape to Ireland, but next year they returned with a fresh army, and renewed the war. This second attempt, however, was as unsuccessful as the first. The two leaders submitted to the king's mercy, and were pardoned, but their Irish followers, straggling towards the Clyde in the hope of being able to find a passage to their own country, fell into the hands of the citizens of Glasgow, who are said to have

—and Galloway.

* Fordun, lib. ix. c. xlvii.

beheaded them all with the exception only of two, whom they sent to Edinburgh to be hanged and quartered there.*

Dissensions between the Scottish and English kings—

About this period dissensions began to arise between the English and Scottish kings. Their claims upon each other had never been finally settled; and Henry, either from ambition or weakness, was induced to support the pretensions of the Archbishop of York to the right of officiating at the coronation of the Scottish kings, and to solicit Pope Gregory IX. to employ his authority with Alexander, to perform the conditions of the old treaty between Henry II. and William the Lion, in strange forgetfulness of the fact, that all claims under that treaty had been expressly renounced by Richard I.† The Pope accordingly issued a bull (A.D. 1234), admonishing the Scottish king to comply with the demands of Henry, "as his doing so would greatly conduce to the peace and tranquillity of both kingdoms." Instead of submitting to these claims, Alexander sent an ambassador to the English court, to demand the restitution of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, which he claimed in right of inheritance. He also alleged that his father, William, had paid to John, the father of Henry, the sum of fifteen thousand marks, on condition that Henry and Richard, the sons of John, should marry Margaret and Isabella, the daughters of William, which condition had not been performed, and that Henry himself had failed to perform his engagement to marry Marjory, another daughter of William's.

—their settlement.

These claims were not finally adjusted till September, 1237, when, at a conference held at York, in the presence of Otho, the Papal legate, it was agreed that Alexander should receive lands in Northumberland and Cumberland, of the yearly value of two hundred pounds, in full satisfaction of all his demands.‡ The following year (4th March, 1238), Joan, Alexander's queen, sister of Henry, who had been long in a declining state, died at Canterbury, without leaving any issue. In the course of next year (15th May, 1239) Alexander married again. His new queen was Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci, a great lord of Picardy, who, on account of his brave actions, extensive possessions, and three marriages with ladies of royal and illustrious families, was surnamed Le Grand.§ The death of Joan, and the alliance with a family which had always been hostile to the interests of England, weakened the bonds of amity between Alexander and Henry; but, for several years, their old friendship continued to exist, and in 1242, Henry, when about to set out on his expedition to France, confided to Alexander the care of the northern borders. But in this same year, an event occurred which drew after it important consequences.

Death of the queen, and second marriage of Alexander.

At a tournament held at Haddington, Walter Bisset, a member of a powerful family in the north, was overthrown by Patrick, Earl of Athole, a youth distinguished for his knightly accomplishments. It is alleged that the defeat was embittered by an old feud which existed between the Bissets and the family of Athole. A day or two after, the earl was murdered in the house where he lodged, which, probably for the purpose of concealing the atrocious crime, was set on fire by the assassins. Suspicion immediately fell upon the Bissets, and the nobility, headed by Patrick, Earl of March, and David de Hastings, who had married the aunt of Athole, flew to arms, and demanded vengeance, both upon Walter Bisset and his uncle William, the chief of the family, to whom popular clamour pointed as the author of the conspiracy. Bisset strenuously denied the charge. He urged that he was fifty miles distant from Haddington when the murder was committed. He instantly procured the sentence of excommunication against the assassins to be published, both in his own chapel and in all the churches of the kingdom. He offered to maintain his innocence by single combat, but he declined a trial by jury, "on account of the malevolence of the people and the implacable resentment of his enemies." The king strove to protect him from the fury of his enemies, and the queen, according to Fordun, offered to make oath, "that Bisset had never devised a crime so enormous;" that is to say, she was so convinced of his innocence, that she was willing to appear as one of his compurgators, if the case should be submitted to that mode of trial. At length it was decided that the estates of the Bissets should be forfeited, and that they should swear upon the Holy Gospel that they would make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and there, for the remainder of their lives, pray for the soul of the murdered earl.*

Murder of the Earl of Athole by the Bissets—

—their banishment.

Walter Bisset, however, escaped to England, and sought to avenge himself on his enemies at the expense of his country and of the king, to whose protection he owed his life. He artfully represented to the English monarch that he was lord superior of Scotland, and ought to have been first consulted before judgment was given; "that Alexander, being his vassal, had no right to inflict such punishments on his nobles without the permission of his liege lord;" and in order still farther to excite Henry against the Scottish king, he described Scotland as the ally of France, and as the asylum of the fugitive enemies of England. Henry, who was a weak monarch, was inflamed to such a pitch by these misrepresentations, that he determined on an im-

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 182; Fordun, lib. ix. c. xlviii.

† Rymer's Foed. vol. i. pp. 328, 334, 335.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. pp. 374—400; Ridpath's Border History, pp. 130—134.

§ The de Couci family affected great pomp, and professed to consider all titles as beneath their dignity. The *Cri de Guerre* of this Ingelram, was—

"Je ne suis Roy, ni Prince aussi,
Je suis le Seigneur de Couci."

* Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 157; Fordun, lib. ix. c. lix.; M. Paris, p. 508.

Great Seal of Alexander II.

Coin of Alexander II.

3. Seal of Euphemia Wife of Robert I

4. Coin Alexander III

mediate invasion of Scotland. He secretly applied to the Earl of Flanders for assistance, organized a confederacy of Irish chiefs to aid him in his enterprise, by making a descent upon the Scottish coast, and assembled a large body of troops, with which he marched to Newcastle. Alexander was nothing daunted at these preparations. He declared that he never did and never would consent to hold from the king of England any portion of the kingdom of Scotland; and, with the strenuous support of his nobles, he succeeded in raising an army of a hundred thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to repel the unprovoked invasion. Matthew Paris, a contemporary English historian, has given us an interesting description of the accoutrements and discipline of this powerful host, and of the spirit by which it was animated. "The Scottish cavalry," according to his account, "were brave and well mounted, although their horses were neither of the Spanish nor Italian breed, and the horsemen were clothed in armour of iron net-work. The infantry," he adds, "approached to one hundred thousand, all unanimous, all animated by the exhortations of their clergy and by confession, courageously to fight and resolutely to die in the just defence of their native land."* The hostile armies came in sight of each other at a place in Northumberland called Ponteland; but, fortunately for both countries, peace was concluded without bloodshed. Alexander, as M. Paris tells us, was "a devout, upright, and courteous person, justly beloved by all the English nation no less than by his own subjects." The English nobles were by no means favourable to the rash enterprise of their imbecile king; and, through the exertions of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry, and the Archbishop of York, a treaty was concluded (A.D. 1244) on equitable terms. Henry prudently waived all demand of homage from Alexander for the kingdom of Scotland; and the Scottish monarch, on the other hand, agreed always to bear good faith and love to Henry as his dear and liege lord, and never to enter into alliance with the enemies of Henry, or of his heirs, unless they should unjustly aggrieve him. It was also stipulated, that the treaty concluded at York in 1237 should be maintained, and that the proposal there made of a marriage between the son of the King of Scots and the daughter of Henry should be carried into effect. Allan Durward, Henry de Baliol, David de Lindsay, with other knights and prelates, then swore on the soul of their lord the king that the treaty should be kept inviolate by him and his heirs.†

Dispute between Henry III. and Alexander.

Peace concluded.

The only event of the reign of Alexander which remains to be noticed, is the maritime expedition which he undertook, in 1249, against Angus, Lord of Argyle, with the view of compelling that chief to pay to the Scottish crown the homage which he had been accustomed to render to the King of Norway. Alexander had conducted his fleet as far as the Sound of Mull, when he was seized with a fever, and died in a small island, named Kerrara (8th July), in the fifty-first year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign. He was buried in the Abbey of Melrose in accordance with his own desire. Alexander was undoubtedly one of the ablest and best of our Scottish princes; and he was justly characterized by Fordun as "a king pious, just, and brave; as the shield of the church, the safeguard of the people, and the friend of the miserable." He was a zealous supporter of the independence of the Scottish Church, and a liberal patron of the clergy, particularly of the Dominican or Black Friars, for whom he founded no fewer than eight monasteries at Edinburgh, Berwick, Ayr, Perth, Aberdeen, Elgin, Stirling, and Inverness. Boece supposes that his partiality to these mendicants may have arisen from his having seen their founder, St. Dominic, in France, about the year 1217. "The sight of a living saint," says Lord Hailes, "may have made an impression on his young mind; but, perhaps, he considered the mendicant friars as the cheapest ecclesiastics. His revenues could not supply the costly institution of Cistercians and canons regular, in which his great-grandfather, David I., took delight."*

Death of Alexander II.

Alexander was succeeded by his only son, ALEXANDER III., who had not completed his eighth year when the death of his father, on the 8th of July, 1249, opened to him the accession to the Scottish throne. He was immediately conducted by an assembly of the nobility to the Abbey of Scone, for the purpose of being crowned. It was objected by some of the nobles, that the king ought to be knighted before his coronation took place, and that the day fixed for the ceremony was unlucky. But Comyn, Earl of Menteith, urged the danger of delay, as Henry was intriguing at Rome to procure from the Pope an interdict against the coronation of the young prince, alleging that Alexander, being his liegeman, should not be anointed or crowned without his permission; and he proposed that the Bishop of St. Andrews should both knight and crown the youthful monarch, as William Rufus had been knighted by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury.† The patriotic arguments of Comyn prevailed. On the 13th of July, David de Bernham, the Bishop of St. Andrews, girded the king with the belt of knighthood, and then explained to him his duties, first in Latin, and afterwards in Norman-French. The various ceremonies employed upon the occasion presented a curious combination of old Celtic usages and of recently imported Anglo-Norman customs. The youthful monarch was seated upon the sacred stone of destiny, which formed the coronation chair; the crown was placed on his head, the sceptre in his hand; he was invested with the royal mantle, and the barons and knights, kneeling in homage, threw their robes beneath his feet. A

Accession of Alexander III.

Coronation.

* M. Paris, p. 645; Chron. Mel. p. 156.
† Rymer's Foed. vol. i. pp. 374, 428; M. Paris, p. 646.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 174.
† Ibid.; Fordun, lib. x. c.

grey-haired Highland sennachy, or bard, clothed in a scarlet mantle, stepping forth from the crowd, repeated, in the Gaelic tongue, a long genealogical recitation, in which, beginning with "Hail, Alexander, King of Albion, son of Alexander, son of William, son of David," he carried up the royal pedigree through all its generations, to the fabulous Gathelus, who married Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, and was the contemporary of Moses.* It is doubtful whether Alexander understood a word of the rhapsody addressed to him, but he is recorded to have liberally rewarded the venerable genealogist.

The English king had at this time, in the spirit of his age, resolved upon an expedition to the Holy Land; and, in order to secure the northern borders of his kingdom from the incursions of the Scots during his absence, the marriage formerly agreed on between his daughter Margaret and the young king of Scotland, was solemnized at York, on the 20th of December, 1251. The ceremony was graced by the presence of Henry and his queen, of Mary de Couci, Queen-dowager of Scotland, who had come from France on the occasion with a numerous train, and of the principal nobility and prelates of both countries. The festivities, which lasted several days, appear to have been of the most magnificent character. "Were I," says a contemporary chronicler, "to explain at length the abundance of the feasts, the variety and the frequent changes of the vestments, the delight and the plaudits occasioned by the jugglers, and the multitude of those who sat down to meat, my narrative would become hyperbolical. I shall only mention that the Archbishop, who, as the great Prince of the North, showed himself a most serene host to all comers, made a donation of six hundred oxen, which were all spent upon the first course; and from this circumstance I leave you to form a parallel judgment of the rest."†

The king's marriage.

In the midst of these festivities, Alexander performed homage for the lands which he held in England; and Henry, with that mean and dishonourable policy, which was afterwards fully developed by his son, endeavoured to take advantage of the youth and inexperience of his relative and guest, by cunningly proposing that he should also render fealty for his kingdom of Scotland. But the young monarch, with a prudence and spirit beyond his years, replied, "that he had been invited to York to marry the princess of England, not to treat of affairs of state, and that he could not take a step so important without the knowledge and approbation of his parliament."‡ Henry was constrained to rest satisfied with this reply, and for the present, at least, to desist from his demand. It was agreed, however, that he should send into Scotland a trusty counsellor who might act in concert with the Scottish nobles as guardian of the young king; and Geoffrey de Langley, keeper of the royal forests, was appointed to this important office; but he was speedily expelled by the barons on account of his rapacity and insolence.

Henry's attempt upon the independence of Scotland.

It soon appeared that the English king had by no means laid aside his designs upon the independence of Scotland. In the year 1254, he procured Pope Innocent the Fourth to grant him a twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues of that kingdom during three years, ostensibly for the aid of the Holy Land, but really for his own uses; and he despatched Simon de Montfort, the celebrated Earl of Leicester, on a secret mission, for the purpose of strengthening the English interest at the court of Alexander. At this period, the powerful family of the Comyns were at the head of Scottish affairs, and two of the barons of their party, Robert de Ros and John de Baliol, held the office of regents. They were fiercely opposed by a rival faction, headed by the Earls of March, Strathern, and Carrick, Alexander the Steward of Scotland, and Alan Durward the High Justiciary, who had been accused at York of a design upon the crown. The interests of this party were espoused by Henry and his daughter, Queen Margaret, who complained that she was confined in the castle of Edinburgh, a sad and solitary place, without verdure, and by reason of its vicinity to the sea, unwholesome; that she was not permitted to make excursions through the kingdom, nor to choose her female attendants; and that she was not allowed to enjoy the society of her husband, the king.* Henry despatched the Earl of Gloucester, and Maunsell, his chief secretary, to the Scottish court, under the pretence of inquiring into the grievances complained of by the queen, but in reality for the purpose of assisting the discontented nobles in their machinations against the party which steadily opposed his interested schemes. While the Comyns and their supporters were engaged in preparations for holding a parliament at Stirling, the Earls of Dunbar, Strathern, and Carrick, in concert with the Earl of Gloucester and his associates, surprised the castle of Edinburgh, and obtained possession of the persons of the king and queen.† As soon as Henry heard of the success of his forerunners, Gloucester and Maunsell, he immediately issued his writs to his military tenants, and assembling a numerous army, marched to the Scottish border, declaring, however, that in his visit to his son and daughter, he should attempt nothing prejudicial to the rights of the king, or the liberties of Scotland. Alexander and his queen were suddenly removed to Roxburgh, where they had an interview with Henry, who came from the castle of Wark for that purpose. The government of Scotland was there remodelled under his influence, and a deed was drawn up by which Alexander bound himself not to admit his late counsellors, or their friends, to any share in the management of the affairs of his

Scottish factions.

Change of counsellors.

* Fordun, lib. x. c. i.; Chron. Mel. p. 219; Rymer's Foed. vol. i. p. 465.

† M. Paris, p. 830.

‡ Ibid. p. 829; Rymer's Foed. vol. i. p. 467.

* M. Paris, p. 610.

† Chron. Mel. p. 220.

kingdom, until they should make satisfaction to himself and the King of England for offences they were or might be charged with. In the room of the Comyns and their associates, the Earls of Fife, Dunbar, Strathern, Carrick, and the Bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, and others of the nobility and clergy who were favourable to the English interest, were appointed regents of the kingdom, and guardians of the king and queen for seven years, till Alexander should have reached the age of twenty-one.* This deed, which was deposited in the hands of the English king, was loudly condemned, as derogatory to the honour of the kingdom, and the Bishop of Glasgow, and the Bishop-elect of St. Andrews, the Chancellor, and the Earl of Menteith, indignantly refused to affix their seals to an instrument so prejudicial to the independence of the country.† Henry having thus, with characteristic cunning, concealed his designs against the liberties of Scotland under the mask of friendship, proceeded to recruit his exhausted coffers by selling a pardon to John de Baliol, and confiscating the estates of Robert de Ros, the late regents.

The arrangement made at Roxburgh by Henry and his partisans appears to have been maintained for about two years, during which the country was the scene of continual broils. Gamelin, the Bishop-elect of St. Andrews, who had been removed from his secular office on account of his opposition to the English faction, procured himself to be consecrated by the Bishop of Glasgow, in spite of an interdict issued by the regents; and although placed without the protection of the laws, he hastened to Rome, laid his complaint before the Pope, and induced him to excommunicate his enemies, and to declare him worthy of the bishopric.‡ The regents, enraged at the opposition of Gamelin, seized the revenues of his see, while Henry prohibited his return, and issued orders to arrest him if he attempted to land in England. But the opponents of the English faction continued to gain ground. Mary de Couci, the widow of Alexander the Second, and John de Brienne, her second husband, visited Scotland in 1257, and, animated with all her old hereditary hatred of England, immediately espoused the cause of the Comyns. At this juncture, the Bishop of Dunblane, and the Abbots of Jedburgh and Melrose—the delegates of the Pope—published the sentence of excommunication against the counsellors of the king. The Comyns promptly availed themselves of this favourable occurrence, declared that the government was in the hands of excommunicated and accursed persons, who had shamefully mismanaged the affairs of the state, and that the kingdom would soon be laid under a papal interdict. Finding that their cause increased in popularity, they suddenly rose in arms, seized the king and queen at Kinross, carried them to Stirling, and totally dispersed the English faction.* Henry was at that time engaged in a contest with the Welsh, and the now dominant Comyns entered into a league with Lewellyn, Prince of Wales, and the chiefs of the Principality, which stipulated that neither of the parties should make peace with the King of England without mutual consent.†

The English faction overthrown by the Comyns.

Alan Durward meanwhile fled to England, and the Comyns assembled their forces, and, taking the king with them, marched against the English party. No hostilities, however, took place—the contest was ultimately settled by negotiation—and the King of England was compelled to dissemble his animosity against the Comyns, and his bitter mortification at the failure of his designs, and to accommodate himself to the altered state of parties in Scotland. A new regency was appointed (1258), which left the government of the country mainly in the hands of the queen dowager and the Comyns; but, with the view of conciliating the opposite party, Alan Durward, and other three of the late counsellors, were included in the number of the regents.‡

The English faction put down.

Shortly after the new government was established, the Comyns lost their great leader, Walter, Earl of Menteith. It was reported, in England, that his death was occasioned by a fall from his horse; but, in Scotland, it was believed that he had been poisoned by his countess. The unhappy woman appears to have been instigated to the commission of this crime by a criminal passion which she had cherished for an Englishman, named John Russell, whom she soon afterwards married with indecent haste. She was openly charged with the murder of her husband, and she and her paramour were cast into prison, deprived of their estates, and ultimately compelled to leave the kingdom.§

In 1260, Henry, probably encouraged by the death of his opponent, made an attempt to regain his lost influence, and sent William de Horton, a monk of St. Albans, on a secret mission to invite Alexander and his queen to repair to England, to treat of certain important affairs, which, however, were not communicated to the Scottish counsellors or parliament. Alexander and his nobles were, with good reason, jealous of this perpetual intermeddling of England, and they took careful precautions against any sinister designs upon the independence of their country. Alexander and his queen consented to visit London, but on the express condition that neither the king nor any of his attendants should be required to treat of state affairs during their stay at the English court, and that Henry should make oath that he would not detain either the queen or her child, if her delivery should take place in England.

Renewed attempts of Henry on the independence of Scotland.

In accordance with this arrangement, the king

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 202; Rymer's Foed. vol. i. p. 566.
† Chron. Mel. p. 221; Fordun, book x. chap. ix.
‡ Chron. Mel. p. 221.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 205; M. Paris. p. 644.
† Rymer's Foed. vol. i. p. 653
‡ Ibid. p. 670.
§ Hailes, vol. i. p. 207.

and queen, accompanied by a considerable body of the Scottish nobility and clergy, repaired to the court of Henry, where they were entertained with unusual magnificence. The queen now drew near her time; and, at the urgent solicitation of her father, it was agreed that she should lie in at the English court. But such was the well-founded jealousy which was entertained of English ambition and intrigue, that Henry was required, a second time, to make oath that, in the event of the death of the queen or of Alexander, the royal infant should be delivered to an appointed body of the Scottish nobility and clergy, consisting of the leaders of both the great national parties. This stipulation having been made, Alexander returned to Scotland, and in the month of February, 1261, his queen was delivered, at Windsor, of a daughter, who was named Margaret, and afterwards married to Eric, King of Norway.*

Second visit of Alexander and his queen to the English court.

Birth of the Princess Margaret.

In the beginning of the following year, Henry interposed his good offices to prevent a rupture between Alexander and Haco, King of Norway, but without effect. The Norwegian chiefs of the western islands, from their predatory habits, had long been formidable neighbours to the western coasts of Scotland; and they had not only overspread the whole of the western archipelago, but had frequently invaded and plundered the mainland. The Scottish king had made repeated attempts to obtain possession of these islands, and a number of the chiefs were induced, either by force or by motives of interest, to renounce their allegiance to the Norwegian crown, and to become the feudatories of Scotland. Alexander II., as we have seen, died on the coast of Argyleshire, while leading an expedition against the isles, to compel their chiefs to acknowledge him as their feudal superior. On the death of the king, the object of the expedition was abandoned, but it was resumed when Alexander III. took the reins of government into his own hand. After an unsuccessful attempt to gain his end by negotiation, he is alleged to have instigated the Earl of Ross, and other island chiefs, to invade the Hebrides, with the view of compelling the petty kings of these isles to acknowledge the sovereignty of Scotland. If we may credit the narratives of the Norwegian chroniclers, the invaders not only burned and plundered the villages, and even churches, but inflicted the most horrible cruelties upon the helpless inhabitants.† Haco, the Norwegian king, made immediate preparations for vengeance. Having collected a large fleet, he set sail from Herlover on the 7th of July, 1263. With this splendid armament—the most powerful that had ever sailed from Norway—Haco reached Shetland in two days, and thence sailed to Orkney, and anchored in the Bay of Ronaldsvoe. There he remained for several weeks, levying contributions from the inhabitants both of the islands and of the opposite mainland. It is mentioned by the Norse Chronicle of the expedition, that while the fleet lay at Ronaldsvoe, "a great darkness drew over the sun, so that only a little ring was bright round the orb." This incidental notice has afforded the means of ascertaining exactly the date of this expedition; and it is found that the remarkable phenomenon of an annular eclipse must have been seen at Ronaldsvoe on the 5th of August, 1263; "a fine example," it has been justly said, "of the clear and certain light reflected by the exact sciences upon history."

Dissensions between Alexander and Haco, King of Norway.

Haco invades Scotland.

Haco now sailed for the south, and being joined, as he proceeded, by Magnus, the Lord of Man, and by Dugal, and other Hebridean chiefs, he found himself at the head of a fleet of above a hundred sail, most of them vessels of considerable size, and all well provided with men and arms. Dividing his forces, he sent a squadron of fifty ships to plunder the Mull of Cantyre; another, of five ships, to make a descent on the Isle of Bute; while Haco himself, with the rest of the fleet, remained at Gigha, a small island between Cantyre and Isla. The division which sailed against Bute, compelled the Scottish garrison of the Castle of Rothesay to surrender, and it appears that, at the instigation of Roderic, a pirate chief, who claimed Bute as his inheritance, the island was laid waste, and part of the garrison of Rothesay basely murdered. In the meantime, Haco himself, having recalled the forces which had been detached to plunder the peninsula of Cantyre, entered the Frith of Clyde, and anchored in the Sound of Kilbrannan, between the mainland and the Isle of Arran.

Progress of the Norwegian expedition.

The Scottish government, seeing the imminent danger of a descent of the Norwegian host upon the mainland, endeavoured to effect a treaty of peace with Haco, and a temporary truce was agreed on, to afford an opportunity for the discussion of the terms of pacification. The demands made by Alexander were of the most moderate kind; he claimed Bute, Arran, and the two small islands of the Cumbrays, but offered to give up to Norway the whole of the Hebrides. Fortunately for Scotland, Haco would not listen to these terms, and as soon as the truce terminated, he despatched a fleet of sixty ships up the Clyde into Loch Long, to plunder and lay waste the country on its shores. This detachment penetrated to the head of this loch, committing great devastation as they passed. A narrow neck of land divides Loch Long from Loch Lomond, the islands of which lake were crowded with inhabitants, who had fled for safety to those secluded retreats, doubtless with the confident expectation that they were thus placed completely beyond the reach of their ruthless foes. But the Norwegians dragged their light boats across the Isthmus of Tarbet, and launched them on Loch Lomond, and wasted with fire and sword

Ravages committed by the Norwegians.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 212; M. Westminster, p. 377.

† Johnstone's Notes to the Norse Account of Haco's Expedition.

the islets and shores of this beautiful lake. In the words of a Norwegian bard who commemorates this exploit, "The persevering shielded warriors of the thrower of the whizzing spear drew their boats across the broad isthmus. Our fearless troops, the exactors of contribution, with flaming brands wasted the populous islands in the lake, and the mansions around its circling bays." Another expedition of a similar character was undertaken into Stirlingshire, by one of the Hebridean chiefs, who slew great numbers of the inhabitants, and returned laden with plunder.

But the delay which had taken place had given the Scots time to collect their forces, and the elements now began to fight against the invaders. A storm destroyed ten of the ships which lay in Loch Long, and soon after, on Monday, the 1st of October, the rest of the fleet, which still lay in the Frith of Clyde, encountered a tempest of such tremendous violence from the south-west, accompanied with torrents of hailstones and rain, that several of the vessels were cast a-shore, and the remainder, mostly dismasted or otherwise disabled, were driven up the channel towards Largs. A multitude of armed peasants occupied the heights above the sea-shore, ready to take advantage of the disaster of the invading fleet, and they immediately fell upon the crews of the stranded vessels. But the Norwegians defended themselves with great intrepidity, and the wind having somewhat abated, assistance was sent them by Haco, and they succeeded in driving off their assailants. When daylight appeared, the Norwegian king landed at the head of a strong reinforcement, for the protection of two transports that had been cast ashore the preceding day, and which the Scots had attempted to plunder during the night. Soon after, the Scottish army, led by the king in person, along with Alexander, the Steward of Scotland, came down from the high grounds above the village of Largs. It consisted of a numerous body of foot soldiers, well accoutred, and for the most part armed with spears and bows, and of fifteen hundred cavalry, armed from head to heel, and mounted on Spanish horses, which were also clothed in complete armour. The Norwegians, who were greatly outnumbered by this force, were drawn up in three divisions, one of which occupied an eminence that rises behind the village of Largs, while the other two were stationed on the beach. As the engagement was about to commence, Haco was with great difficulty prevailed upon by his chiefs to return in his barge to his fleet at the Cumbrays, to send them further reinforcements. But he had scarcely reached his ship when another storm arose, and rendered it impossible, for the present, to land additional forces. In the meantime, the van of the Scottish army had encountered and put to flight the advanced body of the Norwegians. The fugitives, in their headlong retreat, disordered the ranks of the squadrons drawn up on the shore. The rout soon became general. Many of the Norwegians threw themselves into their boats and attempted to regain their ships, but some of the boats became overloaded and were swamped. The rest of the troops retreated along the shore, closely pursued by the victorious Scots. They repeatedly rallied, however, and made an obstinate stand wherever the nature of the ground afforded a favourable opportunity of resistance. The Scottish king was wounded in the face by an arrow, and Alexander, the Steward of Scotland, was slain. But the pursuers pressed on in increasing numbers and with redoubled fury. The slaughter among the retreating Norwegians now became very great, and Haco, the nephew of the king, and one of the most renowned champions in the host, fell, along with many others of the principal leaders; and but for the timely arrival of a reinforcement from the fleet, which by extraordinary efforts effected a landing through a tremendous surf, the Norwegian army would have been entirely destroyed. These fresh troops immediately attacked the victorious Scots, and, if we may give implicit credit to the Norse account of the battle, succeeded in driving them back from the high grounds overhanging the shore. "At the conflict of corslets on the blood-red hill," says the Norwegian chronicler, "the damasked blade hewed the mail of hostile tribes, ere the Scot, nimble as the hound, would leave the field to the followers of an all-conquering king." The relics of the invading force then re-embarked in their boats and regained their ships.

Battle of Largs.

Defeat of the Norwegians.

Meanwhile, the storm continued to rage with unabated fury, and the remaining ships of Haco's magnificent fleet were dreadfully shattered and distressed. Many of them were driven from their anchorage, and dashed against each other, or flung upon the shores and rocks. The beach was covered with the fragments of the vessels, and with the dead bodies of their crews. A truce was granted to Haco, for the purpose of burying his dead.* After the performance of this melancholy duty, the unfortunate monarch collected all that remained of his once noble fleet, and sailed away to the Island of Arran. He then, after a short delay, steered for the northern islands, which at that time were the undisputed property of the Norwegian crown; and after much loss and suffering from the stormy weather, which continued throughout the whole of his homeward voyage, he at last reached Orkney, on the 29th of October. Here an illness seized him, brought on by mental anxiety and grief, as much as by incessant fatigue. He lingered for some weeks, struggling bravely against his disease, and endeavouring to soothe his mind under his misfortunes, with the thought that he was overthrown by divine, rather than by human power. "The arm of God," he said, "and not the strength of

Death of King Haco.

* The cairns and tumuli erected over the slain Norsemen are still visible on the field of battle, a little to the south of Largs. In the centre there once stood a large granite pillar, ten feet high; it fell down many years ago. On some of the cairns being opened, great quantities of human bones have been found, and also warlike weapons, particularly axes and swords.

man, hath repulsed me, wrecked my ships, and sent death among my soldiers." As he felt his end approaching, he received the last rites which the church administers to the dying, and the spirit of the old Norse warrior reviving within him, he commanded the Chronicles of his ancestors, the pirate kings, to be read to him; and he expired at midnight, on the 15th of December, with these wild tales of bloodshed and rapine still sounding in his ears.*

The victory of Largs was, in its consequences, one of the most important ever won by the Scots. It extended and consolidated the Scottish dominions, and freed the kingdom for ever, from the incursions of those savage warriors, who had been so long the terror and scourge of western Europe. Alexander lost no time in following up the advantages already gained; and so vigorous were the measures which he adopted, that the King of Man, and all the chiefs of the western isles who had adhered to Haco, were compelled to acknowledge themselves the liegemen of the King of Scotland, and to consent that, in future, they should hold their dominions of the Scottish crown. Magnus, the King of Man, did homage to Alexander at Dumfries, in 1264, and became bound to furnish to his lord paramount, when required by him, ten galleys or ships of war; five with twenty-four oars, and five with twelve.† Two years later, after long negotiations, a treaty was concluded with Norway, by which all claim of sovereignty over the Isle of Man and the Hebrides, and all other islands in the southern and western seas, was ceded to the Scottish crown. But the islands of Orkney and Shetland were expressly excepted from this stipulation. It was agreed that the Hebrides, and other isles made over to Scotland, were in future to be governed by the laws of that kingdom; but the Scandinavian inhabitants received permission to retire with all their property. On the other hand, it was stipulated that the King and estates of Scotland should pay to Norway four thousand marks, of the Roman standard, and a yearly quit-rent of a hundred marks sterling, for ever. And all parties became bound to fulfil their obligations, under a penalty of ten thousand marks, to be exacted by the Pope.‡ This treaty ended for ever the wars betwixt Scotland and Norway; and the bonds of amity between the two kingdoms were subsequently drawn still closer by the marriage of the Princess Margaret, the daughter of Alexander, with the youthful Eric, Haco's successor.

Final settlement of the quarrel with Norway.

In 1272, Henry III. of England died, after a reign of nearly sixty years. At the coronation of his son, the able, but unscrupulous Edward I., in 1274, Alexander and his queen, the new king's sister, attended with a splendid retinue, and did homage, according to custom, for his English possessions. He seems, not without reason, to have placed no great reliance on the honour or upright intentions of this brother-in-law; for he took good care to obtain a letter, under Edward's hand, declaring in explicit terms, that this friendly visit should not be construed into anything prejudicial to the independence of Scotland. In 1278, the King of Scotland appeared before the English Parliament at Westminster, and in general terms acknowledged himself the liegeman of Edward, and the oath of fealty was taken for him by Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, concluding with these words:—"I shall faithfully perform the services used and wont for the lands and tenements which I hold of the said king."* Edward, who had evidently formed the design of entrapping the Scottish king into the performance of an unconditional homage, on which he might afterwards have founded the plea that Scotland was the fief of England, was forced to accept the guarded acknowledgment as it was given. And he showed his understanding of the oath of fealty, as sworn on this occasion, and at the same time manifested his chagrin at the failure of his crafty scheme, by declaring that he reserved his claim of homage for the kingdom of Scotland whenever he or his heirs should think proper to make it.

Death of Henry III., and accession of Edward I.

Designs of Edward on the independence of Scotland.

The preceding years of Alexander's reign, from the time that he assumed the reins of government into his own hand, had been remarkably prosperous. The firm, yet prudent and conciliatory manner in which he conducted the affairs of his kingdom, had secured him the confidence and affection of his people; and the country, freed from both foreign invasion and internal disturbances, was steadily developing its energies and advancing in civilization.

In 1281, the Princess Margaret was married to Eric, King of Norway, then a youth in his fourteenth year,† and this most politic alliance was, soon after (1282), followed by the marriage of Alexander, the Prince of Scotland, then in his nineteenth year, to Margaret, a daughter of Guy, Earl of Flanders. But the fair prospect of continued prosperity and happiness to the king and nation which these alliances held out, was speedily overcast, and the tidings of disasters which followed each other in rapid succession, spread dismay throughout the kingdom. Alexander had, some years before this, met with a severe domestic affliction, in the death of his queen. His second son, David, died when a boy. His daughter, Margaret, the Queen of Norway, died in child-bed, in the latter part of the year 1283, leaving an only child, named after

Marriage of the Princess Margaret and of the Prince Royal of Scotland—

—their deaths.

* See the Norwegian Account of Haco's Expedition against Scotland, translated, with Notes, by the Rev. James Johnstone; and Observations on the Norwegian Expedition, &c., by James Dillon, Esq., in Transactions of the Society of the Antiquarians of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 350—407.

† Hailes, vol. i. p. 213; Fordun, book x. chap. xviii.

‡ Hailes, vol. i. p. 215; Fordun, book x. chap. xix.

* Rymer's Foed. vol. ii. p. 126.

† It appears from her marriage settlement, that at this period of our history, the price of land was ten years' purchase.

her mother, and called in Scottish history the Maiden of Norway. The death of Queen Margaret was followed by that of her brother Alexander, the Prince of Scotland, on the 28th of January, 1284. The Scottish king was thus in a few months bereft, by death, of all his children, and the hopes which were entertained, that the peace and prosperity of the country would be maintained under the sway of his descendants, were suddenly blasted.

Settlement of the succession, and second marriage of Alexander.

These sad calamities rendered it necessary that immediate measures should be taken for the settlement of the succession to the crown. For this purpose the parliament was assembled at Scone, on the 5th of February, 1284, when the estates of the realm solemnly bound themselves to acknowledge Margaret, Princess of Norway, as their sovereign, failing any children whom Alexander might have, and failing any issue of the Prince of Scotland, deceased. Mention is made of the issue of the prince, because the parliament, having assembled immediately after his death, it was uncertain whether the princess might not yet present the kingdom with an heir to the crown.* Alexander was still a man in the flower of life, and to avert, if possible, the evils of a disputed succession, he took for his second wife, Joleta, the young and beautiful daughter of the Count of Dreux. The nuptials were celebrated at Jedburgh with great magnificence and much popular rejoicing. But evil omens accompanied this union. In the midst of the festivities which graced the joyful occasion, a spectral figure, habited like the King of Terrors, glided with fearful gestures among the personages of a strange masque which was exhibited, and at length suddenly vanished. This skeleton-like figure was, no doubt, a part of the pageant; but it was in bad taste, and excited such terror and apprehensions of evil among the guests, that Fordun considers it as a supernatural prognostication of the fearful calamities that were about to fall upon the country.† These forebodings of evil were unhappily soon realised. Within a year after his marriage, on the 16th of March, 1286, as Alexander was riding in a dark night between Kinghorn and Burntisland, on the northern shore of the Frith of Forth, his horse suddenly stumbled over a rocky cliff above the sea, at a place now known by the name of King's Wood End, and the rider was killed on the spot.

Death of Alexander III.

The death of Alexander at this critical juncture was, perhaps, the greatest national calamity that has ever befallen the kingdom of Scotland. The lamentation was universal, and all classes looked forward with dismay to the consequences which seemed likely to ensue,—

"——Old men and beldames
Did prophecy about it dangerously."

"When it is considered," says Sir Walter Scott,‡ "that his only near heir was a mere infant, and residing in the distant country of Norway, and that the failure of a life so precarious must necessarily open the way to all the evils of a disputed succession, it is no wonder that the credulous recalled the phantom of death which had appeared in the hour of nuptial revelry; that even the nobles of the land listened to pale-eyed soothsayers intimating disasters which they dared not openly name;* or that a people, attached to music and poetry, should have commemorated their king's gentle government and their own loss, in the following rude but affectionate lines, supposed to be the earliest specimen that is preserved of the Scoto-Saxon, or Lowland Scottish dialect. (The spelling is modern.)

'When Alexander our king was dead,
Who Scotland led in love and le,†
Away was sonse‡ of ale and bread,
Of wine and war, and game and glee,
Our gold is turned into lead;
Christ, born into virginity,
Succour poor Scotland and remeid,§
That stad‖ is in perplexity.'"

Alexander died in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign. "Let no one question the salvation of this king because of his violent death," says Fordun; "he who has lived well, cannot die ill."¶ He was universally regretted, for his virtues both public and private. He was temperate in his habits, pure in his morals, and exemplary in all his domestic relations. He was kind and gentle in his manners, and at the same time firm and constant in his purposes. His policy towards England was conciliatory and forbearing, but he was the resolute defender of the independence both of the kingdom and church of Scotland. His love of justice was most conspicuous, and greatly endeared him to the whole body of his subjects. Attended by his justiciary and his principal nobles, he made an annual progress through his kingdom, for the redress of injuries and the punishment of evil-doers; so that the common people were protected from the oppressions of the barons, and their bands of insolent retainers. "In his time," says Fordun, "the church flourished; its ministers were honoured with due reverence; vice was openly discouraged; craft and violence were alike overawed; injury ceased, and the reign of virtue, truth, and justice, was maintained throughout the land. He reigned over himself as well as others, and was regarded far and near, not only among his friends but his enemies, and especially the English, with

His character.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 222. † Fordun, book x. chap. xl.
‡ Quarterly Review, vol. xli. p. 340.

* Referring to the well-known prediction of Thomas the Rhymer to the Earl of March, the day before Alexander's death, "That before the next day, at noon, such a tempest should blow as Scotland had not felt for many years before." The next morning, the day being clear, says Boece, and no change appearing in the air, the nobleman did challenge Thomas of his saying, calling him an impostor. He replied that noon was not yet passed. About which time a post came to advertise the earl of the king his sudden death. "Then," said Thomas, "this is the tempest I foretold, and so it shall prove to Scotland."—See Spottiswoode, p. 47.

† Tranquillity. ‡ Abundance. § Remedy.
‖ Placed. ¶ Book x. chap. xl.

love as well as fear." We need not wonder that a monarch adorned with so many virtues was deeply lamented, and that his memory was long and affectionately cherished by the people of Scotland.

Accession of the Maiden of Norway.

MARGARET OF NORWAY, the granddaughter of Alexander, who had been recognized as heir to the crown in 1284, was residing in Norway at the time of her grandfather's death. It was therefore necessary, both on account of her infancy and her absence from the kingdom, to appoint a regency; and at a parliament held at Scone, on the 11th of April, 1286, six guardians of the realm were by common consent chosen to carry on the government of the country. Fraser, Bishop of St. Andrews, Duncan, Earl of Fife, and Alexander, Earl of Buchan, were intrusted with the administration of the northern division of Scotland, beyond the Frith of Forth. The country to the south of the Forth was committed to the charge of Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, and James, the High Steward of Scotland.*

Opposition to her rights.

It soon became apparent, that a long minority was the least of the evils which the kingdom had now to dread. The rule of a female sovereign was new to Scotland, and was repugnant to the whole course of the habits and feelings of the powerful and turbulent barons, who exercised almost regal sway in that country. According to the feudal system, the king was little else than the first of a band of warriors—their leader in battle as well as their ruler in peace; and in that rude and warlike age, it was reckoned disgraceful for noble knights to obey the orders of a woman. The right of the Maiden of Norway to the Scottish throne was therefore immediately called in question. Even in the parliament at Scone, the claims of Bruce and Baliol were zealously advocated by their respective partisans; and a few months later (Sept. 20, 1286), the adherents of the former, including Patrick, Earl of Dunbar; Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith; James, the High Steward of Scotland; Angus, son of Donald, the Lord of the Isles; and others of the most powerful of the Scottish nobility, along with two influential English barons,—Thomas de Clare, brother of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, and Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster,—assembled at Turnberry Castle, for the purpose of supporting Bruce's title to the crown as the descendant of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William the Lion. For this purpose they entered into an agreement, by which they bound themselves to adhere to one another on all occasions and against all persons, saving their allegiance to the King of England, and also to him who should gain the kingdom of Scotland, as the rightful heir of the late king.†

Projects of Edward I.

In the meantime, the able but unprincipled King of England had formed the project of annexing the kingdom of Scotland to his own dominions. On being informed of the death of Alexander, his brother-in-law and faithful ally, he exclaimed to his confidential counsellors, "Now the time is at last arrived, when Scotland and its petty kings shall be reduced under my power." He was careful, however, to conceal his insidious designs till the proper time for their disclosure should arrive. Meanwhile, he contented himself with watching the progress of affairs in Scotland, and observing, with malignant satisfaction, the intestine strife to which the heartburnings and jealousies of the Scottish nobles gave rise. In 1288, the number of the regents was reduced to four, by the assassination of Duncan, Earl of Fife, and the death of the Earl of Buchan.* The High Steward, another of the regents, had espoused the cause of Bruce, and was therefore hostile to the rights of the youthful queen; and at length the quarrel between the rival factions of Bruce and Baliol broke out into an open war, and the whole kingdom was plunged into a state of confusion.†

Precarious state of the country.

While the country was thus torn by internal dissensions and rapidly tending to anarchy, it is alleged that the States of Scotland foolishly sent ambassadors to the King of England, requesting his advice and mediation towards composing the troubles of the kingdom; but the truth of this statement has been denied, as not resting upon any good authority. It is certain, however, that in the end of the year 1289, Eric, King of Norway, opened a negotiation with Edward regarding the affairs of his infant daughter, and her kingdom of Scotland. This was precisely what the English monarch wished and expected, and he at once eagerly caught at the offer made to him by the father of the youthful queen. At his request, the Scottish regents appointed the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, with Robert Bruce and John Comyn, to treat, in the presence of the English monarch, regarding the matters proposed by the Norwegian ambassadors, "saving always the liberty and honour of Scotland."‡ To this conference, which was appointed to be held at Salisbury, Edward sent the Bishops of Winchester and Durham, and the Earls of Pembroke and Warenne.

Conferences at Salisbury respecting the young queen.

Edward had, at the outset, formed the project of a marriage between the young Queen of Scotland and his only son, Edward, Prince of Wales, and he had secretly procured a dispensation for the marriage from the Pope, as the youthful pair were within the prohibited degrees. This scheme, however, was not yet suffered to transpire, and no direct allusion was made to it in the treaty which was drawn up at Salisbury. It was there stipulated, that the queen should be immediately conveyed either to her own dominions or to England, untrammelled by any matrimonial engagement; and that if Edward received her thus free, he would, on demand, deliver her as free to

* Fordun, book xi. chap. i.; Hailes, vol. i. p. 225.
† Tytler's Hist. of Scot. vol. i. p. 55.

* Fordun, book xi. chap. xi.
† Hailes, vol. i. p. 226.
‡ Ibid., Rym. Foed. vol. ii. p. 431.

the Scottish nation; provided always, that good order should be previously established in Scotland, so that she might reside there with safety to her person,—a clause which evidently gave an unscrupulous monarch, like Edward, the power of detaining the queen in England as long as it might serve his purpose to do so. The Scottish commissioners undertook, before receiving the queen, to give security to Edward, that she should not marry without his counsel and consent, and that of her father, the King of Norway. It was also stipulated that peace and good order should be established in Scotland before the arrival of the queen, so that she might go there with safety, and remain in all freedom; and with regard to the guardians or public officers in Scotland, it was provided, that should any of these be suspected persons, or in the opinion of the King of Norway unfit for their offices, they should be removed, and persons of the highest rank and character appointed in their room by the advice of the "good men" of Scotland and Norway; and if they differed in their opinions, the dispute should be settled by the commissioners whom Edward might appoint to act as umpires. Of this convention three copies were made, one in Latin, which was transmitted to the King of Norway, and two, in French, were retained for the use of the Scots and English,—a proof, as Lord Hailes remarks, that among both nations at this period, Norman-French was the language in which state affairs were generally conducted.*

Her projected marriage to Prince Edward of England.

The conditions of this treaty, so favourable to the designs of the English monarch, render it evident that some at least of the Scottish commissioners had been gained over to his interest; and it is probable that they had been privately sounded respecting the proposed marriage between Prince Edward and their queen, and had been instructed to prepare the minds of the nobility and people of Scotland for its favourable reception. As soon as the projected alliance became generally known, the Estates of Scotland assembled at Brigham, a village on the north bank of the Tweed, between Coldstream and Kelso, and from thence addressed a letter to the English king, expressing, in warm terms, their joy at the good news which had reached them, "that the Apostle had granted a dispensation for the marriage of Margaret, their dear lady and their queen, with Prince Edward, and beseeching him to inform them if the report was true. 'If it is,'" they conclude, "'we, on our part, heartily consent to the alliance, not doubting that you will agree to such reasonable conditions as we shall propose to your council.'"† They wrote at the same time to Eric, King of Norway, informing him of their consent to the union, and urging him to send his daughter immediately to England. It is evident that, at this period, the idea of an alliance with England was by no means unpopular among the Scottish nobility, many of whom, as we have seen, were of Anglo-Norman extraction, and held estates in both kingdoms. They were careful, however, to take the most jealous precautions that all the rights and immunities of Scotland, as a separate kingdom, should be upheld and preserved. The final arrangements respecting the proposed marriage were concluded at Brigham, on the 18th of July, 1290, between the guardians, clergy, earls, barons, and whole community of Scotland, and the Bishop of Durham and five other plenipotentiaries on the part of England. It was agreed that the rights, laws, liberties, and customs of Scotland were to be inviolably observed in all times coming, throughout the whole kingdom and its marches, saving always the rights which the King of England, or any other person, has possessed before the date of this treaty, in the marches or elsewhere, or which may accrue to him in all time coming. It was stipulated also, that failing Margaret and Edward, or either of them, without issue, the kingdom should belong to the nearest heirs to whom it ought of right to belong, wholly, freely, absolutely, and without any subjection; that the queen, if she should survive her husband, was to be given up to the Scottish nation free from all matrimonial engagements; that the kingdom of Scotland was for ever to remain separate from England; that the ecclesiastical privileges of the country should be preserved in all their integrity; that no native of Scotland was in any case whatever to be compelled to answer, out of the kingdom, for offences committed in Scotland; that the national records were to remain within the realm, and that no aids of money or levies of troops should be demanded, unless in such cases as were warranted by former usage.*

Articles of the treaty of Brigham.

The articles of this treaty were ratified by the guardians and community of Scotland, and eagerly confirmed by Edward, who took a solemn oath to maintain them inviolate. Edward, presuming on the power which he had thus acquired over the Scottish people, appointed the Bishop of Durham to the office of Governor of Scotland, a step altogether unwarrantable; and growing more insolent in his demands as he found them patiently submitted to, he intimated to the Estates, "that certain rumours of danger and peril to the kingdom of Scotland having reached his ear, he judged it right that all castles and places of strength in that kingdom should be delivered up to him."† This demand, however, met with a peremptory refusal, with which Edward was obliged to rest satisfied. But the events of a few weeks rendered these treaties and stipulations of no effect. The young queen having at length set sail from Norway, fell sick on her passage, and died at Orkney, about the end of September, 1290, in the eighth year of

Edward's impelrious conduct.

Death of the Maiden of Norway.

* Annals, vol. i. p. 228; Rymer Foed. vol. ii. pp. 446, 447.
† Hailes, vol. i. p. 228; Rymer Foed. vol ii. p. 472.

* Hailes, vol. i. pp. 231—235.
† Rymer Foed. vol. ii. p. 488.

her age. When the tidings of this fatal event reached Scotland, "the kingdom was troubled," says the Bishop of St. Andrews, "and its inhabitants sank into despair." In 1284, the crown had been settled on the descendants of Alexander III., but no further provision had been made for its descent. By the untimely death of the Maiden of Norway, the descendants of Alexander III. were altogether extinguished,* and the country was now exposed to all the evils of a disputed succession, to intestine broils, and, as it proved, to foreign conquest.

INTERREGNUM.—The situation in which Scotland was now placed seemed every way favourable to the designs of the English king. There is no authority for believing, as has sometimes been asserted, that the parliament or people of Scotland ever requested the advice and mediation of the English monarch in settling the succession to the throne. But it now appears, from some important documents recently discovered,† that a direct invitation to interfere in the affairs of Scotland was given to him by Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, and his adherents; and that they appealed to the authority and protection of Edward and of the royal crown of England, against an alleged design of William, Bishop of St. Andrews, and John Comyn, the guardians of Scotland, to raise John Baliol to the throne; and placed themselves, their adherents, kindred, and effects, moveable and immoveable, under the special guard and protection of the English king. These documents afford too much reason to suspect, that Bruce and his accomplices were prepared to sacrifice the independence of their country, to conciliate the favour of Edward and to gain their own selfish ends. It would appear, also, that two of the guardians of Scotland, and a majority of the nation, were at this period inclined to prefer Baliol as the lawful heir of the Scottish crown; and hence this base and treasonable attempt, on the part of Bruce and his partisans, to obtain the support of the English king. Edward readily listened to their appeal, so far as suited his own interest. There can be no doubt that he had already resolved to claim the right to determine this question, in his pretended character of Lord Superior of the kingdom of Scotland; and the motives which led to his interference are candidly stated by an old English historian:—"The King of England having assembled his privy council and chief nobility, told them that he had it in his mind to bring under his dominion the king and the realm of Scotland, in the same manner that he had subdued the kingdom of Wales."*

Edward's measures.

For this purpose he summoned the barons and military tenants of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, to assemble at Norham, on the 3rd of June, 1291; and he requested the clergy and nobility of Scotland to hold a conference with him at the same place, but on an earlier day—the 10th of May. On the day appointed the conference took place. The proceedings were opened by the English Justiciary, Roger Brabazon, who, in the name of his sovereign, distinctly announced that he meant to regulate the succession to the throne of Scotland, as Lord Paramount of that kingdom. "Wherefore," he added, "our lord the king, for the due accomplishment of this design, doth require your hearty recognition of his title of Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland."†

Conference at Norham.

Edward's claim as Lord Paramount.

There could be nothing more unjust than this claim of the English monarch. It has been observed by Sir Walter Scott, that "to create a fief as a feudal dependence, the superior must be proprietor of the lands which he bestows upon the vassal, and the vassal must receive them under condition of homages and services. Now, the monarchs of England were never in possession of Scotland, properly so called. That kingdom, the original seat of the Scots in the remote province of Argyle, was extended by the conquest of the Picts to the northern borders of the Frith of Forth, called, from being their boundary, the Scottish Sea. The provinces thus conquered and melted down into the kingdom called Albania, and afterwards Scotland, were territories which the English had never possessed, or claimed right to, and lay beyond the more northern wall, where the Southern Britons never set foot, but as flying from the sword of the Romans. This change of territory in North Britain took place so early as 538. At this period, there is not only no proof of the King of England having interfered with the conquest of the Scots over Pictland, or to dispose of the lands of the vanquished; but it seems probable there was not a king of England to make the grant, or to receive the homage. The idea, therefore, that Scotland was held as a fief of England, seems totally groundless. At no moment, till the temporary usurpation of Edward I., had any king of England such possession of Scotland as to dispose of it as a fief, either to the Scottish king, or any other: nor was it in any respect by English cession, permission, or convenience, that Kenneth Macalpine and his successors swayed their sceptre."‡

Injustice of the claim.

The modern supporters of the English supremacy over Scotland, unable to resist the force of these

* It is a remarkable fact, that within the period of a century, William the Lion, and his posterity, had made no fewer than ten marriages, and yet there was not now a descendant of that king in existence. Of these ten marriages, so many as six produced no issue; the remaining four produced only four males and five females, and all these nine persons were now dead. See Pict. Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 707.

† Palgrave's Documents and Records, illustrating the History of Scotland. Fordun, Barbour, and Wyntown represent Bruce as having had the first offer of the Scottish crown, and that it was only on his refusal to hold it as the vassal of the English king that Baliol was preferred. The documents referred to, show, that these statements are completely devoid of truth.

* Tytler, vol. i. p. 69.

† Ibid. p. 70; Hemingford, vol. i. p. 33.

‡ Quarterly Review, vol. xli. p. 342.

arguments, have endeavoured to show that the supremacy in question was "one of a peculiar nature—a special tenure arising out of the ancient dependence of the Scottish Regulus, upon the Anglo-Saxon Bretwalda, Basileus, or Emperor, and not to be cramped by arguments to be drawn from a later jurisprudence." According to this theory, Scotland was not a feudal dependency of England, but "a member of the Anglo-Saxon empire," governed by "under-kings," and subjected to its "over-lord, the Basileus, or Emperor of Britain." To this assertion it may be answered, First, That there is no evidence that the dignity of Bretwalda ever had a legal or permanent existence among the Anglo-Saxons. "An imaginary being," it has been justly said, "is created to substantiate an imaginary right." Until the time of Egbert, (A.D. 825,) there was nothing like unity among the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; and the superiority he had acquired over the other petty Anglo-Saxon princes was soon lost by his successors. The whole of England was not united in one monarchy till the complete subjugation of the Danish invaders, and the coalition of the southern and northern states, after the death of Edwy (A.D. 958). In these circumstances, it is preposterous to talk of the dependence of the Scottish "under-king," on the Anglo-Saxon Bretwalda, or "over-lord," when there was no Bretwalda in existence to enforce or to receive the acknowledgment of supremacy. Secondly, Edward claimed the right to settle the succession to the Scottish throne, not as Bretwalda, or Basileus, but as the feudal Superior and Lord Paramount of Scotland. As such, he was acknowledged by the competitors for the crown, and by the Scottish guardians and nobles. After the convention at Norham, he styles himself, in addition to his former titles, the Superior or Sovereign Lord of Scotland. It was, therefore, the feudal superiority of that kingdom which he claimed and attempted to exercise, and not any vague, undefined supremacy, as the Emperor of Britain. Thirdly, Circular writs were addressed by Edward "to the cathedrals and principal monasteries throughout England, commanding them to search their chronicles and archives for all matters relating to Scotland, and to transmit them to the king under their common seals;" but no instance, nor even pretended instance, was adduced (excepting the temporary submission of William the Lion), in which homage had been rendered for the kingdom of Scotland, or feudal services performed which could be regarded as an acknowledgment of superiority. If any such instance could have been adduced, we may rest assured that it would have been brought forward.

The only homage which the Scottish kings paid to the English crown before the Norman Conquest was not for the kingdom of Scotland, but for the possessions which, having formerly been part and portion of England, were ceded to the Scots by the monarchs of that country. These territories were: the lordship of Cumberland, ceded to the Scottish crown in 945; and Lothian, including Berwickshire, ceded in 971. These latter districts, though they have long been integral parts of Scotland, were never subject to a Scottish king till they were ceded by Edgar to Kenneth, under the condition of homage and allegiance, and were held by the Scottish princes under this burthen, exactly in the same manner as the English monarchs held their own French possessions, under the burthen of homage and fealty to the King of France. It is, no doubt, true, as we have seen, that on various occasions the English sovereigns endeavoured to circumvent their Scottish neighbours, and to pervert the homage, which they admitted to be due for their possessions in England, into an unconditional homage for the kingdom of Scotland.* All such attempts, however, were steadily resisted and baffled, with the single exception of the case of William the Lion, from whom a general acknowledgment of fealty was wrung, as the price of his liberation from captivity. But his engagement to become the liegeman of the English king was cancelled by Richard I., on payment of a large sum of money; so that the relation between the countries returned to the original footing. The very treaty which Edward had entered into with the Scottish Estates, at Brigham, in 1290, was sufficient to prove how unfounded were his pretensions to supremacy over Scotland; for if that country had been a fief of the English crown, then the Maiden of Norway would, of necessity, have been a ward of the King of England, who would have had a right to dispose of her in marriage, without submitting to negotiate on the subject with those who, in that case, would have been his own vassals. Nevertheless Edward, availing himself of the favourable conjuncture of affairs, and of his own position as the umpire among the competitors for the Scottish throne, demanded, as a preliminary condition of his decision, "the hearty recognition of his title as Superior and Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland."

Bruce and his adherents, who had instigated this demand, must of course have been prepared for this claim of superiority, but the rest of the assembly listened to it with astonishment and dismay. At length, a solitary voice was heard to utter these words: "No answer can be made while the throne is vacant."† "By Holy Edward," cried the King of England, "whose crown I wear, I will vindicate my just rights or perish in the attempt." "And to make this speech good," says an old English chronicler, "he had issued writs for the convocation of his army, so that, in case of his demand being resisted, he might conquer all opposition, were it to the death."‡ "He was enraged because they suspected him, and at the same time showed that their suspi-

* It is worthy of notice, that in the account given in the English official records of the homage rendered by Alexander III., the original words of homage have been fraudulently erased, and others substituted in their place,—a clear proof that the terms in which it was expressed had not been satisfactory to the English monarch. The record is still extant, and the fraud visible.

† Walsingham, p. 56. ‡ Hemingford, p. 33.

cions were just." The Scottish Estates found themselves placed in very trying circumstances, and they requested time to consult with their absent members. Edward rejoined that they were all sufficiently informed by the tenor of his summons, and at first would give them only till next day. A further delay was then requested, and they were allowed a term of three weeks to return a definite answer. This delay the king knew might promote his views, and, at any rate, could not injure them, as by that time the barons he had summoned would be assembled in arms.

The power of Edward was no doubt formidable, but enemies still more dangerous were at work in their own councils. A number of the principal nobility had already been gained over to the English interest, and by their intrigues, and the liberal distribution of money, no less than ten competitors were induced to claim the Scottish crown, for the purpose of perplexing the question, as well as of removing the opposition which they might otherwise have offered to the designs of the English king. All hoped that their time-serving submission to Edward's claim of superiority would meet with reward, while they clearly foresaw that the candidate who declined to acknowledge the title of Lord Paramount, claimed by the arbitrator, would forfeit any chance of success. Thus weakened by mutual jealousies, and disunited by conflicting interests, the Scottish barons yielded to the imperious demands of the English monarch, and basely sacrificed the independence of their country to promote their own selfish ends.

The competitors for the crown recognize Edward as Superior.

On the 2nd of June, 1291, the adjourned meeting of the clergy and nobility of Scotland took place on a green plain, called Hollywell Haugh, near Uprettlington, opposite to Norham Castle. There were present no fewer than eight persons who, under various titles, laid claim to the crown. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, then Chancellor of England, opened the proceedings. He stated, that "by various evidences it sufficiently appeared that the English kings were Lords Paramount of Scotland, and, from the most distant ages, had either possessed *or* claimed that right; that Edward had required the Scots to produce their evidences or arguments to the contrary, and had declared himself ready to admit them if more cogent than his own, and upon the whole matter to pronounce righteous judgment; and that, as they had brought forward no answer to invalidate his right, it was the intention of the King of England, as Lord Paramount, to determine the question of the succession." * The chancellor then turned to Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, and demanded, "Whether he was content to acknowledge Edward as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and willing to receive judgment from him in that character?" Bruce, says the official record of the proceedings, definitely, expressly, publicly, and openly declared his assent. The same question was then put to the other seven competitors, all of whom returned the same answer. Next day, John Baliol and his brother-in-law, John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, the two remaining competitors, appeared, and solemnly acknowledged the superiority of the English king. The selfish pusillanimity which the Scottish nobility thus exhibited, produced its usual result of increased arrogance. No sooner had this disgraceful scene terminated, than the chancellor protested, in the name of his master, that, although he consented to act now as Lord Paramount, he did not resign his right of property in the kingdom of Scotland, acclaimable hereafter in fit manner and time convenient.* After this insulting declaration, the whole of the claimants affixed their signatures to two important instruments. The first declared that, "Forasmuch as the King of England has evidently shown to us that the sovereign seignory of Scotland, and the right of determining our respective pretensions, belong to him, we therefore agree to receive judgment from him as Lord Paramount, and we become bound to submit to his award." † By the second deed, possession of the whole land and castles of Scotland was delivered into the hands of Edward, under the pretence that "a judgment cannot be without execution, nor execution without possession of the subject of award," ‡ but on condition that Edward should find security for the faithful restitution of his charge, within two months after the date of his award. It was finally agreed, that a body of one hundred and four commissioners should be appointed, in order to prepare the point in dispute for an ultimate decision, and to report to the king,—forty being named by Baliol, for himself and the competitors who approved of his list,—forty by Bruce, and the competitors who agreed with his nomination, and the remainder by Edward himself, who, moreover, was empowered to add to the number if he thought fit.

On the 11th of June, 1291, the four regents of Scotland made a solemn surrender of the kingdom into the hands of Edward, and the governors of its castles also gave up its fortresses to his disposal. The conduct of one of the Scottish nobles in this hour of trial is worthy of notice, presenting, as it did, a noble contrast to the base and selfish spirit which his brother barons displayed. Gilbert de Umfraville, the Earl of Angus, who commanded the important fortresses of Dundee and Forfar, declared, that, having received these in charge from the Scottish nation, he would not surrender them to the King of England, without an obligation to indemnify him, from Edward and all the competitors. To remove his objections, a letter of indemnity was drawn up, and signed by the claimants of the crown and the guardians of the realm; and in their name he was enjoined to deliver up the fortresses of which he held the keys. The scruples of Umfraville being thus removed, he yielded

Surrender of the kingdom to Edward.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 246; Rym. Foed. vol. ii. p. 545.

* Rym. Foed. vol. ii. p. 551.
† Ibid. p. 553; Hailes, vol. i. p. 249.
‡ Hailes, vol. i. p. 250.

obedience to the injunction, and placed Dundee and Forfar in the hands of the English king.* The custody of the kingdom was immediately redelivered to the regents by Edward, who was probably satisfied, in the meantime, by this acknowledgment of his claims and compliance with his demands; but he enjoined the regents to appoint Alan, Bishop of Caithness, an Englishman, to the important office of Chancellor; and he nominated Walter of Agmondesham, another agent of England, as his associate in office. A few days after, he appointed Bryan Fitzallan, an English baron, to be joined in commission with the Scottish regents, and by these steps secured an effectual influence over the government of the country. The great seal of Scotland was then delivered to the joint chancellors, the Bishop of Caithness and Walter Agmondesham. At the same time, Robert Bruce, and his son John Baliol, the regents, and many of the principal Scottish barons, swore fealty to the King of England. One ecclesiastic only, the Bishop of Sodor, presented himself to perform the disgraceful ceremony. The peace of the king, as Lord Paramount of Scotland, was then proclaimed, and the assembly finally adjourned to the 3rd of August.† The interval was employed by Edward in making a progress through Scotland; in the course of which he visited Edinburgh, Kinghorn, St. Andrews, Dunfermline, Linlithgow, Stirling, and Perth. All classes of persons,—bishops, earls, barons, and burgesses,—were required by him to sign the rolls of homage as his vassals. Whoever refused to take the oath of allegiance, was ordered to be punished by imprisonment.‡

When the commissioners assembled at Berwick, on the 3rd of August, to receive the claims to the crown, twelve competitors presented themselves. These were—

The competitors for the crown.

I. John de Baliol, who claimed the crown as the grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to King William the Lion.

II. Robert de Bruce, who was the son of Isabel, second daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon.

III. John de Hastings, who was the son of Ada, the third daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon.

IV. John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, who claimed as the great-grandson of Donald Bane, formerly King of Scotland.

V. Florence, Earl of Holland, descended from Ada, the sister of King William the Lion.

VI. Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, descended from Ilda, or Ada, daughter of William the Lion.

VII. William de Vesci, who claimed as grandson of Marjory, daughter of William the Lion.

VIII. William de Ross, descended from Isabella, daughter of William the Lion.

IX. Robert de Pynkeney, descended from Marjory, daughter of Henry, Prince of Scotland, and sister of William the Lion.

X. Nicolas de Soulis, descended from Marjory, a daughter of Alexander II., and wife of Allan Durward.

XI. Patrick Galythly claimed as the son of Henry Galythly, who, he contended, was the lawful son of William the Lion.

XII. Roger de Mandeville, descended from Aufrica, whom he affirmed to be a daughter of William the Lion.

To these twelve competitors a thirteenth was soon afterwards added, in the person of Eric, King of Norway, who claimed the crown as the heir of his daughter Margaret.*

The pretensions of nine of these claimants were obviously inadmissible, and they indeed voluntarily withdrew their claims before the final decision was pronounced. There is every reason to believe, that most of them had been induced to enter the lists by the secret intrigues of the English king, for the purpose of neutralizing their opposition to his schemes, and of rendering the election more complicated. And having served this end, their claims were at once put aside.

The final decision of the cause was postponed till the following year (1292), apparently to give the commissioners full time to make the necessary investigations, but really with the view of accustoming the people of Scotland to regard the English monarch as their Lord Paramount. On the 2nd of June, the commissioners made a report to Edward, who commanded them to consider, in the first place, the claims of Bruce and Baliol,—thus virtually determining that the crown must be awarded to the descendants of David, Earl of Huntingdon. After some preliminary deliberations, which were nothing more than a premeditated piece of acting planned by the English king, the commissioners reported that there appeared to be a difference of opinion among the Scottish members of their body, by whose advice, if unanimous, it would have been the duty of the king to have regulated his conduct; and they therefore declined to give any advice, without having the better judgment of the prelates, nobility, and other wise men of England. On this, the further consideration of the question was appointed by Edward to take place in a parliament, to be held at Berwick, on the 15th of October. He declared that, in the meantime, he would consult the learned in foreign parts;† and recommended all persons present, of both kingdoms, to study the case and consider what ought to be done.

Course followed by the commissioners.

When the parliament met at Berwick on the day appointed, Edward requested the commissioners to

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 251. † Ibid. p. 252.
‡ Rym. Fœd. vol. ii. p. 573.

* Hailes, vol. i. pp. 255—258; Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 576—578.

† Fordun avers, that long before this time Edward had consulted foreign lawyers. The case is imperfectly put, says Lord Hailes, and the opinions are irreconcileably different.—Annals, vol. i. p. 260.

give an answer to the following questions:—"1st. By what laws and usages ought judgment to be given? 2nd. If there are either no laws by which the case may be determined, or if the laws of England and Scotland should be at variance, how ought judgment to be given? And 3rd. Ought the succession to the crown of Scotland to be regulated by the same principles which were applicable to earldoms and baronies?" The commissioners replied, that the decision must be given according to the laws and usages of the two kingdoms; but if none existed applicable to the present case, the king might and should make a new law; and that the succession to the crown of Scotland must be decided in the same manner as the succession to earldoms, baronies, and other indivisible inheritances.*

Arguments of Bruce—

After these preliminaries, Bruce and Baliol were heard at great length in support of their respective claims. Bruce pleaded, that his right to the crown had been recognised by the States of the realm in the reign of Alexander the Second;† that Alexander, towards the close of his life, and without the prospect of having heirs of his own body, had summoned the bishops, earls and barons of the land, and demanded of them which of the issue of the daughters of his uncle David, Earl of Huntingdon, had the preferable claim to the succession; that they, being there assembled, deerned and adjudged according to their own laws, the imperial laws, and others, that the son of the second daughter should inherit prior to the daughter of the first born, and all the clergy, as well as laity, unanimously and cordially showed the same as a true judgment to the king; that Alexander, then taking the Lord of Annandale by the hand, presented him as his true and lawful heir, to all the nobles and magnates, clergy as well laity, as his lawful heir to the kingdom of Scotland; and that the whole of them, by the king's command and in his presence, took the oath of fealty to Bruce, upon the holy gospels; that Alexander the Third gave his friends to understand that, failing issue of his own body, Bruce was his right heir; and that an oath had been taken to maintain the succession of the nearest in blood to that monarch,—failing the Maid of Norway and her issue. Bruce further insisted, that the succession to a throne ought to be decided by the law of nature, rather than by the laws and usages in force between subject and subject, by which law he, as the nearest collateral in blood, had the strongest claim; that his title was supported by the custom of succession to the Scottish crown, by which the brother, as nearest in degree, was preferred to the son of the deceased king; that a woman, being incapable of governing, ought not to reign; and, therefore, as Devorguil, the mother of Baliol, was alive at the death of Alexander the Third, and could not reign, the kingdom devolved upon him as the nearest male of the blood royal.

—and Baliol.

The reply of Baliol to the first and most powerful part of Bruce's pleading, was weak and evasive. He contented himself with merely affirming, that no conclusion could be drawn from the acknowledgment of Alexander the Second, as he left heirs of his own body; and he passed over, without notice, the statement respecting the declaration of Alexander the Third, and the oath taken by the Scottish people to maintain the succession of the next in blood to that monarch. To the other arguments adduced by Bruce in support of his claim, Baliol answered, that the claimants were in the court of their Lord Paramount, who must give judgment in this case, as in the case of other tenements held of the crown, according to the common law and usages of his kingdom;—that upon these principles the eldest female heir is preferred in the succession to all inheritance, indivisible as well as divisible. He argued, that the ancient rule of succession to the Scottish crown, referred to by Bruce, truly militated against himself, for the son was nearer in degree than the brother, yet the brother was preferred.* He maintained that Bruce's argument, that a woman ought not to reign, was inconsistent with his own claim, for if Isabella, the mother of Bruce, had no right to reign, he could derive from her no claim to the throne; and besides all this he urged, Bruce here denied what he had by his own deliberate act acknowledged, for he was one of the Scottish nobles who swore fealty to Margaret, the Maiden of Norway.

The competitors, Bruce and Baliol, having thus been fully heard in support of their respective claims, King Edward required of his great council and the commissioners, an answer to the following question—"By the laws and customs of both kingdoms, ought the issue of an elder sister, but more remote by one degree, to exclude the issue of the younger sister, although one degree nearer?" To this the whole council unanimously returned an answer in the affirmative, thus declaring, by implication, against the claims of Bruce. In another meeting, held three weeks later, on the 6th of November, Edward formally pronounced his decision, "that Bruce should take nothing in the competition with Baliol." John de Hastings, the descendant of the third daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, now claimed one-third of the kingdom, on the ground that it was a divisible inheritance. On this, Bruce again presenting himself, and adopting the argu-

Edward decides in favour of Baliol.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 260.

† The documents connected with this important fact were first published by the Record Commission in 1837. The parliamentary settlement of the succession, it has been justly said, places the right of the family of Bruce to the crown on a firmer basis than that of conquest, and is an important, and it may be added, a novel feature in that important litigation. North British Review, vol. iii. p. 364; Palgrave's Documents and Records, illustrating the History of Scotland. p. 23.

* Lord Hailes remarks, that Baliol here attempts to answer Bruce's argument without understanding it. Bruce supposed an ancestor to be a common stock, and the degrees to be the persons descending from that stock. Hence, the king's brother was one degree nearer the common stock than the king's son.

1 Great Seal of John Baliol.
2 Silver Coin of David II.
3 Coin of John Baliol.
4 Silver Coin of Robert II
5 Coin of John Baliol.
6 Great Seal of David II

ment of Hastings, also claimed a third part of Scotland, reserving to Baliol, as descended from the eldest sister, the name of king and the royal dignity. But these claims were unanimously rejected by the council.

The final decision was given on the 17th of the same month, in the great hall of the castle of Berwick. In the presence of the prelates and nobles of both countries, Edward solemnly decreed, "That John Baliol should have seisin of the kingdom of Scotland." But again, at the termination, as a year and a half before, at the commencement of these proceedings, the English monarch protested, "That the judgment he had thus given should not impair his claim, or that of his heirs, to the property of Scotland, when they should think fit to assert it." On the 19th, the five regents were ordered to give the new king seisin of his kingdom; and orders were sent to the governors of the castles throughout Scotland, to deliver them into his hands. The same day, the great seal, which had been used by the regency since the death of Alexander III., was publicly broken into four parts, and the pieces deposited in the treasury of England, "in testimony to future ages of England's right of superiority over Scotland." Next day, Baliol swore fealty to Edward in the Castle of Norham. On St. Andrew's Day—the 30th, he was solemnly crowned at Scone; and, on the 26th of the following month, he concluded this degrading scene by paying his homage to Edward at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*

Baliol's coronation.

Thus far the designs of the English king had been crowned with success. But it was soon evident that the acknowledgment of his supremacy over Scotland was only a part of his scheme, and that he was determined, by a series of galling indignities, to goad his unhappy vassal into rebellion, that he might thus be furnished with a plausible pretext, to annex the revolted fief to his own dominions. Scarcely had Baliol taken possession of his vassal kingdom, when he was made to feel the degradation of his position. A private citizen of Berwick, having appealed to the English king, from a judgment of the commissioners of justice, whom he had appointed in Scotland during the interregnum, Baliol remonstrated against the appeal being entertained, reminding Edward, that by the treaty of Brigham, no Scottish subject was to be compelled to answer in an English court for any act done in Scotland. Edward replied, with unblushing effrontery, that such a promise had been made to suit the convenience of the time, and that he did not intend to be bound by it. "This," said he, "is my firm determination with regard to all complaints or appeals brought before me from Scotland; nor will I be bound by any former promises or concessions made to the contrary; I am little careful by what deeds or instruments they may be ratified. I shall exercise that superiority and direct dominion which I hold over the kingdom of Scotland, when and where I please; nor will I hesitate, if necessary, to summon the King of Scotland himself into my presence, within the kingdom of England."* Baliol's spirit quailed before this unprincipled threat, and he consented to buy his peace with his imperious master by yielding up all the stipulations contained in the treaty of Brigham, concerning the freedom and immunities of Scotland, and which Edward had solemnly sworn, in the presence of the nobility of both countries, to maintain inviolable.

Edward's harsh and ignominious treatment of Baliol.

Baliol's subjection—

Baliol was soon made to feel that the declaration of the English king, respecting his intentions towards Scotland, was not to prove an empty threat. Every encouragement was held out to the Scottish people to appeal to the King of England for the redress of their grievances, and the harassed vassal king was summoned to answer in the English courts on the slightest occasion, and made to feel, at every turn, the disgrace and mortification of his dependent position. He was held to be a party in every appeal from his courts, whether for injustice done, or for justice delayed, and it was resolved to subject him to the intolerable burden of making a personal appearance at the trial of every appeal. Such treatment could have had but one object; and at length, even the weak and pusillanimous Baliol was goaded to resistance by finding himself thus exposed to continued insult and injury, where he had expected amity and honour. The case in which his patience at length gave way, was an appeal respecting the earldom of Fife. Duncan, the Earl of Fife, was at that time a minor, and his grand-uncle, Macduff, had made a temporary seizure of some part of his estates. Macduff was summoned to answer for this offence before the Scottish Parliament at Scone, and being found guilty, suffered a short imprisonment. On his release from his confinement, he appealed to the King of England against the sentence of the Scottish States, and Edward immediately summoned Baliol to answer the allegations of Macduff, by appearing in person before him. In the first instance Baliol took no notice of the order, but on receiving a second summons, he made his appearance in the English Parliament, on the day named, 15th October, 1293. When the appeal came on, Baliol was asked what defence he had to offer. He said, "I am King of Scotland: to the complaint of Macduff, or to ought else respecting my kingdom, I dare not make answer without the advice of my people." "What means this?" cried Edward. "You are my liegeman, you have done homage to me, you are here in consequence of my summons." Baliol, however, steadily adhered to the answer which he had already given. He declined even to ask an adjournment of the case, for the purpose of advising with his people, as Edward insidiously recommended.

—he is summoned to appear before the English courts—

—his reply.

* Hailes, vol. i. pp. 261—269; Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 582—591.

* Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 596, 597.

Under these circumstances, the Parliament of England declared that the King of Scotland had offered no defence; that in his answer he had been guilty of a manifest contempt of the court, and of open disobedience; that he was liable to Macduff in damages; and that, as a punishment for his contumacy in refusing to plead before his Lord Paramount, the three principal castles of Scotland, with the towns in which they are situated, should be taken into the custody of Edward until the King of Scots shall make satisfaction for his contumacy.*

These violent resolutions of the English Parliament, together with the offensive regulation requiring his personal attendance on the courts of his Lord Paramount, in England, seem at length to have exhausted the forbearance of Baliol, and to have convinced him that he was regarded as a mere tool, to be used for the most degrading purposes, and to be flung aside as soon as these purposes were served. He resolved to extricate himself from this miserable position, and the opportune breaking out of a war between France and England seemed to afford him a favourable occasion to throw off the English yoke. Edward, who, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, had shown himself as untractable and disobedient a vassal to Philip of France, as he was a severe and domineering superior to Baliol, had refused to obey the summons of the French king to appear in his court at Paris to answer, as his vassal, for the injuries which he had inflicted on the subjects of France. Philip had, in consequence, pronounced sentence on the English king as contumacious, and directed his estates in France to be seized, as forfeited to the crown. Edward highly resented these proceedings, renounced his allegiance as a vassal of Philip, and declared war against France, (A.D. 1294).

To assist him in carrying on this war, Edward summoned the King of Scots, and a number of the most powerful of his nobles, to attend him in person, with their vassals; and he also ordered Baliol to extend to Scotland the general embargo which he had laid on all vessels within his English dominions—the embargo to continue until Edward's further pleasure should be known. But the Scottish nobles were now thoroughly disgusted by the insolent and overbearing conduct of the English king. Instead of complying with his demands, they assembled a parliament at Scone, in the latter part of the year 1294. Under the pretence of lightening the public burdens, they dismissed all the Englishmen maintained at court—a prudent measure, says an old chronicler, as it removed the persons who might have been spies on their conduct.†

Preparations to throw off the English yoke.

A council appointed.

They then appointed a council of four bishops, four earls, and four barons, by whose advice Baliol was to act as the administrator of public affairs. And if we may credit the statements of some of the English writers, a watchful eye was kept on Baliol himself, and he was detained in a kind of honourable captivity in a distant fortress.*

These proceedings naturally excited the suspicions of Edward, and he demanded that the fortresses of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh should be delivered to the Bishop of Carlisle, to remain in his hands during the war between England and France. The Scottish Parliament deemed it prudent to comply with this demand, although they were at the moment negotiating an alliance with the French king. This treaty, "the ground-work," observes Lord Hailes, "of many more equally honourable and ruinous to Scotland," was signed at Paris on the 23rd of October, 1295. By it the niece of Philip was to be united to the eldest son of Baliol, and if Scotland should be invaded by the English, the French king engaged to assist the Scots with troops, kept at his own charge.† The Scottish guardians now drew up an instrument, in the name of their king, renouncing all fealty and allegiance to Edward, on account of the many and grievous injuries which he had inflicted upon the kingdom of Scotland; and assembling an army, under the command of Comyn, Earl of Buchan, they invaded Cumberland, towards the end of March, 1296, and laid waste the country. They were disgracefully repulsed, however, in an assault which they made upon Carlisle, and returned without having accomplished anything of importance. Another inroad which they made, a few days after, into Northumberland, was equally unsuccessful.‡

Treaty with France.

War with England.

Meanwhile, Edward, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, consisting of thirty thousand infantry and four thousand horse, was on his march to the Scottish border. He was joined by Anthony Beck, the military bishop of Durham, with a thousand foot and five hundred horse, and with this combined force he crossed the Tweed, and prepared to lay siege to the town of Berwick. This important fortress had either not been delivered by the Scots to the Bishop of Carlisle, or it had again fallen into their hands. It was now defended by a strong garrison, composed of the men of Fife, who refused to surrender on the terms which Edward offered. Berwick was, at that time, celebrated for its populousness and wealth, and the extent of its commerce, which, in the opinion of a contemporary chronicler, entitled it to the name of a second Alexandria.§ Edward was determined, at whatever cost, to make himself master of it. He commenced the attack at once by sea and land. But the garrison fiercely assaulted his ships, burnt three of them, and compelled the rest to retire. Exasperated at this discomfiture, Edward led on the land attack in person, and, mounted on his horse, Bayard, was the first to

Edward invades Scotland.

Siege and sack of Berwick.

* Hailes, vol. i. pp. 274—281.
† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 75.
* M. Westminster, p. 425. † Rymer, vol. ii. p. 695.
‡ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 87; Hailes, vol. i. p. 285.
§ Chron. of Lanercost, p. 185.

leap the dike that defended the town. The impetuous onset of the English soldiers, animated by the example of their king, carried all before it. The inhabitants were butchered without distinction of sex or age, and, for two days, the streets of the city ran with blood. The numbers that perished in this indiscriminate massacre are variously stated, but they undoubtedly amounted to many thousands.*

The churches, to which many of the miserable inhabitants had fled for refuge, were defiled with blood, spoiled of their ornaments, and turned into stables for the English cavalry.† A party of thirty Flemings had posted themselves in their factory, a strong building, called the Red Hall, which the resident merchants of that nation, by their charter, were bound to defend at all times against the English. True to their engagements, these brave men held out the place till evening against the whole English army. The assailants, irritated by this obstinate defence, set the building on fire, and its faithful defendants perished, every man of them, in the flames.‡ The massacre of Berwick took place on Good Friday, and, on the same day, Sir William Douglas, who commanded the castle, capitulated; and the garrison, consisting of two hundred men, after taking an oath not to bear arms against England, were allowed to march out with military honours.

Baliol's renunciation of his homage.

On the 5th of April, while Edward remained at Berwick, Henry, Abbot of Arbroath, appeared at his court, and delivered to him Baliol's solemn renunciation of his allegiance. "You have," was the language of the instrument, "wantonly summoned me to your courts; you have committed grievous outrages and robberies upon my subjects, both by sea and land; you have seized my castles and estates in England; killed and imprisoned my subjects and the merchants of my realm; and when I demanded a redress of these injuries, you have invaded my dominions at the head of a vast army, with the purpose of depriving me of my crown, and have cruelly ravaged the land: wherefore I renounce that fealty and homage which have been extracted from me, and do resolve openly to oppose myself in defence of my kingdom against Edward of England." "The foolish traitor," said Edward, when he received this letter; "of what folly is he guilty! but since he will not come to us we will go to him."*

The Scottish army, enraged at the cruelties which Edward had inflicted on the inhabitants of Berwick, made an inroad into England, and advancing into Redesdale and Tynedale, laid waste the country, and committed great excesses. But Edward did not allow this hasty incursion to interfere with the prosecution of his plans. The Castle of Dunbar, the key of the eastern marches, was delivered into the hands of the Scottish leaders by the Countess of March, while the earl, her husband, served in the army of Edward. To recover this important fortress, the Earl of Surrey was despatched with ten thousand foot and a thousand heavy-armed horse. The garrison being hard pressed, agreed to surrender, unless relieved within three days; and the Scottish army, consisting, it is said, of upwards of forty thousand men, advanced to their relief, and took up a strong position on the heights above Dunbar. Surrey advanced to attack them (April 28th); but as the line of march led through a valley, which rendered his ranks somewhat irregular, the Scots, imagining that their enemies were thrown into confusion, precipitately abandoned their strong position, and rushed down to the encounter. The English, emerging from the valley before the lines could meet, received the disorderly charge of their assailants with firmness, and repulsed them with great slaughter. Ten thousand men are said to have fallen in the field or in the pursuit, among whom was Sir Patrick Graham, an ancestor of the Duke of Montrose, who was lamented even by the English, as one of the wisest and noblest of the Scottish barons.† An immense number, including the principal of the Scottish nobility, were taken prisoners. Next day the Castle of Dunbar surrendered at discretion, not without strong suspicions of treachery on the part of the governor, Richard Siward.‡ The Earls of Athol, Ross, Monteith, and the leaders of the garrison, together with a considerable number of barons and knights, who had taken refuge in the fortress in their flight from the fatal field of Dunbar, submitted to the mercy of Edward. All the prisoners of rank were for the present committed to close confinement in different English and Welsh castles, and were afterwards compelled to attend their conqueror in his French wars.

Defeat of the Scots at Dunbar.

It is reported that Edward, previous to his invasion of Scotland, had secured the support of Bruce, the son of the competitor for the crown, by expressing his determination to place him on the throne, of which Baliol had shown himself so unworthy. Trusting to this promise, Bruce and

* Langtoft states that 4000 perished in the storming of the town; Fordun and Wyntown give us the number of 7500; Hemingford of 8000; and Knighton says, that 17,000 were put to the sword. The shocking incident which made Edward at length put a stop to this butchery is thus related by Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 83:—

"Thus they slayand ware sa fast,
All the day, till at the last,
This kyng Edward saw in that tyde
A woman slain, and of her syde
A bairn he saw fall out sprewland,
Besyde that woman slayne lyand;
'Lasses, Lasses,' then cried he,
'Leve off, leve off,' that word suld be."

† Fordun, book xi. chap. liv. lv.

‡ Hailes, vol. i. p. 287.

* "Ha! ce fol felon, tel folie faict! s'il ne voult venir à nous, nous viendrons à lui." Fordun, book xi. chap. xviii.; Foed. vol. ii. p. 707.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 96. It is worthy of notice, that Cromwell defeated the army of the Scottish Covenanters, (3rd Sept., 1650,) on the same ground, and in very similar circumstances.

‡ See Langtoft's Chron. vol. ii. p. 274.

his powerful friends had renewed their oaths of homage to Edward, and had joined the English army. After the battle of Dunbar, Bruce hinted to the English king his expectation of being raised to the throne which Baliol had forfeited. "Have I no other business," was the haughty reply, "but to conquer kingdoms for you?" Bruce silently retired, and appears to have interfered no further with public affairs.* The battle of Dunbar for the present decided the fate of Scotland. All resistance to the power of Edward was at an end. On the 18th of May, the strong castle of Roxburgh was given up by James the Steward of Scotland, who, at the same time, swore fealty to the English monarch, and abjured the French alliance. The fortresses of Dunbarton and Jedburgh were soon after surrendered. The castle of Edinburgh capitulated after a siege of eight days, and Stirling was abandoned without resistance. The spirit of the nation was sunk in despair, and the conquest of the country appeared to be complete. Edward continued his progress without opposition to Perth,

Baliol's submission, and abdication of the crown.

where he received a message from the unhappy Baliol, offering submission, and imploring peace. Edward, in reply, directed him to repair to the castle of Brechin, where the Bishop of Durham would announce to him the terms on which mercy would be extended to him. He was required to abdicate his throne in favour of Edward, with the most degrading ceremonial. Divested of his royal robes, and crown, and sceptre, he was compelled to stand as a criminal, with a white rod in his hand, in the presence of the Bishop of Durham and the barons of England. He confessed that, misled by evil and false counsel, as he averred, and through his own simplicity, he had grievously offended his liege lord. He recapitulated his various transgressions—his league with France, and his hostilities against England. He acknowledged the justice of the English invasion and conquest; and three days after this, in the castle of Brechin, he resigned his kingdom of Scotland, its people, and their homage, into the hands of his liege lord Edward.† After this humiliating ceremony, Baliol and his eldest son were sent to London, where they remained for three years in confinement in the Tower. Thus terminated the brief and disastrous reign of John Baliol. In more auspicious circumstances he might have been a useful and popular monarch. But opposed to a powerful and unscrupulous adversary, and surrounded by a base and treacherous nobility, who were actuated by private and selfish ambition, rather than by the love of their country, or a regard for the public welfare, he proved utterly destitute of those talents which the emergency demanded. His reign was therefore miserable and inglorious, and his fall unpitied.

Scotland now lay prostrate at the feet of her invader, who continued an unresisted march through the kingdom as far north as Aberdeen and Elgin, placing garrisons in the deserted fortresses, and receiving the submission of the Scottish barons and prelates, who hastened to make their peace by taking the oath of allegiance, and renouncing the French alliance. On his return south, in passing Scone, he mutilated the cartulary of that ancient abbey, for the purpose of destroying whatever historical notices might be found at variance with his pretensions. He also carried off some of its charters, and tore the seals from others; and, that nothing might remain which could remind the Scots of their original independence, he caused the famous stone on which the kings of Scotland, from the earliest ages of their monarchy, had been crowned, along with the Scottish crown and sceptre, to be conveyed to Westminster, where it was deposited in the cathedral, as an offering to Edward the Confessor, and a memorial of what he deemed his absolute conquest of Scotland.*

Edward's progress through Scotland.

Carries the Scotch regalia to Westminster.

On the 28th of August, Edward held a parliament at Berwick for the purpose of receiving the submission of the clergy and laity of the conquered kingdom; and there, either from hope of his favour

Submission of the Scottish nobles.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 291. Fordun, book xi. chap. xxv.

† Different accounts have been given respecting the exact date and place of this surrender. It appears from Prynne, that the scroll of resignation was prepared at Kincardine, on the 2nd July; the penance took place in the churchyard of Strathkathro, on the 7th; and the final surrender of the crown was made on the 10th July, at the castle of Brechin, in the presence of Edward himself. See Tytler, vol. i. note F.

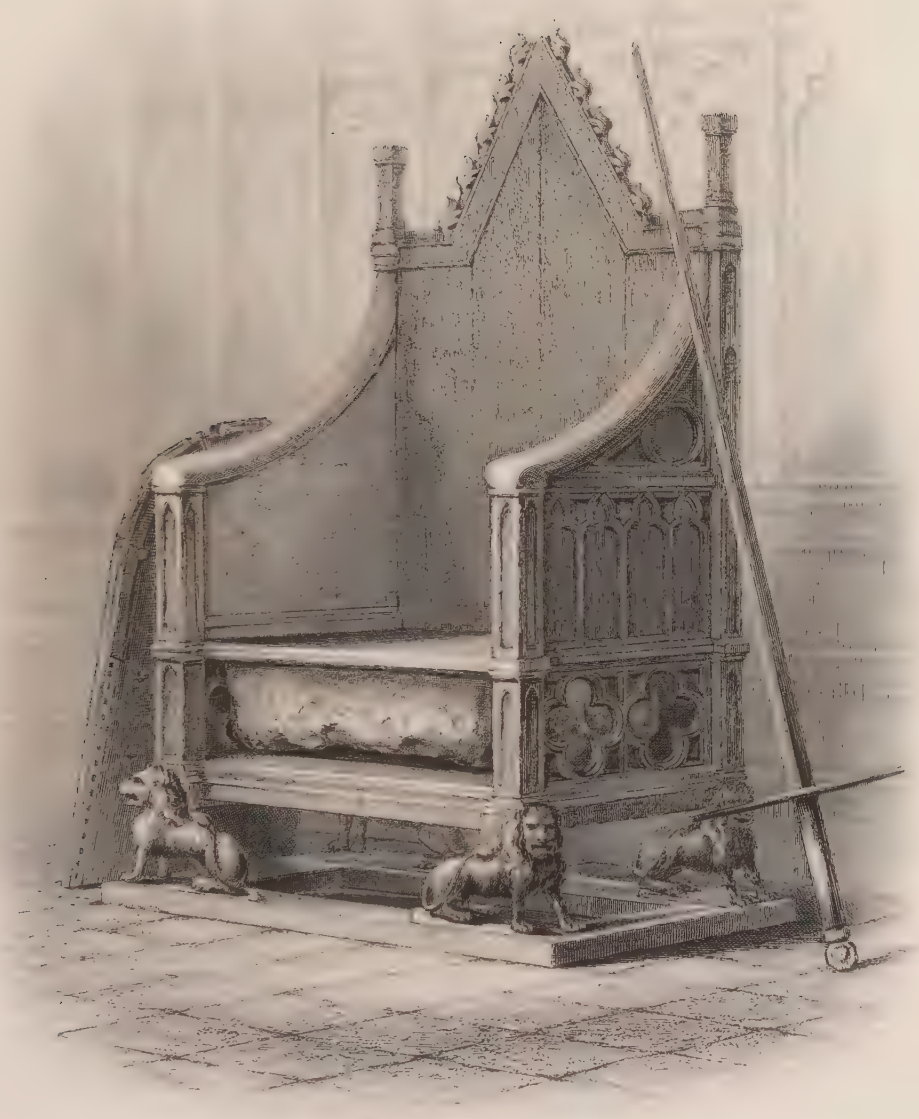
* Hailes, vol. i. p. 294; Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 37, 100. This was the celebrated *Lia Fail*, or Stone of Destiny, which, according to fabulous chronicles, Gathelus, the Spanish king, a contemporary of Romulus, sent with his son, when he invaded Ireland. It is believed to have served for many ages as the coronation throne of the kings of Ireland. It was removed to Scotland, and deposited at Iona, for the coronation of Fergus, the son of Erc, who led the Dalriadic Scots to the shores of Argyleshire. From thence it was conveyed to the abbey of Scone, in 842, by Kenneth II., when the kings of the Scottish race had extended their sway over the ancient kingdom of the Picts. Walsingham says that the use Edward put it to was, to serve as a chair for the officiating priests at Westminster. In the wardrobe account of the king, for 1299, there is the entry of a payment to "Walton the painter, for a step to the foot of the New Chair, in which the Stone of Scotland was placed, near the altar of Edward in Westminster Abbey." The connection which this stone is supposed to have with the destinies of the Scots, is commemorated in the celebrated leonine verse—

"Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum,
Invenient lapidem regnare tenentur ibidem."

Which has been rendered thus—

"Unless the fates are faithless grown,
And prophet's voice be vain,
Where'er is found this sacred stone,
The Scottish race shall reign."

So deep-rooted has been the belief of the Scots in this augury, that many hailed the accession of James VI. to the crown of England as the accomplishment of this prophecy. This venerable stone is still preserved, and forms the support of the coronation chair of the British sovereign in Westminster Abbey. It was, in all probability, originally the Tanist stone, where the new chief, or king, was elected and sworn to protect and lead the people. This custom is, undoubtedly, of eastern origin, and traceable to a very remote era. Thus when Abimelech was made king, it was by *the pillar which was in Shechem*, (Judges ix. 6); and when Joash was anointed king by Jehoida, *the king stood by the pillar as the manner was*, (2 Kings xi. 14). See Wilson's Archæology, p. 98.



CORONATION CHAIR IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

or fear of his vengeance, the Scottish barons and knights presented themselves in such numbers, to take the oaths of fealty, that their names fill thirty-five skins of parchment, which are still preserved amongst the English archives. The measures which he adopted for the settlement of his new dominions were characterized by great prudence and moderation. He ordered the forfeited estates of the clergy to be restored. He even made provision for the wives of many of his prisoners. The various jurisdictions of the country were left in the hands of their ancient possessors, and few of those who held office under Baliol were dispossessed. But with all this assumed moderation, every precaution was taken to render his conquest secure. John Warenne, Earl of Surrey, was appointed Guardian of Scotland. Hugh Cressingham, an ambitious churchman, was made Treasurer, and William Ormsby Justiciary. The fortresses of the country were committed to English captains, and a royal exchequer was instituted at Berwick, on the model of that at Westminster. Having thus achieved an easy, and apparently a permanent conquest, Edward returned to England, "with the glory," says Lord Hailes, "due to the conqueror of a free people."

Settlement of the kingdom.

The rapid and apparently complete prostration of the Scottish people beneath the victorious arms of Edward, may be accounted for, to a great extent, by the selfish and vacillating conduct of the nobles, their natural leaders. At this period, owing to the systematic policy pursued by Malcolm Canmore and his successors, the Scottish nobility consisted almost entirely of foreigners—Anglo-Normans and Anglo-Saxons—who felt no patriotic attachment to the country in which they had settled, and were not bound to it by those strong ties that connect a people with a land which has been for ages the abode of their fathers. Many of these barons, too, held extensive estates in England as well as in Scotland, and were, therefore, to a certain extent, the subjects of both kingdoms. As they had no peculiar affection for either, their allegiance was made to depend almost entirely upon personal considerations. They had far more of the spirit of the mercenary, who serves for pay, than of the patriot, fighting in defence of his native land—the place of his fathers' sepulchres.* Hence the lukewarmness which they manifested throughout this great struggle in the defence of their country, and the frequency and shamelessness with which they changed sides, according as their private interest dictated, without the slightest regard to the public welfare. They were ever strong upon the stronger side. It was very different, however, with the Scottish nation at large. The middle and lower class of proprietors especially, who were sprung of the native race of Scotland, felt keenly their national degradation, and the loss of the independence of their country. Animated by an ardent spirit of patriotism and a determined hatred against their oppressors, they burned with impatience to throw off the English yoke. The administration of the governor whom Edward had appointed over the conquered kingdom became every day more oppressive and hated. Numerous bands of armed peasants rose against the usurpers throughout the whole country, besieged and stormed the castles which they had garrisoned, and took signal vengeance for the injuries which they had inflicted upon the defenceless inhabitants. At this critical juncture the Almighty raised up a champion in the cause of suffering freedom, who first awoke the Scottish nation to a consciousness of its strength, and aroused a spirit of resistance to oppression, which all the power of the usurper was never able wholly to subdue.

Selfish conduct of the Scottish nobility.

Hatred of the Scottish people against the English.

"When we read the story of William Wallace," says an eloquent writer, "imagination wanders back to the times of heroic antiquity, and enthusiasm can scarce keep pace with reason in forming an estimate of his services to his country. He gave birth to the land of his nativity, and interested the sympathies of the world in behalf of her gallant struggle for existence. Personal wrong, and the grinding oppression practised on his friends, first stung him to revolt; but his passion soon hardened into principle, like the burning lava converted into stone. Against the victorious might of England he threw himself, and carved his way to honour without the shouts of a thousand vassals to proclaim his feudal greatness, or a coronet on his brow to tell the nobility of his blood. Fortune did not look askance upon his sacrifice. The discipline of English chivalry quailed before him; castles changed masters; ridicule gave way to reflection, and reflection to alarm; the oppressed dared to remonstrate; the oppressor deigned to assign reasons for his oppression; insult and injury were followed by retaliation and revenge; and the haughty Plantagenet found himself no longer the invincible; his army dissipated,—his vassals faithless,—his nobles butchered,—and the conquest, gained by so many intrigues,

Rise of William Wallace.

* It appears from the Rotuli Scotiæ, that Edward had bestowed many rich grants of estates and salaries upon the principal nobility and prelates, with the view of securing them to his interest. He gave

		ANNUAL VALUE.	
To the Bishop of Glasgow, lands of	....	£100	
To James the Steward	„	100	
To Patrick, Earl of Dunbar	„	100	
To John de Soulis	„	100	Marks.
To William Sinclair	„	100	„
To Patrick de Graham	„	100	„

All these persons were to have lands of the subjoined value, on condition that the kingdom of Scotland should continue in the possession of the English king and his heirs. Edward afterwards changed his plan, and gave these barons and prelates gratifications in money, or other value. But to John Comyn he gave the large sum of £1563 14*s.* 6½*d.* He took care, however, to reimburse himself by keeping the wards, marriages, and other items of revenue, which had fallen to the Scottish crown during the interregnum. See Tytler, vol. i. p. 86, and note.

so much artful policy, and such elaborate chicane, vanished like a dream." *

Sir William Wallace sprung from an ancient family of Anglo-Norman descent, but neither rich nor noble. He was the second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace, of Ellerslie, near Paisley. The precise date of his birth is unknown. His father and elder brother are said to have been slain in some of the skirmishes of the times, and when the patriot himself was very young. His early years were passed under the superintendence of his uncle, a wealthy ecclesiastic at Dunipace, in Stirlingshire, by whom his mind was carefully stored with the choicest passages of the Latin classics, particularly those in which the love of liberty is most powerfully recommended. The patriotic priest, it is said, "deplored the calamities of his country, and was never weary of extolling the sweets of liberty, and lamenting the miseries of dependence."† The enthusiastic affection with which the memory of the Scottish patriot has been cherished, has given a tone of exaggeration bordering on the fabulous to the traditionary descriptions of his character and exploits; but making every allowance for the romantic hues which the passionate admiration of his countrymen has thrown around him, the sober verdict of history must determine, that Wallace was every way worthy of his fame. His uncommon stature and personal strength, combined with daring courage and great military genius; his stainless character and superiority to all base and selfish objects; his stirring though rude eloquence, which gave him a wonderful power over the hearts of his followers; his pure and enthusiastic patriotism, and unextinguishable hatred of oppression, marked out this renowned hero as pre-eminently fitted to be the leader of a high-spirited people in their struggle to maintain their freedom and independence.

At a very early period of his life, Wallace manifested a strong dislike to the English, who now insolently lorded it over Scotland; and tradition has recorded numerous instances in which he took signal vengeance upon them for personal or public injuries. But the incident which occasioned his finally rising in arms, is believed to have happened in the town of Lanark, A.D. 1297. Wallace was at this time residing with his wife in that place. It happened that one day some English officers insulted him on account of his gay dress and rich dagger, and taunted him with the contrast between his garb and the depressed condition of his country. A quarrel ensued, which led to bloodshed, and Wallace, overpowered by numbers, fled to his own house, and by the assistance of his wife, escaped through a back entrance, and fled to a rugged and rocky glen, near Lanark, called the Cartland Crags, where he was safe from immediate pursuit. Hislop, or Hazelrigg, the English sheriff, enraged at the escape of Wallace, in a spirit of cruel and unmanly revenge, attacked and burned the house, and put his wife and servants to death. On receiving notice of this atrocity, Wallace immediately collected a small body of his friends, returned to Lanark that same night, and avenged the death of his wife by the slaughter of her murderers.* From this period he devoted himself to the work of redressing his country's wrongs and inflicting vengeance on her oppressors. He speedily succeeded in gathering around him a body of men whom he imbued with his own fierce and determined spirit. Unable, as yet, to cope with the English invaders in the open field, he began a species of *guerilla* warfare, to which the district around his place of refuge was admirably suited. Issuing suddenly from the Cartland Crags, he attacked detachments of the English soldiery, intercepted provisions for their garrisons, and stormed and took many of their strongholds. His retreat was as rapid as his advance; and amid the wild passes and dangerous defiles to which he and his followers betook themselves, it was impossible for an enemy to pursue them with safety.

His first exploits.

The fame of Wallace began now to attract the notice of his countrymen, and awoke the dormant spirit of some of the nobles. Sir William Douglas, called "the Hardy," a brave and powerful baron, who had sworn fealty to Edward after the siege of Berwick, disregarding his oath, joined the patriots at the head of a large body of retainers. The castles of Disdeir and Sanquhar were taken by Douglas: and Wallace, by a rapid march on Scone, surprised Ormesby, the English Justiciary, killed many of his followers, and acquired a rich booty. With their united forces, they broke in upon the west of Scotland, where almost every stronghold was speedily wrested from the enemy. These successes were followed by the adhesion of some men of note to the cause of the patriots, in addition to those who had

His rapid success.

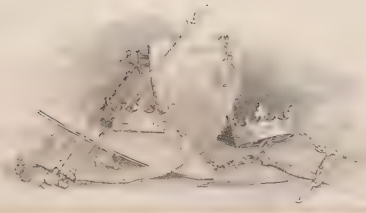
Is joined by a number of the barons.

* North British Review, vol. iii. p. 365.

† Barbour has expressed, with equal spirit and feeling, the misery and oppression of Scotland under Edward, and concludes with a passionate exclamation, which will find an echo in every Scotsman's bosom:—

"A! fredome is a noble thing!
Fredome mayss man to haiff liking;
Fredome all solace to man giffis;
He levys at ess that freely levys!
A noble hart may haiff nane ess,
Na allys nocht that may him pless,
Gyff fredome fail: for fre liking
Is yharnit our all othir thing.
Na he that ay has levyt fre
May nocht know weill the propyrté,
The anger, na the wrechyt dome
That is couplyt to foule thyrldome.
Bot gyff he had assayit it,
Than all perquer he suld it wyt;
And suld think fredome mair to pryss
Than all the gold in warld that is."

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 92—95. Blind Harry says that Wallace was outlawed, when a mere youth, for killing an Englishman, the son of the governor of Dundee, who had grossly insulted him. This story, however, is not supported by any trustworthy evidence, and Bower, the continuator of Fordun, an excellent authority, asserts, that the hostility of Wallace to the English arose from his despair at beholding the oppression of his relations and countrymen, and the servitude and misery to which they were subjected.—Fordun, vol. ii. p. 169.



GVLIELMVS SECVNDVS HOSTIVM TERROR

already joined it. Among these were the Steward of Scotland, and his brother, Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, Alexander Lindsay, Sir Richard Lundin, and Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell.* The most remarkable adherent, however, was the younger Bruce, Earl of Carrick. His extensive estates in the south and west of Scotland, gave him immense influence in the kingdom, and rendered his support of the utmost value to any cause he might espouse. He had incurred, it would seem, the suspicion of the Warden of the Western Marches, who summoned him to attend at Carlisle, on pretence of business relating to the safety of the kingdom. Bruce complied, and took an oath on the sword of Thomas à Becket, that he would remain a faithful vassal of the King of England. To remove any lingering suspicion of his loyalty, he even ravaged the estates of Douglas, who had already joined the small band of patriots. Yet with an inconsistency which contrasts strangely with the fearless integrity for which he was afterwards so honourably distinguished, he returned to Scotland to arm his father's vassals against Edward, and having failed in this attempt, he now joined Wallace with a number of his own tenantry.†

The insurrection of the patriots, at first despised as the troublesome but petty movements of a band of robbers, soon grew to a head, which alarmed Edward for the security of his newly-acquired dominions. Instructions were therefore transmitted to Surrey to move upon Scotland with a force sufficient to crush the insurrection. Henry Percy, the nephew of Surrey, and Robert de Clifford, accordingly passed the borders, with a force of forty thousand foot, and three hundred cavalry. At Lochmaben they were attacked during the night by the Scots, and were saved from total rout only by the inferiority of the Scottish force, which the light of their burning tents enabled them to discover. Percy and Clifford reached the neighbourhood of Irvine, where Wallace and the insurgents had taken up a strong position, with a force which, though deficient in cavalry, was sufficiently numerous to have given battle to the enemy. But dissensions among the leaders weakened, and ultimately dissolved, their confederacy. "All the leaders were independent," says Lord Hailes, "all untractable. They would neither fight, retire, nor treat by common consent." The pride of these feudal barons would not submit to be commanded by the only man among them who had talents to meet the emergency; and at length, to preserve their estates, they made their submission to the English, and signed a deed acknowledging their error in having violated the peace of their Lord Paramount, and promising to give hostages for their future good conduct. This document, drawn up by Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow (9th July, 1297), has, among other names, those of Bruce, the Steward of Scotland, and Sir William Douglas, attached to it. Wallace, who had resolutely opposed this disgraceful transaction, put himself at the head of his own tried followers, and, accompanied by Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, the only baron who adhered to him, retired indignantly to the north.*

Henry Percy invades Scotland.

Convention at Irvine.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 300.
† Ibid p. 301; Hemingford, vol. i. p. 120.

The English commanders, who seem to have calculated that by the secession of the barons, the power of the patriot would be utterly broken, were speedily undeceived. Unsubdued in spirit, though deeply incensed at the pusillanimity and vacillation of his titled associates, and their desertion of their country, Wallace kept the field, at the head of a considerable army, consisting partly of his personal adherents, partly of the tenants of the crown and church lands, and partly of the vassals even of the barons who had made their peace with Edward. The old English historian, Knighton, informs us, "that the whole followers of the nobility had attached themselves to him; and that, although the persons of their lords were with the King of England, their heart was with Wallace, who found his army reinforced by so immense a multitude of the Scots, that the community of the land obeyed him as their leader and prince."† While the English leaders remained in a state of inactivity, after the capitulation at Irvine, Wallace carried on hostilities in the northern counties, with characteristic vigour and success. The castle of Dunottar was surprised and garrisoned,‡ Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, were either taken or deserted by their garrisons at his approach. Aberdeen, after having been set on fire and relinquished by the English, fell into his hands. The castle of Dundee was next surrounded and assailed, with every prospect of success, when tidings that a large force, under the Earl of Surrey and Cressingham, the English Treasurer, was on its march to Stirling, compelled him to desist. The townsmen of Dundee, however, were ordered, on pain of his

Successes of Wallace.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 301; Hemingford, vol. i. p. 122.
† Page 2516.
‡ The description which Blind Harry gives of the burning of the church of Dunottar is not without poetical merit:—

"Wallace on fire gard[a] set all hastily,
Burnt up the court and all that was therein,
Atour[b] the rock the lave[c] ran with great din,
Some hung on craggs right dolefully to die,
Some leapt, some fell, some fluttered in the sea;
No southron in life was left without that hold,
And them within they burned to ashes cold.
When this was done, fele[d] fell on knees son,
At the bishop asked absolution.
Wallace said laughing, 'I forgive ye all,
Are ye war-men, repent ye for so small?
They rued not us, in the town of Ayr,
Our brave barons when that they hanged there.'"
Wallace, book vii.

This, and other kindred exploits of Wallace, are probably exaggerated; but there is every reason to believe, that he was merciless in his treatment of the invaders of his country. The English historians affirm, that he inflicted great cruelties on the English ecclesiastics who held livings in Scotland, and who had not obeyed the edict of the Scottish States, in 1296, banishing them from the country.

[a] Caused. [b] Around. [c] The rest. [d] Many.

vengeance, to prosecute the siege with unabated vigour.

Wallace then hurried to Stirling, in order to guard the passage of the Forth, by which alone the English force could penetrate into the northern parts of the country. He encamped at Cambuskenneth, and took up a strong position on a rising ground, which commanded the bridge of Stirling, a long and narrow erection of wood, situated about a mile above the present bridge. On the opposite side of the river lay the English forces, composed of fifty thousand infantry, and one thousand men at arms. The experience of Surrey warned him of the almost certain destruction which awaited his troops should they defile across the narrow bridge, and attack the Scots in their present position. To add to his difficulties, a portion of his forces consisted of the Scottish barons and their retainers, whose fidelity, in the event of a battle, could scarcely be relied on. He sought, therefore, to temporise, and despatched two friars to propose terms to Wallace. The reply of the patriot was brief and stern:—"Return to your friends," said he, "and tell them that we came here with no peaceful intent, but ready for battle, and determined to avenge our own wrongs, and set our country free. Let your masters come and attack us; we are ready to meet them beard to beard." Enraged at this defiance, the English soldiers clamoured to be led on. Sir Richard Lundin, a Scottish knight, who had gone over to the enemy at Irvine, pointed out the danger of defiling along a narrow bridge with a powerful and vigilant enemy in front, and offered to guide the English to a ford at no great distance, where sixty men could cross at a time. "Give me," said he, "but five hundred horse, and a small body of foot, I shall turn the enemy's flank, while you, lord earl, and the rest of the army, may pass over in security." This judicious proposal was rejected, on the ground that the army would be thereby divided. Surrey still hesitated, but Cressingham, the Treasurer, passionately exclaimed, "Why do we thus protract the war, and waste the king's treasures? Let us fight, as is our bounden duty." Surrey, contrary to his own better judgment, yielded, and gave orders for an immediate attack. Cressingham, along with Sir Marmaduke Twenge, a valiant and experienced soldier, led the van. When about one-half of the English force had passed the bridge without opposition, Sir Marmaduke impetuously charged up hill with a body of heavy-armed cavalry, for the purpose of dislodging the Scots from their strong position. The consequence of this rash attack was fatal to the assailants, as the Scots, from their vantage-ground, drove them headlong before them with their long spears. In the meantime, a masterly movement was executed by a part of the Scottish army, who, making a rapid detour to the left, suddenly assailed the English in the rear, and interposed between them and the bridge. Wallace, as soon as he perceived the retreat of the enemy thus cut off, rushed down from the high ground, and fiercely assailing the scarcely formed battalions of the English on the north bank of the river, threw them into inextricable confusion. Many thousands of the heavy-armed horse were slain or drowned in their flight. Surrey, who witnessed this scene from the opposite bank of the river, sought to retrieve the fortunes of the day by sending across, at a moment when the bridge was left open, a strong reinforcement, along with the royal standard of England, and his own banner. Unable to form, and assailed on every side by the Scottish spearmen, they only added to the confusion and slaughter.* A party of Scots, crossing the river by a ford at a little distance, assailed Surrey in the rear, and committed great havoc, assisted by the Scottish barons and their retainers, who, throwing off the mask, assisted their victorious countrymen in slaying and plundering the flying enemy. No quarter was given. The country, for miles around, was covered with the bodies of the English soldiers. Twenty thousand men are believed to have fallen in the battle and the flight. Among these was Cressingham, a man so detested by the Scots, that they mangled his dead body, and are said to have torn the skin from the limbs.† Sir Marmaduke Twenge gallantly cut his way through the thickest of the enemy and escaped. The loss of the Scots was trifling. The only man of note among them that fell was Sir Andrew Moray. Surrey fled on the spur to Berwick, conveying to Edward the first news of this terrible defeat. Such was the brilliant and decisive battle of Stirling Bridge, which redeemed the disgraces of Dunbar and Berwick, while it afforded to Scotland the prospect of the speedy restoration of her national independence.

Battle of Stirling, 11th September, 1297—

—and defeat of the English.

The battle of Stirling was followed by the surrender of Dundee, and the chief strongholds in the kingdom. The joy, however, which these brilliant successes excited in every part of the country, was for a time checked by the appearance of a new and terrible foe. Amid the ever-shifting scenes of warfare, a large portion of the arable land had been allowed to lie uncultivated, and now a grievous famine began to be felt by the peasantry, many of whom perished. This was followed by a pestilence, produced by the exhalations from the putrid carcases that lay rotting on the ground, and aggravated by the deficient or unhealthy food of the people.‡

Famine and pestilence in Scotland.

* The Scottish historians assert that the bridge broke down either by means of a stratagem of Wallace or from the weight of the English horse, foot, and machinery. But an English chronicler states that it was broken down by the orders of Surrey, to prevent pursuit. See Wallace Papers, p. 35.

† This is the account given by Hemingford, p. 130. The chronicle of Lanercost, p. 190, says, that Wallace ordered only as much of the skin to be taken off as would make a sword belt. This is probably the origin of the story told by Abercromby and others, that the Scots made girths of Cressingham's skin.

‡ Hailes, vol. i. pp. 304—306; Fordun, book xi. chap. xxix.; Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 126—130.

Wallace, on whom the government of the country seemed tacitly to devolve—for as yet he had not been appointed guardian—sought, by a series of wise regulations, to mitigate the evils he could not prevent.

The standing crops were carefully husbanded, and their use placed under wholesome restrictions, to meet the demands of the coming winter. His ready and comprehensive mind also suggested the plan of invading the northern counties of England; and, by the plunder obtained, to make reprisals on the enemy, while he fed his famished countrymen at home. Accordingly, early in the month of October, a certain proportion of those capable of bearing arms, in every county, barony, town, and village, were summoned to meet on the moor of Roslin. The army which assembled, though comparatively small in number, in consequence of the opposition of the nobles unfriendly to the patriot, was yet sufficiently strong to justify an immediate march; and, accordingly, elated by the prospects of plunder and revenge, the Scots proceeded southwards. Wallace divided the command with Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, a young soldier of great promise, the son of the faithful patriot who fell at the battle of Stirling Bridge. On the news of the approach of the Scottish force, the inhabitants of Northumberland fled from the open country, and, with their wives and children, cattle and goods, sought refuge in Newcastle. After a brief delay, of which Wallace availed himself, to punish the disaffected inhabitants of Aberdeen, the Scottish army entered England. The counties of Cumberland and Northumberland were wasted with fire and sword, and no preceding inroad of the Scots had been so extensive or disastrous in its results.* The English chroniclers of the time have left us many graphic and affecting pictures of the sad and desolate condition of the devoted districts. "At this time," says Hemingford, "the praise of God was unheard in any church and monastery through the whole country, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to the gates of Carlisle; for the monks, canons regular, and other priests, who were ministers of the Lord, fled with the whole people from the face of the enemy, nor was there any to oppose them, except that now and then a few English, who belonged to the castle of Alnwick, and other strengths, ventured from their safeholds and slew some stragglers. But these were slight successes, and the Scots roved over the country from the Feast of St. Luke (Oct. 18) to St. Martin's day (Nov. 11), inflicting upon it all the miseries of unrestrained rapine and bloodshed."†

Wallace invades England.

Wallace having called in his plundering parties, led his army to Carlisle, at that time one of the wealthiest cities in the north of England. But the place was strongly fortified and garrisoned, and Wallace, after sending a summons to surrender, which was disregarded by the English, passed on, and laid waste Cumberland and Allendale, as far as Derwentwater and Cockermouth. Winter was now approaching, and the frost set in with intense severity. The devastations of the Scots had rendered the whole district little better than a wilderness, and many of their own soldiers perished by cold and famine. An immediate return to their own country became therefore absolutely necessary.

An incident occurred on their way home, which, as it finely illustrates the piety and humanity of Wallace, and relieves somewhat the sad details of plunder and bloodshed, deserves here to be noticed. The monastery of Hexham had shared the fate of other religious houses, having been rifled and otherwise injured by the Scots in their advance. Only three monks had remained, and believing all danger to be past, were busied in repairing the damages which their house had sustained, when the Scots again appeared. The fierce soldiers entered, brandishing their weapons and demanding that the treasures of the monastery should be given up. The purport of the sad reply was, that all had been previously carried away. At this moment Wallace entered, and commanding his soldiers to be silent, requested one of the monks to perform mass. This was done, and the leader, with the soldiers, listened reverently. Retiring for a moment, however, to lay aside some of his armour previous to the elevation of the host, the avarice and ferocity of the soldiers broke out. They rudely seized the sacred cup from the communion altar, tore away the ornaments and vestments, and even laid hold of the missal in which the service had been commenced. While the priests stood trembling and horror-struck at the sacrilege, Wallace returned; and after having given orders for the punishment of the wretches, soothed and reassured the trembling priests. "Remain with me," said he, "it is that alone which can secure you. My soldiers are evil-disposed; I cannot justify, and I dare not punish them." As some compensation also for the injuries they had sustained, he granted (Nov. 8, 1297,) an ample protection in the name of the King of Scotland to the prior and convent of Hexham, forbidding on pain of death and forfeiture of goods, to kill or injure any of them.*

Protection granted to the monks at Hexham.

Leaving Hexham the Scots advanced to Newcastle; but finding the garrison prepared for a strenuous resistance, they turned aside from the town, and having made a division of their plunder, and allotted their share to the Galwegians, who were with the army, they returned home.†

In revenge for this destructive inroad, Lord

* Fordun, book xi. chap. xxix.
† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 132.

* Hemingford, pp. 133—135. This instrument is granted by Andrew de Moray and William Wallace, leaders of the army of Scotland, in the name of the illustrious prince John, by the grace of God king of Scotland, and with consent of the estates of the kingdom. This protection was to continue in force for a year.
† Ibid. p. 136.

Robert Clifford invaded Scotland with an army of twenty thousand foot and a hundred horse. But after plundering Annandale they returned home about Christmas, having burned a number of cottages and hamlets, taken a few prisoners, and killed three hundred and eight Scots.*

Lord Robert Clifford invades Annandale.

Soon after his return from his successful expedition into England, Wallace, in an assembly of the principal nobility, held at the Forest-kirk, in Selkirkshire, was chosen Guardian of the Kingdom of Scotland, in the name of King John, and with consent of the community of Scotland. Thus armed with the authority to which he was so justly entitled, he proceeded to adopt and enforce those public measures which he considered most conducive to the security and welfare of the country. Even before his investiture with the office of Guardian, Wallace had turned his attention to the revival of the foreign trade of the kingdom, and accredited persons had been despatched with letters to the free towns of Hamburg and Lubeck, intimating that their merchants would now have safe access to all the ports of the kingdom of Scotland with their merchandise, as the country, "thanks to God, has, during the war, been recovered from the power of the English."† He now directed all his energies to rectify the abuses and disorders which had arisen from the disorganized state of the country. In order to secure a sufficient number of recruits, whenever the exigency of the state required it, he divided the kingdom into districts, and caused a muster-roll to be made out, containing the names of all who were capable of bearing arms between the age of sixteen and sixty. For the purpose of introducing discipline among his new levies, he divided and subdivided them in a peculiar manner. He appointed an officer over every four men, another of higher power over every nine, another of still higher authority over every nineteen men, and thus continued the gradation of rank till it reached the chiliarch or commander of a thousand. The lesser barons and gentry flocked to his standard in great numbers, while the higher ranks of the nobility, though they were secretly disaffected, and envious of his authority, were yet deterred by the fear of imprisonment from offering any opposition to his measures.‡ In an assembly of the barons, held at Torphichen, on the 29th of March, 1298, Wallace bestowed rewards on several of his friends and fellow-soldiers for their patriotic exertions in the cause of Scottish independence. Among these he conferred the office of Constable of Dundee upon Alexander Skirmishur, or Scrymgeour, and his heirs, "for his faithful services in bearing the royal banner of Scotland." This grant is said to have been made "with the consent and approbation of the Scottish nobility."* About midsummer of this year a considerable body of English, commanded by Aymer de Vallance, Earl of Pembroke, landed in the north of Fife, and began to lay waste the country. Their destructive ravages, however, were soon interrupted by the Guardian, who attacked them (12th June) in the forest of Blackironside, and after an obstinate conflict defeated them with the loss of one thousand five hundred men. The only person of note among the Scots who fell in this encounter, was Sir Duncan Balfour, Sheriff of Fife. In the mean time the English monarch was detained in Flanders, by the war in which he had engaged with the King of France for the recovery of Guienne, when intelligence reached him that his new conquest had been completely wrested from him by Wallace. In his absence a parliament was summoned by the English regency, to meet at London on the 10th of Oct. 1297; but the English barons refused to grant any aids or levies to carry on the war against the Scots, unless Magna Charta and the Charter of the Forests were first ratified. Edward, though most reluctant to comply with these demands, clearly perceived that in no other way could he secure the support of his nobles in carrying out his ambitious schemes; he therefore, after three days' deliberation, consented to confirm the charters, which had been sent over to him, and having thus removed the disaffection of his nobility, he sent letters to the earls and barons of England, entreating them, as they valued his honour, and that of the whole kingdom, to meet at York on the 20th of January, and thence, under the command of his lieutenant, the Earl of Surrey, to march into Scotland to repress and punish the audacious rebellion of that nation. At the same time he sent letters to the Scottish magnates, reminding them of their oaths of fidelity to him, and commanding them to attend the muster at York, on pain of being held as public enemies if they refused.†

Wallace chosen Guardian of Scotland—

—his vigorous measures.

Defeat of the Earl of Pembroke.

Measures adopted by Edward.

On the day appointed there was a great assembly of the earls and barons of England; but the Scottish nobles, deterred by the dread of Wallace, did not venture to obey the orders. Eight days later a general muster of the English forces was held at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, when there assem-

The Earl of Surrey advances to the borders.

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 136.

† This interesting document, which still exists among the archives of the Hanseatic city of Lubeck, was brought to light a few years ago by the researches of Dr. Lappenberg, of Hamburg. It is dated at Badsington, (probably a mistake of the transcriber for Haddington,) 11th Oct. 1297. See Carrick's Life of Sir William Wallace, vol. ii. Appendix A., and the Wallace Papers, published by the Maitland Club, where a facsimile of the document is given.

‡ Fordun, vol. ii. p. 170.

* This celebrated instrument, which is dated at Torphichen, 29th March, 1298, is granted by William Wallace, Knight, Guardian of the kingdom of Scotland and leader of its armies, in the name of the excellent Prince Lord John, by the grace of God the illustrious king of Scotland; and the seal of Baliol is attached to the deed. Abercromby states, that Wallace held a commission of Regency under the seal of Baliol, which was privately executed during the captivity of the latter in the Tower of London; but the accuracy of this statement cannot be implicitly relied on.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 138.

bled an army of a hundred thousand foot, two thousand heavy cavalry, and two thousand light horse. With this formidable array the Earl of Surrey marched across the border and relieved the important fortress of Roxburgh, which had endured a long siege by the Scots, and was reduced to great extremity. The English then returned along the border to Berwick, which the Scots abandoned at their approach, to the great joy of the garrison, which had stoutly held out the castle after the town had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Edward in the mean time had hastily concluded a truce with the King of France, and in his anger against the Scots, and eagerness to punish them for their revolt, returned with all speed to England, where he was welcomed with joyful acclamations. Surrey had previously received letters from the king, ordering him not to march into Scotland until he should join the army in person; on which the English general had sent home the greater part of the troops, retaining only a body of twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. But as soon as Edward returned to England, about the middle of March, 1298, he instantly summoned the barons and other military tenants to reassemble with their powers at York on the Feast of Pentecost, and he also commanded the Scottish nobles to meet at the same place on the day appointed, otherwise condign punishment would be inflicted on them as vassals who had renounced their allegiance. But to this summons they paid no regard.*

Edward invades Scotland.

Edward lost no time in proceeding to the borders, and on reaching Roxburgh, he found himself at the head of seven thousand cavalry, and eighty thousand infantry—the most powerful army that had ever entered Scotland; and it was soon after strengthened by the arrival of a considerable reinforcement from Gascony. But so little confidence had the English barons in the honour and integrity of their monarch, that they refused to advance farther until the king in person should ratify the confirmation of Magna Charta, and the Charter of the Forests, as they were apprehensive that he would attempt to elude the fulfilment of his former promise, on the plea that it had been given when he was in foreign parts, and was, therefore, not binding within his own dominions. Unwilling to comply with this demand, and yet unable wholly to evade it, he had recourse to the cunning device of inducing the Bishop of Durham and the Earls of Surrey, Norfolk, and Lincoln, to take a solemn oath on the soul of their lord the king, that on his return, if he obtained the victory, he would perform his promise. The barons were obliged to rest satisfied with this equivocal assurance, and to proceed on their march against the Scots.†

Base and selfish conduct of the Scottish nobles.

Meanwhile, Wallace was making vigorous preparations to resist the invaders; but all his efforts were weakened by the mean and selfish jealousy of the Scottish barons, who were envious of his well-earned military renown and high command. According to Fordun, it was the language of many of the nobility—"We will not have this man to reign over us."* This mean and factious spirit sowed dissension and perplexity in the councils of the nation, at the critical moment when nothing but an honest love of freedom, and a cordial unanimity in resisting oppression, could have preserved the independence of the country. A few, however, of the greater barons, the principal of whom were John Comyn, of Badenoch; the younger Sir John Stewart, of Bonkill; Sir John Graham, of Abercorn; and Macduff, the grand-uncle of the Earl of Fife, repaired to the national standard, and consented to act with the only man whose talents were equal to the emergency.

Plan of Wallace for the defence of the country.

Wallace, having collected his forces in the interior of the country, acted with great sagacity. His plan for the defence of the kingdom, which often, in subsequent times, proved successful in Scottish warfare, was to avoid a general engagement with the far superior forces of the enemy; to hang upon their line of march, driving off all supplies, and wasting the country through which the English were to advance; to wait till the scarcity of provisions compelled them to retreat, and then to attack them when their army should be exhausted by privation. The wisdom of this plan was very apparent, and, for some time, it was completely successful. Edward advanced through Berwickshire to Lauder, and thence to Templeliston, now Kirkliston, a village between Edinburgh and Linlithgow, without receiving any intelligence of the invisible foe, who carried off the cattle and provisions, and wasted the country as he advanced. At the same time the Scottish light horse kept so strict a watch over the movements of the invaders, that the English scouts were unable to obtain any satisfactory information respecting the position or strength of their opponents. While Edward lay at Templeliston, waiting the arrival of his fleet, which he had ordered to sail round from Berwick to the Frith of Forth, with supplies for his army, he learned that the Scottish garrisons, which had been left in the strong castle of Dirleton and in two other neighbouring forts, had made frequent sorties, and cut off several of his foraging parties. Upon this he despatched Anthony Bek, the warlike Bishop of Durham, to lay siege to these fortresses. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful. In an assault upon Dirleton, he was driven back with loss, and as the troops under his command were in want of a sufficient battering train, and were suffering from the want of provisions, the bishop sent Sir John Marmaduke to ask the king's pleasure. "Return," said Edward, "and tell the prelate, that he ought to show himself compassionate when he is acting the bishop, but that in his present business he must not practise deeds of clemency. And, as for you," he said, addressing

Relentless conduct of Edward.

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 158. † Ibid. p. 159.

* Fordun, book xi. chap. xxxi.

Marmaduke, "you are a relentless soldier, and I have often had to reprove you for too much cruelty in your exultation over the death of your enemies. But now return whence you came, and act as cruelly as you please. You will have my thanks, not my censure; and take heed that you do not see my face again till these three castles are burnt to the ground."*

In the mean time, the pressing wants of the besiegers were relieved by the arrival of three of the transports laden with provisions; and the bishop, on receiving this seasonable supply, ordered a fresh and more vigorous assault, which was successful; the garrison having surrendered after the lapse of two days, on condition that their lives should be spared. The other two forts were abandoned, and set on fire by their defenders.† Meanwhile, the English army began to suffer severely from the want of provisions, as the fleet which was expected from Berwick was detained by contrary winds. At length a few vessels appeared, bringing a small supply, and a donation of wine was distributed among the Welsh troops, who were reduced to great extremities. An alarming mutiny broke out in the camp, and the Welsh, inflamed by the wine, and irritated by the privations they had already suffered, attacked the English quarters in the night, murdered eighteen priests, and wounded many more. Upon this, the English cavalry rode in upon the mutineers, and slew eighty of their number. In the morning, the Welsh, of whom there were forty thousand in the army, enraged at the slaughter of their comrades, threatened to withdraw from the army and join the Scots. "I care not," said Edward, when their intention was reported to him; "let my enemies go and join my enemies. I trust that in one day I shall chastise them both." The English army was now placed in most critical circumstances. The ships were still detained by contrary winds, and the scarcity of provisions became so distressing, that Edward found it impossible to subsist any longer in his present quarters. No information could be obtained respecting the position of the Scottish army, which, according to the plan of its sagacious leader, wasted the country as the enemy advanced, but declined to risk an engagement. Edward was at length compelled to issue orders for a retreat to Edinburgh; and the prudent arrangements of Wallace were, to all appearance, about to be crowned with success, when the invaders were rescued from their perilous position by the treachery of two apostate Scottish nobles, "whose names shall rot,"—Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and the Earl of Angus. These traitors came privately at daybreak to the quarters of the Bishop of Durham, and informed him that the Scottish army was encamped not far off, in the forest of Falkirk, and that it was the intention of Wallace to surprise the English by a night attack, and to hang upon their rear and harass them in their retreat. Edward, on receiving this welcome intelligence, exclaimed, "Thanks be to God, who hitherto hath extricated me from every danger! They shall not need to follow me, since I shall forthwith go and meet them."* The orders for a retreat were instantly countermanded, and the soldiers were directed to arm and to hold themselves in readiness to march.

Critical state of the English army.

Treachery of the Earls of Dunbar and Angus.

Though the utmost diligence was used by Edward and his officers, it was three o'clock before the immense concourse of soldiers and camp-followers could be set in motion, and it was late before they reached a heath to the east of Linlithgow, where they resolved to pass the night in their armour. In the picturesque words of the old chronicler, whose narrative we have followed, "Each soldier slept on the ground, using his shield for a pillow, and his arms for a couch; each horse stood beside its master, and the horses themselves tasted nothing but cold iron."† In the middle of the night, the king, who slept on the heath, received a kick from his war-horse, which stood piqueted beside him, and in the first confusion occasioned by the accident, a cry arose that there was treason in the camp, and that the enemy was upon them. Edward, although two of his ribs were broken by the blow which he had received, immediately mounted his horse, and appeased the tumult by showing himself to the soldiers; and as it was now dawn, he gave orders to continue the march. The army passed through Linlithgow about sunrise, and soon after descried the advanced guard of the Scots on the ridge of an eminence, at some distance in their front; but when the English squadrons marched up the hill they found that the enemy had disappeared. Edward ordered a tent to be raised, and mass to be said, as it was the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene (22nd July, 1298). While this service was performing, the day became brighter, and the English soldiers could distinctly perceive the Scots in the distance, taking up their positions on a stony field, at the side of a small eminence, in the neighbourhood of Falkirk.

The Scottish army amounted to thirty thousand men,—not a third part of the number opposed to them; and Wallace, who was well aware of this disparity of force, was extremely reluctant to risk the safety of the country on the issue of a single battle, fought in such disadvantageous circumstances, and at first resolved to retreat. But the near approach of the English rendered this step extremely hazardous, and he therefore proceeded to draw up his men in the position best fitted to resist the assaults of the enemy. The infantry, which constituted the chief strength of his army, were divided into four compact bodies called *schiltrons*, with lances lowered obliquely over each other,—the front rank kneeling, those behind them stooping with their weapons gradually sloping till they came to a level, while those in the centre held their spears erect, the whole closely wedged together, and seeming, says

Battle of Falkirk.

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 160. † Ibid. p. 161.

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 165. † Ibid.

an old English historian, like a castle walled with steel.* The archers, commanded by Sir John Stewart, were placed in the spaces between the divisions, and the cavalry, consisting of only a thousand men-at-arms, were drawn up at some distance, in the rear. Having arranged his troops in this order, Wallace addressed to them this brief exhortation, "I have brought you to the ring, dance as you best can."†

Edward, on learning the dispositions which the Scots had made, hesitated to give orders for the attack, and proposed that the tents should be pitched, in order that the soldiers and the horses might obtain refreshment. This was opposed by his officers as unsafe—a small rivulet only separating the two armies. "What then would you advise?" said the king. "An immediate advance," was the reply; "the field and the victory will be ours." "In God's name then let it be so," said Edward, and immediately, Bigod, Earl Marshal, and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln, led the first line straight upon the enemy. Their progress, however, was retarded by an extensive morass, which covered the front of the Scottish position, and obliged them to make a circuit to the left. Meanwhile, the Bishop of Durham, who led the second line, perceiving the nature of the ground, inclined to the right and turned the morass, but, knowing the danger of a precipitate attack, he ordered his division to halt till the third line, under the king, should come up to their support. "Stick to thy mass, bishop," exclaimed Ralph Basset of Drayton, "and teach us not what to do in the face of an enemy." "On, then," replied the bishop; "set on in your own way. We are all soldiers to-day, and bound to do our duty." They instantly rushed on and attacked the first division of the Scots, which was almost simultaneously assailed on the opposite quarter by the first line, which had now extricated itself from the morass.

The moment the lines met, the Scottish cavalry, either dismayed at the immense superiority of the enemy, or, as has been alleged, from treachery on the part of their leaders,* fled without striking a blow. A few only of their number remained beside the spearmen, who stood their ground firmly, and repulsed the repeated charges of the English horse. But Sir John Stewart, while marshalling the ranks of the archers, from the forest of Selkirk, was accidentally thrown from his horse and slain, in spite of the efforts of his faithful vassals, who fell in great numbers around him. Their bodies were afterwards distinguished among the slain, as being the tallest and handsomest men of the army.† The infantry, however, still maintained their ground in spite of the furious charges of the English cavalry—their oblique lances, says Hemingford, pointing every way, like a thick impenetrable wood. At length, Edward suspended the attacks of his horsemen, and ordered up his archers and slingers, who showered their arrows upon the close columns of the spearmen, with volleys of the large round stones which covered the field of battle. Thus exposed, without the means of defence or retaliation, to the galling storm of missiles which assailed them in all directions, the Scots at last became unsteady, the front line was broken, and the English cavalry charging them while they were in disorder, overthrew and put to flight these formidable masses. Wallace, with the remnant of his army, succeeded in gaining the shelter of the neighbouring wood, leaving nearly fifteen thousand men dead on the field; among whom were Macduff, grand-uncle to the Earl of Fife, and Sir John Graham, of Dundaff, "the hardy wight and wise," still fondly remembered as the bosom friend of the Scottish patriot.‡ Sir Bryan de Jaye, Master of

Defeat of the Scots.

* Langtoft thus describes the conduct and appearance of the Scottish infantry:—

"Ther foremost couray ther bakkis togidere sette,
Ther speres poynt over poynt, so sare and so thikke
And fast togidere joynt to se it was warlike.
Als a castelle thei stode, that were walled with stone,
Thei wend no man of blode throgh them suld have gone,
Ther folk was so mykelle, so stalwart and so clene.
Ther foyntes forward prikelle, nonhut wild thei wene,
That of alle Inglande, fra Berwik vnto Kent,
The folk therein men fond had been thider sent,
Strength suld non haf had to part them throgh oute,
So were thei set sad with poyntes rounde aboute."

Langtoft's Chron. book ii. l. 304, 305.

† In the Cottonian MSS. the words used by Wallace are thus given:—"Hij hade pult ou into a gamen, hoppet yif ye kunnet."—See Wallace Papers, p. 10. According to Walsingham, the words were—"I haif brocht you to the ring, hop gif you cun." The meaning of this characteristic speech has been very generally misunderstood. Lord Hailes has shown, that "hop gif you cun" signifies, not "hope if you can hope," as has been commonly supposed, but "dance according to your skill." The verb "cun" is obsolete, but the noun and the adjective are still in use. "Let my right hand forget its *cunning*." "A *cunning* artificer." Annals, vol. i. p. 315 (note).

* Fordun a Hearne, p. 981; Wyntown, book viii. chap. xv. l. 47.

† See Appendix, Note I.

‡ Sir John Graham was buried in the churchyard of Falkirk. The following is the inscription on his tomb:—

"Mente manuque potens et Vallae fidus Achates,
Conditur hic Gramus, bello interfectus ab Anglis."
xxii. Iulii. Anno 1298.

"Heir ryes Sir John the Grame, baith wight and wise,
Ane of the Cheefs who rescewit Scotland thrise;
Ane better Knight not to the world was lent,
Nor was gude Grame, of truth and hardiment."

His Grace the Duke of Montrose, the chief of the Grahams, who is also proprietor of Dundaff, where Sir John Graham's castle is seen in ruins, possesses an antique sword, on which the following lines are inscribed:—

"Sir Ione ye Grame, verry vicht and wyse,
One of ye chiefes relievit Scotland thryse,
Fayght vith ys sword, and ner thout schame,
Commandit nane to beir it bot his name."

The accounts which the Scottish historians give of the battle of Falkirk, differ widely from the narrative of the English chroniclers. According to the former, the envy of the nobles towards Wallace, and the dissensions among the Scottish leaders, were the chief, if not the sole, occasion of the defeat. They state, that the Scottish army consisted of three divisions, of ten thousand men each, under Wallace, Stewart, and Comyn, who quarrelled about the chief command of the army; that Comyn traitorously withdrew, with ten thousand men; that Wallace, from resentment, followed his example; and that Stewart and his division, thus abandoned by their countrymen, were overwhelmed by numbers and cut to pieces. They also allege, that Wallace made good his retreat, and after gaining the northern bank of the Carron, had an interview with Robert Bruce, whom he sternly reproved for bearing arms against his country. All these fictions have been exploded by Lord Hailes; who,

the Scottish Templars, and a companion of the same order, of high rank, were the only men of note who fell on the English side.

Wallace retreated with the remains of his army to Stirling,* whither he was followed by the English; but when they arrived, on the fourth day after the battle, they found the town deserted and reduced to ashes. Edward took up his quarters in the convent of the Dominicans, which had escaped the flames, and here he remained for fifteen days, to recover from the wound inflicted on him by his horse. Meanwhile, his victorious army carried fire and sword through the country in all directions. Clackmannanshire and Menteith were ravaged and plundered, and the whole of the rich and populous district of Fife was laid waste and given up to military execution in revenge for the gallant resistance made by Macduff and his vassals at Falkirk. St. Andrew's, which was found deserted by its inhabitants, was delivered to the flames. Perth was burnt by the inhabitants themselves, on the approach of the English. But the invaders were now suffering from the scarcity of provisions, as their long-expected ships with supplies from Berwick were still detained; and, unable longer to maintain themselves in a country which had been laid waste both by friend and foe, they began their march southward, by Glasgow and Bothwell to Lanark, and thence to Ayr. Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, who at that time held this place, set fire to the castle and fled on the approach of the English; and Edward, from the want of provisions, unable to follow him into Carrick, turned aside into Annandale, and took Bruce's castle of Lochmaben, and then returned to England about the middle of September. Thus the English monarch, in spite of his vast preparations for this campaign, and his victory at Falkirk, was compelled by famine and distress to retreat, leaving the whole of the country to the north of the Forth still unsubdued. It is evident that if he had not been enabled, by the treachery of the Earls of Dunbar and Angus, to bring the Scottish army to action, he must have retreated with discredit and loss, and the sagacious plan which Wallace had formed for the defence of Scotland would have been crowned with complete success.

The English lay waste the country.

They are compelled to retreat.

When the English army reached Carlisle, the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford returned home, in consequence of their indignation at the king on account of his breach of faith, in bestowing the Island of Arran on a Scottish adventurer, named Thomas Bisset,* in spite of his solemn promise that he would adopt no new measures without the advice of his council. In a parliament held at Carlisle, he assigned to his earls and barons extensive grants out of the estates of the Scottish nobles, although he was as yet master of but a very small part of Scotland. These estates, however, as Hemingford remarks, were grants given in hope, not in possession, and it very soon became apparent by how frail a tenure they were held.

Discontent of the English nobles.

After the fatal battle of Falkirk, Wallace voluntarily resigned the office of Guardian of Scotland, finding himself unable to discharge its duties amidst the calumnies with which the jealousies and factious spirit of the nobles aggravated the difficulties of his position. In his room, the Scottish barons appointed John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger, John de Soulis, Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrew's, to be Guardians of the kingdom. It has hitherto been supposed that, after his return to the station of a private knight, no further efforts were made by Wallace to free his country from the yoke of the oppressor till after the lapse of seven years, and within a very short period before he fell a victim to the unrelenting vengeance of the English monarch. Important documents recently brought to light,† however, have proved that, during the interval between his resignation of his office and his execution, Wallace did not retire from the contest in disgust at the treachery and factious spirit of the Scottish barons, or seek, like too many of them, to earn the favour of the conqueror by timely submission, but exerted himself to the utmost in defence of the fallen and betrayed liberties of his country. Seeing no further prospect of success at home, amid the dissensions and jealousies of the Scottish nobility, and unable to cope single-handed with the power of Edward, he hastened to plead the cause of Scotland at the throne of France. Romance attended him from first to last. The documents referred to give us the history of that fine incident, which has hitherto been regarded as a fiction, because resting on the authority of Blind Harry,—his capture of the piratical rover, Sir Thomas de Longueville. This celebrated chief was a Frenchman by birth, but, imitating the example of the ancient Norse Sea-kings, he attacked and plundered vessels of all nations. He was known by the name of the Red Rover, from the blood-red flag which he usually displayed, and his courage,

Wallace resigns the office of Guardian.

His visit to France, and capture of the Red Rover.

however, carries his scepticism regarding the statements of the Scottish historians too far, when he denies that the dissensions of the Scots had any influence on their conduct in the day of battle. That there was treachery among the Scottish nobles, is proved by Hemingford; and the flight of the men-at-arms at the commencement of the battle, without striking a blow, in all probability was caused by the ill-will of their leaders towards Wallace, as well as by their conscious inferiority to the English cavalry. Hemingford's narrative of this campaign, which we have closely followed, is strikingly circumstantial and interesting, and, as Lord Hailes remarks, he enters into so minute a detail, that there can be no doubt of his having received it from some eye-witness.—See Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 162—165; Hailes, vol. i. pp. 318, 319.

* A large oak-tree in the Torwood forest, was long shown as marking the spot where Wallace slept before the battle; or, as others said, in which he hid himself after the defeat. It was regarded with great veneration, and was carefully preserved as a memorial of the Scottish champion, till it gradually mouldered away under the influence of time, and perished about the commencement of the present century.

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 166.

† Wallace Papers, published by the Maitland Club.

strength of body, and successful piracies, rendered him, at that time, the terror of the seas. The Scottish champion was on his voyage to France, and the small vessel in which he sailed was steering for the port of Dieppe, when De Longueville's ship appeared in the distance, and instantly gave chase. Wallace, on learning from the terror-stricken mariners the character of their pursuer, ordered them all below excepting such as were absolutely necessary to manage the ship, and then calling together his own veteran followers, he commanded them to arm themselves and lie flat upon the deck, so as to be out of sight. In a brief space the piratical vessel ran on board that of Wallace, and the Red Rover, casting out grappling irons to make sure of his prize, jumped on the deck in complete armour, followed by his men, who already felt assured of victory. But the armed Scots started up at once and made a sudden onset upon the pirates, and a furious personal encounter took place between the Scottish champion and the Red Rover, in which the latter was vanquished and surrendered at discretion. Wallace carried his prisoner with him to the court of France, and succeeded in obtaining his pardon from the king, who even conferred the honour of knighthood on De Longueville, and offered to take him into his service. But the Rover had contracted such an affection for his generous victor, that he insisted on returning with him to Scotland, and fought by his side in many a bloody contest. After the death of his heroic patron, Sir Thomas de Longueville joined Robert Bruce, and aided him in his efforts to vindicate the independence of Scotland. Bruce rewarded his bravery by bestowing upon him the estate of Kinfauns, in the neighbourhood of Perth, which long remained in the possession of his descendants, who bore the surname of Charteris, which is said to have been the family name of the valiant Rover.*

When Wallace landed in France, he lost no time in proceeding to Amiens, where the French king then held his court, and urged him to assist his Scottish allies against their common enemy. But Philip had by this time concluded a treaty of peace with the English monarch, and was about to cement their alliance by the marriage of Edward, who was now a widower, with Margaret, Philip's sister, and of Isabella, his daughter, with the Prince of Wales. Philip at first insisted that the Scots and their king, John Baliol, should be comprehended in the treaty; but as Edward would on no account consent to this proposal, the point in dispute was settled by mutual concessions,—Edward agreeing to give up his ally, the Earl of Flanders, who had rebelled against Philip, upon condition that the French king should on his part abandon the cause of his Scottish allies. In this state matters stood when Wallace reached Amiens, and Philip is said to have thrown him into prison, and to have despatched a letter to Edward offering to place at his disposal the person of the late Governor of Scotland—an offer which was joyfully accepted by the English monarch.* Be this as it may, it appears that Philip not only did not deliver Wallace up to Edward, but that he released him from prison and furnished him with credentials to his agents resident at the court of Rome.† We have no means of ascertaining whether Wallace ever reached Rome, but this much is certain, that at this time Boniface the Eighth, who then filled the papal chair, issued a bull, in which he laid claim to the sovereignty of Scotland, and affirmed that the English monarch had no right to the Scottish crown, and that the people of Scotland owed him no feudal subjection. Edward, in his answer to the bull, informs the Pope that he had been deceived by certain "enemies of peace and sons of rebellion," then resident at his court, whose false suggestions he requested might be for the future disregarded. There is no direct evidence that the claim of the Pope to the lordship of Scotland was instigated by Wallace; but, taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case, there is the strongest probability that he was one of those "enemies of peace" to whom Edward alluded.

Fails in his mission.

His alleged visit to Rome.

The unfortunate Baliol, whom the Scots still acknowledged as their rightful king, had remained a prisoner since 1296. The King of France had in vain attempted to procure his liberation in 1297; but now, at the earnest request of Boniface, Edward consented to release the fallen monarch, and to place him in the hands of the Bishop of Vicenza, the papal legate. "I will send him to the Pope," he is alleged to have said, "as a perjured man, and a seducer of the people."‡ Accordingly, the governor of Dover conveyed the unfortunate prince to Whitsand, near Calais, delivered him to the papal nuncio, in the presence of a notary and witnesses (18th July, 1299), and gravely took a receipt for his person. Walsingham states, that when Baliol's trunks were searched at Dover, a crown of gold, the Great Seal of Scotland, and many vessels of gold and silver, with a considerable sum of money, were found in them.§ He was permitted to retain the money, but the Great Seal was seized by Edward, and the crown was hung up in the shrine of St. Thomas the Martyr. The dethroned King of Scotland was conveyed to his ancestral estate of Bailleul, in Normandy, where he lived in quiet obscurity till his death, in 1314.

John Baliol is delivered up to the Pope.

* According to another account, De Longueville married the heiress of the ancient family of Charteris, and obtained, along with her, the baronial castle of Kinfauns, and the domains annexed to it. The estate is now the property of Lord Gray. The Rover's large two-handed sword is still preserved among the family muniments. It is believed, that the ancient Barons of Kinfauns are now represented, in the male line, by a once-powerful branch of the name,—the Charterises, of Amisfield, in Dumfriesshire.

* This statement rests on the authority of the Cottonian Manuscript. Wallace Papers, p. 11.

† Wallace Papers, p. 163. The original document, addressed by Philip to his agents at the court of Rome, was recently discovered, by Mr. Joseph Stevenson, in the Record Office in the Tower of London.

‡ Walsingham, p. 76. § Ibid. p. 77.

Meanwhile, the Scottish Guardians had laid siege to the castle of Stirling, the only stronghold in the interior of the kingdom which remained in the hands of the English. Edward, who was well aware of its great importance, made vigorous preparations for its relief. Early in November, 1299, he assembled an army at Berwick, and prepared to march into Scotland, for the purpose of raising the siege of Stirling, and reducing the country beyond the Frith of Forth. But, to his great mortification, his barons peremptorily refused to advance farther than Berwick; alleging that the severity of the winter, the impassable nature of the country through which they would require to march, and the scarcity of forage and provisions, rendered an expedition into Scotland, at that season, wholly impracticable.* The main cause of their refusal, however, was the king's violation of his promise to confirm certain charters; and, disregarding his remonstrances, they withdrew to their estates. Edward, in high dudgeon, marched forward with the force that adhered to him; but, on becoming acquainted with the formidable position occupied by the Scottish army, he was constrained to retrace his steps. Meanwhile, the garrison of Stirling was reduced to great extremities; and the king, finding it impossible to raise the siege, ordered the castle to be surrendered.† It was accordingly given up to Sir John de Soulis, one of the regents, who placed it under the charge of Sir William Olifant.

Edward attempts again to invade Scotland.

Surrender of Stirling to the Scots.

In the summer of the following year (1300), Edward invaded Scotland by the western marches. "On the day appointed," (1st July,) says an eye-witness,‡ "the whole host was ready, and the good king, with his household, then set forward against the Scots, not in coats and surcoats, but on powerful and costly chargers, and, that they might not be taken by surprise, well and securely armed. There were many rich caparisons embroidered on silks and satins, many a beautiful pennon fixed to a lance, and many a banner displayed. And afar off was the noise heard of the neighing of horses; mountains and valleys were everywhere covered with sumpter horses and waggons, with provisions and sacks of tents and pavilions. And the days were long and fine. They proceeded by easy journeys, arranged in four squadrons." The first squadron was led by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. The second by John Warrene, Earl of Surrey. The king commanded the third squadron in person, and "brought up the rear so closely and ably, that none of the others were left behind. In his banner were three leopards courant, of fine gold set on red,—fierce, haughty, and cruel; thus placed to signify, that the king is dreadful, fierce, and proud to his enemies; for his bite is slight to none who inflame his anger: not but his kindness is soon rekindled towards such as seek his friendship or submit to his power." The fourth squadron was led by "Prince Edward, a youth of seventeen years, and bearing arms for the first time. He was a well-proportioned and handsome person, of a courteous disposition, and intelligent, and desirous of finding an occasion to display his prowess. He managed his steed wonderfully well, and bore, with a blue label, the arms of the good king his father."

Renewed invasion of Scotland.

Eighty-seven of the most illustrious barons of England, with their retainers, were in this host; including knights of Bretagne and Lorraine, and apostate Scottish nobles. This formidable and splendid army marched into Annandale, and besieged and took Lochmaben, the fortress of Robert Bruce, and then sat down before the castle of Caerlaverock, strongly situated on the Solway Frith, about nine miles from Dumfries. "Caerlaverock was so strong a castle," says the contemporary chronicler already quoted, "that it did not fear a siege; therefore the king came himself, because it would not consent to surrender. But it was always furnished for its defence, whenever it was required, with men, engines, and provisions. Its shape was like that of a shield,—for it had only three sides all round,—with a tower in each angle; but one of them was a double one, so high, so long, and so large, that under it was the gate, with a drawbridge, well made and strong, and a sufficiency of other defences. It had good wells and good ditches, filled to the edge with water; and I believe there never was seen a castle so beautifully situated, for at once could be seen the Irish Sea towards the west, and to the north a fine country, surrounded by an arm of the sea, so that no creature born could approach it on two sides, without putting himself in danger of the sea. Towards the south it was not easy, because there were numerous dangerous defiles of wood, and marshes and ditches, where the sea is on each side of it, and where the river reaches it; and therefore it was necessary for the host to approach it towards the east, where the hill slopes."*

Siege of Caerlaverock.

The chronicler proceeds to give a minute account of all the operations of the siege, which shows, that the science of reducing fortified places must at that time have been but in its infancy. The besieged

* Translation by Sir H. Nicolas, p. 61.

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 170.

† Matthew of Westminster, p. 445.

‡ Walter of Exeter, a Franciscan Friar, who accompanied the expedition and has given a curious and interesting rhythmical narrative of the siege of Caerlaverock, written in old Norman French. The work has recently been translated and published, with valuable historical and heraldic notes and sketches, by the late Sir Harris Nicolas. "It contains," says the editor, "the accurate blazon of about one hundred knights and baronets of the reign of Edward the First, among whom were the King, the Prince of Wales, and the greater part of the peers of the realm. At the same time that this production may be considered the earliest blazon of arms which is known, it affords evidence of the perfect state of the science of heraldry at that early period, and from which it is manifest, that it was reduced to a science when it is generally considered to have been but in its infancy." Caerlaverock belonged, at this time, to Herbert Maxwell, the chief of the border clan of that name.

were at length compelled to surrender, when it was found that the garrison, which had thus defied the whole English army, including all ranks, amounted to only sixty men, "who were beheld with much astonishment." "They were all kept and guarded till the king commanded that life and limb should be given them, and ordered to each of them a new garment."* But this account of the treatment of the prisoners differs entirely from that in the Chronicle of Lanercost, where, in closer conformity with the character of the victor, it is stated that many of them were hanged.†

Edward plunders and lays waste the country—

After the surrender of Caerlaverock, Edward marched into Galloway, where he took several castles. His personal operations seem to have been, in a great measure, confined to the south of Scotland; but he sent out detachments of his army, in various directions, to plunder and lay waste the country, and several conflicts took place between them and the Scots, who hung upon their march, watching a favourable opportunity to cut off the stragglers. The king himself advanced as far as Irvine, a sea-port town on the coast of Ayrshire, where he encountered the Scottish army under the regents. But, after a brief skirmish, they rapidly retreated to the fastnesses of their mountains, whither the heavy-armed English cavalry found it impossible to follow them. According to Rymer, "the Welsh in the English service would not act, and the cavalry could not." Another division of the English army laid waste Clydesdale, and committed the most revolting excesses. At Lesmahago, they set fire to the Abbey church, in which a considerable number of the inhabitants had taken refuge, and many of them perished miserably in the flames.

Meanwhile, Edward, who had established his head-quarters at Dumfries, was engaged in repairing and strengthening the different fortresses throughout Galloway, which had surrendered to his arms; but he was at last compelled, by the approach of winter, to delay further operations till another season. At an earlier period in the campaign, he had given a contemptuous refusal to the demand of the Scottish regents, that John Baliol, their lawful king, should be permitted peaceably to reign over them; but affecting now, when it suited his purpose, to listen to the remonstrances of the French king, he (October 30th) concluded a treaty with the Scots, which was to last till Whit-Sunday in the following year, 1301.

—concludes a truce with the Scots.

While the English king was encamped with his army near Caerlaverock, Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, arrived with an admonitory Bull from Pope Boniface VIII., asserting that Scotland belonged of ancient times, and did still of right belong, to the Holy See, and commanding Edward to desist from all hostilities against the Scots.* In this singular document, the pretensions which the English monarch had set up to the feudal superiority of Scotland are refuted by cogent arguments, which, there can be little doubt, were suggested by the commissioners whom Soulis the regent, had a short time previous sent on a mission to Rome, to complain of the injuries which the English king had inflicted upon Scotland.† He reminds Edward, that his father, Henry, King of England, when, in the wars between him and Simon de Montfort, he requested the assistance of Alexander the King of Scotland, did, by his letters patent, acknowledge that he received such assistance, not as due to him, but as a special favour;—that when Edward himself requested the presence of the same King Alexander at the solemnity of his coronation, he, in like manner, by his letters patent, entreated it as a matter of favour, and not of right;—that when the King of Scotland did homage to Edward for his lands in Tynedale and Penrith, he publicly protested that his homage was paid, not for his kingdom of Scotland, but for his lands in England; that, as King of Scotland, he was independent and owed no fealty; which homage, so restricted, was accordingly received by Edward;—that when Alexander III. died, leaving as heiress to the crown a grand-daughter, in her minority, the wardship of this infant was not conferred upon Edward, which it would have been, had he been

Interference of the Pope in their behalf.

* Translation by Sir H. Nicolas, p. 87.

† Chron. Lan. p. 194. The Wardrobe Account of Edward I., for the year 1300, contains a statement of the expenses incurred in the siege of Caerlaverock, and in hiring vessels to convey engines to be used in the siege, and in furnishing provisions for the army. An account is also given of the wages paid to the workmen employed in repairing the fortresses which fell into the hands of the English. It appears that, during the expedition, the average wages per day were—

	s.	d.
Admiral of the Fleet	2	0
Captains	1	0
Chaplain of the Fleet	0	6
Master	0	6
Seamen	0	3
Horsemen	1	0
Bowmen	0	2
Masons	0	4
Carpenters	0	4
Smiths	0	4
Plasterers	0	3
Miners	0	3
Labourers	0	2
Boys, or Apprentices	0	2

There are several entries of payments made to "women helping to clean the ditches," at 1½*d.* per day. The hostility of the common people in Scotland to the invaders is evident from the fact, that Edward was compelled to bring labourers, at a considerable expense, from the northern counties of England. From the same documents we learn, that the price of Oats per quarter—

	s.	d.
January, 1300, was, at Holderness	2	2
July, " " Newcastle-upon-Tyne	2	6
Price of Wheat per quarter, at Cawode, near York	4	0

In Scotland, the price of Oats was 4*d.*, and of Bear, or Barley, 8*d.* and 10*d.* per boll; of Wheat, 16*d.* and 20*d.*

* Prynne Hist. Edw. I. p. 882. The Archbishop's letter to the Pope gives an interesting picture of the state of the country at that time, and of the danger to which he was exposed from the bands of Scottish robbers who roamed about thirsting for the blood of the English.

† These commissioners were Wm. Frier, Professor of Canon Law in the University of Paris, Baldred Bisset, and Wm. Eglesham. Fordun, book xi. chap. xxxv.

Lord Superior, but was given to certain noblemen of the kingdom, chosen for that office—and that the mere circumstance of his having negotiated with the Scots for the marriage of his son, the Prince of Wales, with Margaret, the heiress of Scotland, must prove fatal to any plea he might advance in favour of his being the feudal lord of that kingdom, as he would find no one weak enough to believe that he would have submitted to negotiate when he had a right to command. After these conclusive arguments in favour of the independence of Scotland, the Pope proceeds to exhort the king, in the name of God, to set at liberty all bishops, clerks, and other ecclesiastical persons whom he had imprisoned, and to remove all officers whom he had appointed to places of trust in the kingdom, contrary to the wishes of the people. "But," added Boniface, "should you have any pretensions to the whole or any part of Scotland, send your proctors to me within six months. I will hear and determine according to justice. I take the cause under my peculiar cognizance." To these Papal mandates the Archbishop added his own admonitions on the duty of obedience to so sacred an authority, warning the king, that if he resisted or demurred, Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens and to cherish, like Mount Zion, those who trusted in the Lord. At the conclusion of this address, which was made in the presence of Prince Edward and the assembled nobles, the king swore a great oath, and exclaimed in a fury, "I will not be silent or at rest, either for Mount Zion or Jerusalem, but as long as there is breath in my nostrils I will defend what all the world knows to be my right."* But aware of the danger of quarrelling with the Roman Pontiff, especially in the circumstances in which he was then placed, he moderated his tone, and after consultation with the nobility, informed the archbishop that he would, as speedily as possible, hold a council with the prelates and barons of England, and, by their joint advice and determination, return an answer to the Papal admonition.†

Edward accordingly disbanded his army and summoned a Parliament to meet at Lincoln, in February, 1301. There the Papal Bull was submitted to the assembled earls and barons of England, who directed a spirited letter to the Pope, repudiating the claims of the Romish see to the kingdom of Scotland. "All England knows," said they, "that ever since the first establishment of this kingdom, our kings have been the liege lords of Scotland. At no time has the kingdom of Scotland belonged to the church. In temporals the kings of England are not amenable to the See of Rome. We have with one voice resolved, that, as to temporals, the King of England is independent of the Papal authority; that he shall not suffer his independence to be questioned; and, therefore, that he shall not send commissioners to Rome. Such is, and such, we trust in God, will ever be our opinion. We do not, we cannot, we must not permit our king to follow measures subversive of that government which we have sworn to maintain, and which we will maintain."* This instrument had appended to it the seals of a hundred and four barons, and was subscribed at Lincoln, 12th February, 1301.

Answer of the English Parliament to the Papal Bull.

About two months after this meeting of Parliament, Edward addressed a private letter to the Pope, solely intended, as he declared, to quiet the conscience of the Pontiff, in which he entered into an elaborate examination of the question, and attempts to prove the superiority of England by historical facts, deduced from the period of Brutus, the Trojan, who, he alleged, founded the British monarchy, in the age of Eli and Samuel. The Pope had laid claim to the kingdom of Scotland, on the ground that it had been miraculously converted to the Christian faith by the relics of St. Andrew. Edward opposes this argument by another miracle. "Athelstone, king of England," said he, "overcame the rebellious Scots in battle, through the intercession of St. John of Beverley. He prayed through the same intercession for a visible sign, whereby all men of that age and of the ages to come, might know that the Scots were of right subject to England. Having thus spoken, he drew his sword, struck a flinty rock in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, and made a gash in it of about an ell in length. The evidence of this miracle is twofold. First, the mark appears on the rock at this day. Second, the legend of the miracle is weekly recited in the church of Beverley to the praise and glory of St. John.† The conscience of the Pope must have been very easily quieted, if such arguments as these were regarded as a sufficient vindication of the violent invasion of the rights and liberties of Scotland.

Edward's letter to the Pope.

Meanwhile, the truce having expired, Edward, in the summer of 1301, again marched into Scotland at the head of a powerful army; but the campaign was wholly ineffective. An early and severe winter set in, and many of the horses of the English men-at-arms perished from the severity of the weather and the scarcity of forage.‡ Edward, however, determined to pass the winter at Linlithgow, in order that his presence might operate as a check upon the Scots. Here accordingly he built a castle, and kept his Christmas; and here, on the 26th of January, 1302, he was induced, by the mediation of France, to conclude another treaty with the Scots, which was to continue till the 30th of November (St. Andrew's day).§ He then proceeded to Roxburgh, and from this, by Morpeth and Durham, returned to London. It is worthy of notice, that on this occasion the Scottish commissioners still professed to act in the name of Baliol, but Edward refused to recognize

Campaign of 1301.

Truce with the Scots.

* Walsingham, p. 78. † Prynne, Edw.I. p. 883.

* Rymer Foed. vol. ii. p. 875.
† Ibid. p. 883; Hailes, vol. i. pp. 327—329.
‡ Fordun, book xii. chap. i.
§ Rymer Foed. vol. ii. pp. 892—896.

the dethroned monarch as king of Scotland, or the Scots as the allies of the king of France.

Defeat of the English at Roslin.

As soon as the truce had expired, Edward prepared to renew the war, and sent into Scotland Sir John de Segrave, whom he had lately appointed governor of the country, at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, chiefly consisting of cavalry. Segrave marched from Berwick towards Edinburgh, and having reached the neighbourhood of Roslin, for the purpose of more easily procuring forage, he divided his troops into three divisions, so far separated that they had no communication with each other. In the meantime, John Comyn and Sir Simon Fraser, hearing of the approach of the English, had collected a small but chosen army of eight thousand men, and making a forced march in the night from Biggar to Roslin attacked the first division of the enemy in their encampment at break of day, and entirely routed them. Segrave himself was wounded and made prisoner, along with his brother and son, who were seized in bed, and sixteen knights and thirty esquires. While the Scots were engaged in collecting the spoil, the second division of the English army came in sight. A fierce conflict ensued, in which the Scots were again victorious, and a rich booty and many prisoners, including Ralph the Cofferer, the paymaster of the army, fell into their hands. This second struggle had scarcely concluded when the third division of the English appeared, led by Robert Neville. The Scottish army, worn out by their night's march and their two successive encounters, thought of an immediate retreat, but the near approach of the enemy rendered this impracticable. Their leaders flew from rank to rank encouraging their men, and having equipped the camp followers in the arms of their slain enemies, they made a furious charge on the English, and, after an obstinate conflict, routed them with great slaughter. Fordun states that the Scots, before the second and third of these encounters, had recourse to the cruel policy of putting their prisoners to death. According to Langtoft, when the order to slay the prisoners was given, Ralph the Cofferer, the treasurer of Edward, interceded with Sir Simon Fraser for his life, and promised a large ransom. "This coat-of-mail is no priestly habit," replied Fraser; "Where is thine alb or thy hood? Often have you robbed us of our lawful wages, and done us grievous harm; it is now our time to sum up the account, and exact its payment." Saying this he struck off the hands of the unhappy priest as being polluted with the wages of iniquity, and then with one blow severed his head from his body.*

The victory of Roslin once more for the moment cleared the country of its invaders; but the period seemed at length to have come, when neither undaunted courage nor the most strenuous efforts could longer maintain the independence of the Scottish people. They were now deserted by their faithless allies, on whose assistance they had relied in their hour of need. Their patron, Pope Boniface, having quarrelled with Philip, found it expedient to court the friendship of the English monarch, and forgetting his former declaration in favour of the Scots, had the extreme effrontery to write to Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow (13th August, 1302), commanding him to desist from all opposition to Edward. "I have heard with astonishment," said he, "that you as a rock of offence, and a stone of stumbling, have been the prime instigator and promoter of the fatal disputes which prevail between the Scottish nation and Edward, King of England, my dearly beloved son in Christ, to the displeasing of the divine Majesty, to the hazard of your own honour and salvation, and to the inexpressible detriment of the kingdom of Scotland. If these things are so, you have rendered yourself odious to God and men. It befits you to repent, and, by your most earnest endeavours after peace, to strive to obtain forgiveness." At the same time the Pope addressed a Bull to all the Scottish bishops, commanding them to be at peace with Edward, and threatening that, in case of disobedience, he would be constrained to administer another and severer remedy.*

The Scots are deserted by the Pope and the French King.

The desertion of Boniface was soon followed by that of the French king, who concluded a treaty of peace with Edward, from which the Scots were entirely excluded, Edward, on his part, agreeing to give up his ally the Earl of Flanders. During the progress of the negotiations between England and France, the Earl of Buchan, James, the Steward of Scotland, John Soulis, one of the regents, and Ingelram de Umfraville, were sent, as commissioners, to watch over the interests of Scotland at the French court. But Philip cunningly persuaded them, that after the settlement of his own affairs with Edward, he would be able to negotiate a peace for his allies with more facility and on better terms, and he had the baseness to entreat the deputies, among whom were some of the most influential of the Scottish nobles, to remain with him at the French court, under the pretext that he wished them to carry back to their countrymen the intelligence of his having concluded the negotiation on their behalf, but in reality that he might detain them in France until Edward should have completed his preparations for the invasion of their country. They were thoroughly

Treaty of Paris, 20th May, 1303, and treachery of Philip.

* Fordun, book xii. chap. ii; Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 319; Wyntown, vol. ii. book viii. chap. 10. Some of the English historians attempt to conceal or extenuate the defeat of their countrymen on this occasion. They report that Sir Robert Neville and his men staid behind to hear mass; that when they came up they repulsed the Scots in a great measure and recovered many of the prisoners, and add, that of all those who staid behind to hear mass no one was either killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. Unfortunately for the credit of this monkish legend, Neville himself was slain. The English chronicler Langtoft has given a minute account of the battle, and candidly admits that the English were entirely defeated.

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 905.

duped by the artifices of their treacherous ally, and consented to remain. In the meantime they notified to the Guardian and nobility of Scotland the conclusion of the treaty between France and England, and exhorted them to persevere in the independence of their country. "Be not alarmed," said they, "that the Scots are not mentioned in the treaty. The King of France will immediately send ambassadors to divert Edward from war, and to procure a truce for us, until the two kings can have a personal conference in France. At that conference peace will be concluded beneficial to our nation. Of this, the King of France himself has given us the most positive assurance. You would greatly rejoice if you knew what reputation you have acquired all over the world by your late conflict with the English. Wherefore, we beseech you earnestly that you continue to be of good courage. And if the King of England consents to a truce, as we firmly expect he will, do you likewise agree to the same, according to the form which the ambassadors of the King of France shall propose by one of our number, who will be sent to you. But if the King of England, like Pharaoh, shall grow hardened and continue the war, we beseech you, by the mercy of God, that you quit yourselves like men, so that by the assistance of God and your own courage you may gain the victory." *

Edward again invades and subdues Scotland.

But the termination of the war with France enabled Edward to bring all his resources against the Scots, and to attack them with a force which rendered resistance hopeless. The recent defeat of his troops at Roslin, had inflamed to the utmost his rancorous hostility against the people who had so resolutely opposed his authority, and he swore that he would either complete the subjugation of the country, or turn it into a wilderness fit only for the beasts of the field to dwell in. To accomplish this project all the vassals of the crown, both in England and France, were summoned to his standard; extensive levies of men and horses were made, and the din of preparation was heard from one extremity of the land to the other. About the middle of May, Edward put his army in motion, and reached Roxburgh on the 21st of that month, while his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, at the head of another division, entered Scotland by the western marshes. On the 4th of June they reached Edinburgh, their progress having been marked at every step by fields laid waste and towns and villages set on fire. The people, heart-broken by the dreadful sufferings they had undergone, offered no resistance. John Comyn, Sir Simon Fraser, and Sir William Wallace, who had recently returned from France, alone continued the unequal contest, and issuing suddenly from the fastnesses in which they had taken refuge, at the head of a small band of veteran followers, they made frequent and harassing attacks upon the invading army, cut off the stragglers from the main body, and intercepted their convoys. Their efforts, however, were utterly unavailing to retard the progress of the enemy. From Edinburgh, Edward pursued his destructive course by Linlithgow and Clackmannan to Perth, and thence by Dundee, Brechin, Aberdeen, and Banff, to Kinloss in Moray. He established his quarters for some time at Lochendorb, a strong fortress built on an islet, in a lake in the wilds of Morayshire, and here he received the homage and oaths of fealty of the northern barons. Leaving this remote spot, he penetrated into Aberdeenshire, and reached the strong castle of Kildrummie on the 8th of October, from whence he retraced his steps to Dundee, which he reached on the 20th of the same month. Thence he marched to Cambuskenneth and Stirling, and finally proceeded by Kinross to Dunfermline, where he took up his winter quarters. In this progress through the country, the castle of Brechin was the only fortress which shut its gates against him. It was commanded by Sir Thomas Maule, a soldier of distinguished valour, who held out the place for twenty days against the assaults of the English forces, and was so confident of the strength of the walls that he stood on the ramparts and contemptuously wiped off with a towel the dust and rubbish raised by the stones thrown from the English battering engines. This brave knight, however, was at last mortally wounded by a missile, but even while he lay expiring on the ground, he inveighed against the men as cowards when they asked him if they might now surrender the castle. The garrison, however, capitulated next day.*

Brave resistance of Sir Thomas Maule.

Early in the month of December, Edward was joined by the queen, at Dunfermline. Here the English soldiers, by his orders, levelled with the ground the magnificent abbey of the Benedictines, a building so capacious, says an English chronicler, that three kings, with all their retinue, might have been lodged conveniently within its walls; but "the Scots," he adds, by way of apology, "had converted the house of the Lord into a den of thieves, by holding their rebellious Parliaments there."† This was a sufficient crime in the eyes of the English king to justify this act of savage barbarity. The church of the monastery and the cells of the monks alone were spared. A show of resistance was still kept up by Comyn, the Governor, Sir Simon Fraser, and a few other barons. The Castle of Stirling also still held out, and with the view of protecting this last place of refuge, Comyn collected all the forces he could muster, and took up a position on the north bank of the Forth, on the ground where Wallace had gained the signal victory of Stirling. Edward, on hearing of this movement, immediately advanced against the Scots at the head of his cavalry. In his eagerness to assail his enemies, he intended to have followed the example of the impetuous Cressingham, and to have crossed the river by the bridge;

* Rymer Foed. vol. i. p. 955.

* Matthew of Westminster, p. 446. † Ibid.

but on coming forward he found that it had been rashly broken down and burnt by order of Comyn.

Dispersion of the Scottish army—

He, therefore, sought out a ford at some distance, and passing the river in person with his cavalry, he attacked and dispersed the little army of the Scots.

—and submission of the Scottish leaders.

Shortly after this last effort to maintain the independence of their country, the courage of the Scottish leaders altogether gave way, and on the 9th of February, 1304, the regent Comyn and his followers made their submission to the commissioners of the English king, at Strathorde, in Fifeshire.* It was stipulated, that their lives should be spared, and that they should retain their liberty and lands, subject only to such fines as Edward might think proper to impose. From this capitulation the following persons were specially excepted, as having, by their obstinate resistance to the pretensions of the English king, deserved a more severe punishment:—Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, James, the Steward of Scotland, Sir John Soulis, David de Graham, Alexander de Lindesay, Simon Fraser, Thomas Bois, and William Wallace. To all these persons, except Wallace, the preservation of their lives and liberties was offered on terms more or less rigorous. But, "as for William Wallace," says the deed, "it is covenanted that he shall render himself up at the will and mercy of our sovereign lord the king, if it shall seem good to him;" terms which left him entirely at the mercy of Edward, and were almost equivalent to a declaration that he would be sent to execution the moment he was taken.

Not long after, about the middle of Lent, a Parliament was assembled at St. Andrews, when Wallace, Sir Simon Fraser, and the garrison of Stirling were summoned to appear, and on their failing to do so, sentence of outlawry was pronounced against them.† At length, Fraser, in despair, agreed to accept of the amnesty which Edward offered, on the hard conditions of fine and banishment from the country. But no mercy remained for Wallace The rhyming chronicler, Langtoft, relates, that the hero, finding himself standing alone against the power of the English monarch, from his hiding-place in the forest of Dunfermline, sent some of his friends to Edward, with a proposal to surrender himself, on a written and sealed assurance of safety in life, limbs, and estate. But "full grim" was Edward, it is added, when this was reported to him, and breaking out into an ungovernable rage,

A price set on the head of Wallace.

he cursed Wallace by the fiend, for a traitor, and set a price of three hundred marks upon his head. On hearing this, Wallace, flying again to the moors and marshes, betook himself once more, for subsistence, to plunder.‡

The strong castle of Stirling still held out, though defended by a slender garrison. The charge of this important fortress had been committed by John Soulis, one of the regents, who was still in France, to Sir William Oliphant, a knight of singular bravery and fidelity. He refused to capitulate, not from any hope of being able to offer an effectual resistance to the arms of Edward, but from a point of honour. He had never, he alleged, sworn fealty to the English monarch; but he had sworn to defend the castle entrusted to his charge, and must, therefore, wait the orders of his master, Sir John Soulis. He proposed, however, if a short truce were granted, that he would instantly repair to France and ascertain from his master whether he should at once give up the fortress, or hold it out as long as he was able. But Edward, who was deeply enraged at the obstinate resistance of the Scots, declared that he would listen to no such terms. "If he will not surrender the castle," said he, "let him keep it against us at his peril."

On receiving this reply, Oliphant and his brave companions resolved to defend their charge to the last extremity.

Siege of Stirling Castle.

The siege commenced on the 22nd of April, and continued till the 20th of July. Thirteen warlike engines were brought to bear upon the fortress, several of which hurled stones of the weight of two and even three hundred pounds, and others threw javelins and leaden balls of great size. The leaden roof of the cathedral of St. Andrews was torn away to furnish materials for these missiles. The garrison, however, made a most desperate resistance, and by their frequent sallies and the skilful manner in which their engines were served and directed, they destroyed great numbers of the besiegers during these operations. Edward exposed himself with all the gallantry, and even rashness, of a youthful warrior, and on more occasions than one had nearly fallen a victim to his temerity. While riding near the walls, a javelin struck him on the breast, and lodged between the plates of his armour. The point of the weapon, however, had not pierced the skin, and pulling it out with his own hand, he shook it in defiance, and called out aloud that he would hang the villain who had hit him. On another occasion, a stone of great size and weight, projected from one of the engines on the ramparts, struck the ground before him with such violence, that his horse backed and fell under him; upon which his soldiers ran for-

* This place must have been on the Orewater, but the exact locality is not now known.

† Trivet, p. 338.

‡ Hailes, vol. i. p. 338; Ryley, pp. 369—370; Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 324. Dr. Lingard, the prejudiced, and not always ingenuous apologist of Edward, states, that "when the rest of his countrymen made their peace with England the interests of Wallace were not forgotten," and endeavours to convey the impression that to Wallace the same, or nearly the same, terms were offered as to the rest of the Scottish leaders. But, as Mr. Tytler justly remarks, if he had read the authorities which he quotes, he would scarcely have ventured to make such statements. To Comyn and the rest of the nobles it was expressly guaranteed that "*their life and limbs should be safe*, that they *should not suffer imprisonment or lose their estates*," but to Wallace the only terms offered were *an unconditional surrender of himself to the will and mercy of the king*. So much for the assertion that "*Wallace's interests were not forgotten.*"

ward and hurried him down the hill towards the camp, chiding him for his rashness in thus exposing himself needlessly to danger. After the siege had continued nearly a month, without much progress having been made, the sheriffs of London, York, and Lincoln, were commanded to purchase all the bows, quarrells, and other warlike weapons that could be collected within their districts, and to send them instantly to Stirling; and the governor of the Tower was also required to send down the engines which were under his charge. All communication between the garrison and the surrounding country was cut off, to prevent them from obtaining a supply of provisions. Orders were given for the employment of the Greek fire, a new and most destructive combustible, which set fire to the roofs and walls of the buildings; and in addition to all this, two immense machines were constructed, which overtopped the walls, and overwhelmed the besieged with stones, and lead balls of enormous weight. By means of one of these, called the war-wolf, a breach was at length made in the two inner walls of the castle. The brave little garrison, worn out by their long-continued exertions, their numbers reduced by famine and siege, their provisions exhausted, their walls torn in pieces, were forced to surrender at discretion.*

Shameful indignities heaped upon the garrison.

Every indignity was heaped upon them, which a mean and ungenerous mind, exasperated by opposition, could inflict. Sir William Oliphant, the governor, and twenty-five knights and gentlemen, his gallant associates in the siege, were compelled to go in procession to the tent of Edward, stript to their shirts and drawers, their heads and feet bare, and on their knees to acknowledge their guilt, and to give themselves up to his mercy. Upon this the king consented to spare their lives; but the governor was sent to expiate his offence in the Tower of London, and the rest were consigned to other English prisons. The garrison, which had so long defied the whole power of the English army, was found to have consisted of no more than a hundred and forty soldiers, besides Sir William Oliphant and the other knights and gentlemen, a preaching friar, a monk, and thirteen ladies, the wives and sisters of the knights, who had shared along with them the dangers and privations of their obstinate defence.†

Scotland was now at length completely prostrate at the feet of the invader; but the last hope of Scottish independence was not extinguished so long as Wallace lived and was at large. Edward, therefore, set himself with characteristic perseverance and inveterate enmity to hunt down, by every means in his power, the only Scotsman who had never submitted to his authority. The English captains and governors in Scotland were commanded diligently to search out his retreats, and large rewards were offered for securing his person, dead or alive. Tempted by the great promises held out to him, Ralph de Haliburton, one of the prisoners lately taken at Stirling and carried into England, basely undertook to betray the patriot into the hands of his enemies, and for this purpose was sent back into Scotland in charge of Sir John de Mowbray, a Scottish knight, who was also employed in the same nefarious transaction. What were the precise measures adopted by Mowbray and Haliburton cannot now be ascertained, nor is it even clear that it was by their exertions that Wallace was actually taken. All that is certainly known is, that soon after this, the patriot was betrayed and taken by Sir John Menteith, a Scottish baron, who then held the castle of Dunbarton, under a commission from the English king.* Langtoft states, that Menteith succeeded in discovering Wallace's retreat through the treacherous information of *Jack Short his servant*, and that he came under cover of night and seized him in bed.† According to tradition, he was captured at Robroyston, a place about three miles north-west of Glasgow, and instantly conveyed to Dunbarton Castle, and thence with all speed to London, "with great numbers of men and women," says Stow, "wondering upon him."‡

Capture of Wallace—

His fate was soon decided, and the London rabble, who had so often trembled at his name, had the satisfaction of beholding the refined cruelty and tortures which attended his execution, and have stamped the character of Edward with indelible infamy. The day after his arrival, he was conducted on horseback from the house in Fenchurch-street, where he had spent the night, to Westminster Hall, accompanied by John de Segrave, acting as grand marshal of England, and the recorder, mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of the city. On reaching the hall a crown of laurel was placed upon his head, in mean and cruel mockery, because it had been reported that he had formerly said that he deserved to wear a crown in that place. Sir Peter Mallorie, the king's chief justice, then impeached him as a traitor to the king of England, as having burnt the villages and abbeys, stormed the castles, and slain and battered the liege subjects of his master the king. To the charge of treason Wallace pleaded not guilty: as he had never been the subject of the king of England, he owed him no allegiance, and consequently could be no traitor. As to the other articles of accusation, he admitted that, in the discharge of his duty to his country, he had done all that was stated. He was, as a matter of course,

—his trial—

* It is reported, however, both by Fordun and Wyntown, that a written agreement was signed by Edward, that the garrison should be quit of all harm, and that this agreement was perfidiously broken by the English king.

† Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 205, 206; Rymer, vol. ii. p. 951. See Appendix, Note ii.

* See Appendix, Note iii. In the account of the capture and execution of Wallace, preserved in the Arundel MS., 220, and printed in the "Illustrations of Scottish History," by the Maitland Club, it is stated, that he was captured in the house of one Rawe Raa (Ralph Raa or Ray) in Glasgow.

† Langtoft, Chron. p. 329.

‡ Stow, Chron. p. 209.

immediately condemned to death. The sentence which was pronounced upon him, contains an interesting outline of the hero's exploits. It recites, that John Baliol having forfeited the kingdom of Scotland, Edward conquered it, and publicly received the homage and fealty of its "prelates, earls, barons, and others"—that he proclaimed his peace through the realm—that he arranged a system of government for it, "according to the laws and customs of that land"—that the foresaid William Wallace, forgetting his fealty and allegiance, had raised an immense body of followers, had attacked the English officers, had slain William de Heselrigg, sheriff of Lanark, whose dead body he afterwards cut in pieces—that, gaining strength and influence, he stormed the English garrisons, caused his writs to run through all Scotland, as if he were superior lord of that realm—that he summoned parliaments—that he attempted to league himself with the king of France—that he ravaged Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland—that he opposed the king in a pitched battle—and that, when defeated, he refused to avail himself of the terms of peace then held out to his acceptance. He was, therefore, condemned to death, with all the barbarous and inhuman tortures which the malignant ingenuity of his enemies could devise. The sentence was executed on the twenty-third of August, 1305. Heavily ironed, he was placed on a hurdle and dragged at the tails of horses through the streets, to the usual place of execution—the Elms in Smithfield. He was then hanged on a high gallows, after which he was cut down while yet breathing, and his bowels were taken out and burnt before his face. His head was then struck off, and his body divided into four quarters. The head was afterwards placed on a pole on London Bridge, and the limbs were sent to be exposed to public view in Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen.*

—and barbarous execution.

So perished Scotland's great national hero,—"hewed as a carcase fit for hounds,"—a man who, in any age, would have been illustrious, but who towers as much above the men of his own time in true nobility of soul, as in bodily stature and strength. Amid the general defection of the selfish and time-serving nobility, who then and afterwards were the pensioners of England, he alone adhered with unswerving constancy to his country's cause. He was ever

> "faithful found;
> Among the faithless, faithful only he;
> Among innumerable false, unmoved,
> Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
> His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
> Nor number nor example with him wrought,
> To swerve from truth or change his constant mind,
> Though single."

His memory is imperishably embalmed in the grateful hearts of his countrymen, and his exploits are still commemorated, with an enthusiasm which the lapse of five centuries has not been able to impair.*

The great champion of Scottish independence having been at length removed, Edward proceeded to frame a system of government for the conquered country, which, as he fondly hoped, was now indissolubly united with the English crown. Ten commissioners, elected by a council of the Scottish nation, which Edward had summoned to meet at Perth, and invested with full parliamentary powers, assembled in London,† and there, in concert with twenty commissioners from the English parliament, framed regulations for the government of Scotland and the administration of justice to the people. Sheriffs and justices were appointed in the different districts of the country, subject to the control of the king's lieutenant, chancellor, and chamberlain. The feudal law, which, since the time of Malcolm Canmore, had been gradually making its way into Scotland, was now enforced to the exclusion of all others, while the remains of the ancient customs of "the Scots and Brets," as they are termed (the Scots, Irish, and British races) were finally abrogated. For the further settlement of the laws of the kingdom, it was ordained that the king's lieutenant should, on his arrival in Scotland, assemble the estates, before whom the laws made by king David, with the amendments and additions of succeeding kings, should be read, and that the lieutenant, with his council of English and Scots, should amend the laws and usages that were evidently against God and reason, so far as they were able in so short a time, and without the king's advice. A report in writing was to be made to Edward of the proceedings and opinions of this assembly, with regard to the important subject of the reformation of the Scottish laws; and they were also directed to choose representatives to meet with commissioners appointed by the king, with full powers to frame such regulations as should tend to the better government of the country for the future.‡ In this revision of the laws and statutes of Scotland, great respect was professed for the ancient usages of the Scottish

New form of government for Scotland.

* Wallace Papers, Introd. p. xxvii. and No. xx.,—a transcript from one of the Cotton MSS., embodying an interesting narrative of the legal proceedings (if they may be so styled) against Wallace. Henry the Minstrel states, that on reaching the place of execution Wallace requested that a Psalter which had been taken from his person might be returned. This desire being complied with, he asked a priest to hold it open before him, and continued to gaze on it till consciousness failed.—See Appendix, Note iv.

* An ingenious writer in the "*Scottish Journal*" suggests that Wallace was, as his name implies, of Celtic origin—that he personified the principle of Scottish nationality as opposed to Saxon or Norman supremacy—and that this was the secret of his intense hatred to the English, of his popularity with the lower classes in Scotland, and of the hostility shown him by the nobility, who were of Norman or Saxon origin;—and, finally, that the armies of Wallace were the patriarchal clans of Scotland arrayed against the English invader.—*Scottish Journal*, vol. i. p. 262.

† The Earl of March, who was elected, refused to serve, and by Edward's orders Sir John Menteith was substituted in his room.

‡ Ryley, pp. 503—506; Hailes, vol. i. pp. 345—350.

people, and for the opinions of the nobles; but, as was to be expected, especial care was taken to secure the dependence of the kingdom upon the English crown, and a controlling power over all offices and appointments was left in the hands of the king.

But while Edward was thus taking steps to secure his conquest, and flattering himself that he was at length about to reap the fruit of fifteen years' incessant labours, the prize was suddenly snatched from his grasp; and within six months of the execution of Wallace, the system which craft and violence had reared, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, was entirely overthrown.*

* It appears from the Wardrobe Accounts of Edward, that the disbursements for the Scottish war for the year 1300 amounted to more than one fifth of the national revenue.

CHAPTER VII.

ROBERT BRUCE.

A.D. 1306—1329.

Origin of the family of Bruce.

ROBERT BRUCE, to whom belongs the honour of restoring the independence of his country, was descended, like Wallace, from a family of Norman origin. Among the barons who followed the standard of William, Duke of Normandy, in his conquest of England, was Robert de Brus, or Brwyse, whom the Conqueror, for his valour and public services, rewarded with extensive estates in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire. To his son Robert de Brus, David I., King of Scotland, on his accession to the throne, in consideration of their early friendship, made a grant of the Lordship of Annandale.* The younger son of this second Robert, on whom the estates and title subsequently devolved, was the proper founder of the race of Scottish Bruces. The fifth in descent from him, and the grandfather of our hero, was Robert de Bruce, the competitor with Baliol for the Scottish throne. His son, also named Robert, married the Countess of Carrick, and thus added largely to the estates and feudal influence of the family. The circumstances connected with his marriage were so singular and romantic, and had so momentous an influence on the fortunes of Scotland, that they deserve a passing notice. The young Countess of Carrick, while engaged in the chase, and accompanied by a large retinue, suddenly encountered Robert de Bruce, passing on horseback through the domains of Turnberry. The tall and graceful figure of Bruce impressed the lady so favourably, that she invited him to join her train and share the hospitalities of her castle. The young nobleman, however, dreading the consequences of an unsanctioned intimacy with an heiress under the wardship of the crown, courteously declined the invitation; but the countess, seizing the bridle of his horse, conducted him, as a captive knight, to Turnberry Castle. Here, after fifteen days' residence, they were married, without the knowledge of the relations of either party, and without the requisite consent of the Scottish king. The estates and castle of the countess were immediately seized by royal authority, but escaped the doom of forfeiture on the payment of a heavy fine. Of this union, so strangely formed, Robert Bruce, the restorer of Scottish liberty, was the first-fruit. He was born on the 21st of March, 1274, and seems to have spent his early years in Carrick, to the earldom of which he succeeded, at the age of sixteen, on the death of his mother. His conduct amid the struggles of his country, prior to the year 1305, when he assumed the character of an open and decided patriot, contrasts most unfavourably with his after deeds, and can scarcely be explained on any other principle than a cold and cautious selfishness. Equal to Wallace in bravery and capacity, he lacked his lofty principle and pure patriotism. Supple, dexterous, and accommodating, his inconsistencies excite our wonder and regret; now in arms for his country, and then leagued with her oppressors,—now braving the wrath of the English king, and then again swearing fealty to him,—eager for the independence of Scotland, and yet looking coldly on the efforts of the only man whose dauntless heroism promised success to her struggles for freedom,—it required the energy, perseverance, and consummate valour of after years, to redeem his character from the charge of culpable weakness. By the stern though wholesome lessons of adversity, his spirit gradually acquired purity and strength, and shone out at last in acts of noble endurance, princely generosity, and justice tempered by benevolence. The conduct of Bruce, it is true, may be explained, and in part vindicated, by the peculiarity of his circumstances, which necessitated a course different from what he would have chosen. His grandfather, after vainly endeavouring to establish his pretensions to the throne of Scotland, had quietly acquiesced in the elevation of Baliol. His father, the Earl of Carrick, had submitted uniformly and implicitly to the superior ascendancy of the English monarch. Bruce, therefore, though convinced of his right to the Scottish throne, and determined to assert it, could not in the meantime, with decency or hope of success, urge his claims. A more serious difficulty also interposed, which time and prudence alone could remove. In his pretensions to the crown, he had to contend with a rival who was at that time one of the most powerful men in the kingdom. Baliol had tamely submitted to renounce for ever all claim to the Scottish throne, and his son was in captivity; but the claims and hopes of his family centred in John Comyn, commonly called the Red Comyn, who was the son of his sister Marjory. Comyn was Regent of the kingdom, allied to many of the noblest families in Scotland and England, and, by the decision of Edward, possessed, in succession, a clear right to the Scottish crown. Between the families of Bruce and Comyn there thus sprung up all the jealousy and hatred which rival and irreconcileable interests could create. Accordingly, the movements of both families, during the contests which occurred between the abdication of Baliol and the death of Wallace, seem to have been decided rather by a regard to family interests than the good of their country. They were uniformly ranged on opposite sides, with the exception of the brief period when Bruce and Comyn were associated in the regency of the kingdom. This coalition, however, seems to have been mainly produced by a desire to crush Wallace, whose single-minded patriotism and influence endangered their common pretensions; and, that end once gained, they re-

Early character and conduct of Robert Bruce.

* See ante, p. 62.

turned to their former course of factious opposition and strife.

The seeming inconsistencies, therefore, which mark the early life of Bruce, may have been but the movements of a cautious and far-seeing policy, which sought, by balancing parties and humbling his enemies, to pave the way for the establishment of his own claims and the restoration of his country's freedom. At the period when our history resumes, Bruce stood in high favour with the English king, who sought his counsel in the settlement of the kingdom of Scotland; while the conduct of his rival Comyn, who seems to have wholly lost the confidence of Edward, was watched with a jealous eye, and his estates were subjected to a heavy fine.

League between Bruce and the Bishop of St. Andrews.

After the reduction and submission of Scotland, while Bruce was actually employed, along with Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, in framing regulations for the future government of the kingdom, he secretly entered into a bond of alliance with William de Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews.* By the terms of this agreement, they bound themselves to resist the enemies of their country; to consult together and give mutual assistance to each other, by themselves and their people; to engage in no important undertaking without mutual consent; and to apprise each other of impending danger, and use the utmost endeavours to prevent it. This league, so important in its consequences, was concluded on the 11th of June, 1305. Bruce now took measures to rouse the nobles to resistance, and even sought to secure the services of Comyn, his rival, in achieving the independence of Scotland. According to

Conference between Bruce and Comyn.

Wyntown,† while Bruce and Comyn were riding in company from Stirling, their conversation turned on the miseries to which their country was subjected by the English rule. With the view of adjusting their differences and combining their strength, Bruce is said to have proposed, that Comyn should support his title to the vacant throne; offering, in return, to make over all his estates to Comyn; or, as an alternative, promising to support the claims of Comyn to the crown, on receiving, as the reward of his aid, the extensive possessions of his rival. Comyn agreed, on the terms proposed, to withdraw his claims in favour of Bruce: and the covenant thus made was secretly and solemnly ratified. On the part of Comyn, however,

Comyn's treachery—

this paction was insincere; for, desirous of ruining Bruce, he transmitted to the English king a statement of the matter, but carefully concealing such parts of the agreement as militated against his own loyalty. Bruce, unsuspicious of danger, was residing at the English court. Edward, either anxious for clearer proofs of the treason of Bruce, or desirous, as has been affirmed, to get into his power other members of his family, and to crush at one blow their pretensions, betrayed no suspicions of the Earl of Carrick's fidelity. Bruce, however, was warned of his danger by the Earl of Gloucester, and, accompanied by a few friends, immediately fled from Winchester to Scotland. On the way he met a person who proved to be the bearer of letters from Comyn to Edward, urging the death or immediate imprisonment of his rival. He was instantly slain and his letters seized; and, with these documents in his possession, Bruce hastily continued his journey, and reached his castle of Lochmaben on the fifth day after his flight.* It was now the month of February, 1305-6, and the English justiciaries, appointed by Edward for the administration of justice in the district of Galloway, were holding their sittings at Dumfries, attended by a large concourse of barons and freeholders.† John Comyn was present, giving suit and attendance on the king's court. Learning this on his arrival in Scotland, Bruce, who, as a freeholder of Annandale, was also bound to attend on the justiciaries, repaired to Dumfries for that purpose. During the proceedings of the court, Bruce requested a private interview with Comyn, and they accordingly retired to the cloisters of the Minorites, or Greyfriars. What ensued is not certainly known. The Scottish historians say, that Bruce reproached Comyn, in bitter terms, for his treachery,—that a warm altercation took place, in the course of which Comyn gave Bruce the lie, and that Bruce in reply stabbed his rival with his dagger.‡ Appalled at his own deed and its consequences, Bruce hurried out of the sanctuary, calling loudly for his horse. He was met by Kirkpatrick and Lindsay, two of his followers, who, seeing him pale and agitated, demanded the cause. "I doubt," said Bruce, "that I have slain the Red Comyn." "Do you doubt?" said Kirkpatrick, "I will make siccar" (sure); and, rushing into the church, he despatched the wounded man.§ Sir Robert Comyn, an uncle of the murdered nobleman, with several adherents and attendants, were slain while endeavouring to protect their chief. On hearing the tumult, the English justiciaries, believing their own lives to be in imminent danger, gave orders to barricade the doors of the court-room. Bruce compelled them to surrender by threatening to fire the building: they were permitted, however, to depart in safety to England.

—his murder, 10th Feb. 1305-6.

Bruce resolves to claim the crown—

The death of Comyn, though the effect of hasty passion rather than of premeditated revenge, placed Bruce in circumstances which demanded instant decision. He had offended the English king beyond the hope of forgiveness; had directed against himself the enmity of the numerous and powerful family of the murdered noble; and had committed a crime which, as it involved him in the guilt of sacrilege, was viewed with horror by the people.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 342.

† Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 122; Fordun, book xii. chap. v.; Barbour's Bruce, vol. i. p. 18, Jamieson's edit.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 127. † Hemingford, vol. i. p. 220.

‡ Barbour's Bruce, vol. i. p. 23.

§ See Appendix, Note V.

He had to choose, therefore, between the open avowal of his claims to the Scottish crown, or their entire renunciation: between the life of a fugitive and an outlaw, and the immediate vindication of his country's liberty. His decision was speedily taken. Returning to Lochmaben, after a brief consultation with his brother Edward, it was determined to hazard all consequences by claiming the vacant throne. Messengers were accordingly despatched to collect his friends and adherents, and to warn those nobles who were known to be favourable to the cause of Scottish independence.*

—his supporters—

Only a few of the nobility, however, responded to this appeal.† In addition to his own brothers—Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander—the chief supporters of Bruce were William de Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews; Robert Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow; David Moray, Bishop of Moray; the Abbot of Scone; Thomas Randolph, nephew of Bruce, and afterwards Earl of Moray; Chrystal Seton, brother-in-law to Bruce; Malcolm, Earl of Lennox; John de Strathbogie, Earl of Athole; Sir James Douglas, who joined him on his way to Scone, and became his most gallant adherent and warmest friend;‡ Gilbert de la Haye, Earl of Errol; Hugh de la Haye, his brother; David Barclay, of Cairns; Alexander Frazer, ancestor of the Earl of Lovat; Walter de Somerville, ancestor of Lord Somerville; David of Inchmarten, ancestor of the Earl of Airlie; Robert Boyd, ancestor of the Earl of Kilmarnock; and Robert Fleming, ancestor of the Earl of Wigton. To these may be added, Alan, Earl of Monteath; Nigel Campbell, of Lochow, ancestor of the Duke of Argyle; and Simon Frazer, of Oliver Castle.§ Against this small band,—the forlorn hope of Scottish liberty,—stood arrayed the chivalry of England, the partisans of Comyn, and the great body of the nobles and inferior barons, who, disheartened by their late fruitless and ruinous attempts to cast off the English yoke, had submitted in despair, and dreaded a renewal of hostilities. Undismayed by these difficulties, and determined either to free his country or perish in the attempt, Bruce hastened with his adherents to Scone, where, on the 27th of March,

—his coronation at Scone.

1306, and but forty-five days after the unhappy slaughter of Comyn at Dumfries, he was solemnly crowned, with as much state as the situation of affairs would permit. Edward, as we have seen, had carried off the regalia of the kingdom, and the celebrated Stone of Destiny, on which the Scottish kings, according to immemorial custom, were seated at their coronation. A small circlet of gold was therefore substituted for the royal crown;‖ and, clothed in robes which Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow,¶ supplied from his own wardrobe, Bruce took the necessary oaths. A banner, wrought with the arms of Baliol, was delivered to him by the same prelate, and beneath it the new king received the homage of his subjects. Ever since the accession of Malcolm Canmore, the Earls of Fife, descendants from the celebrated Macduff, had enjoyed the honorary distinction of placing the Scottish kings on the throne at their coronation.* Duncan, Earl of Fife, was in the English interest; but his sister Isabella, the wife of Comyn, Earl of Buchan, withdrew secretly from her husband, and hastening to Scone, which she reached on the second day after the coronation of the king, insisted upon enjoying the privileges and performing the duties of her family. Bruce, anxious to invest his crown with every possible circumstance of legitimacy and sacredness, complied; and on the 29th of March he was a second time placed on the throne by the countess,† who was afterwards cruelly punished by Edward for her devotion to her country's cause. Thus solemnly crowned, Bruce proceeded to strengthen his interests by visiting different parts of his dominions,—seizing upon the castles of his enemies, and imprisoning the sheriffs and officers of the English king.

Steps taken by Edward on hearing of the revolt.

When the news of the death of Comyn, and the daring attempt of Bruce to assert the independence of Scotland, reached Edward, he was residing at Winchester, during the season of Lent. Though worn out by incessant exertions and the infirmities of age, his mental energy was still unimpaired, and he lost no time in meeting the dangers which threatened his northern conquests. Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was immediately appointed to the office of Guardian of Scotland, and letters were despatched with all haste to the military tenants of York and Northumberland, enjoining them to follow his orders in proceeding against Bruce and his adherents.‡ Nor was Edward less careful to secure the aid of the spiritual power

* Barbour's Bruce, vol. i. p. 24.
† Fordun, book xii. chap. 9. ‡ Barbour, vol. i. p. 27.
§ Hailes, vol. ii. p. 3. ‖ Rymer Foed. vol. ii. p. 1048.
¶ This warlike prelate, in whom the natural and professional character were so much opposed, affords a singular example of inextinguishable patriotism under the tyranny of circumstances, while the rapidity with which he changed sides, and the ease with which he took oaths and violated them, give a strange insight into the morality of the times. At the competition for the throne between Bruce and Baliol, the bishop took the oath of fealty to Edward, but was the first to break it by instigating Baliol to ravage the English territories. The fate of Baliol being sealed, he hastened to swear homage to the English king; but scarcely had Edward reached the Continent, than the restless ecclesiastic stimulated Wallace and Bruce to arms, and joined them in steel at the head of his retainers. Again fortune frowned on his country, and again he took the oath of fealty, only to break it ere a month had passed, by instigating a new rebellion. A fourth time he solemnly submitted, but only to march against the Prince of Wales, at that time acting in Galloway against Wallace and Bruce. Again he vowed and repeated his oath at St. Andrews, in presence of the assembled barons of both realms. But, on the rise of Bruce, he hastened to give him plenary absolution for the murder of Comyn, robed him at his coronation, and preached a holy crusade against the oppressors of his country. The very timber which Edward had given him to build the steeple at Glasgow he converted into engines with which he stormed the Castle of Cupar. He shared in all the subsequent changes of his country, and spent his last years in furnishing Fordun with materials for his Chronicle of the times.

* See ante, p. 38.
† Hailes, vol. ii. p. 2, and note; Trivet, p. 342.
‡ Rymer Foed. vol. i. p. 988.

against Bruce and his followers. To Pope Clement V., lately one of his subjects, he transmitted an account of the sacrilegious murder of Comyn, with a request that his vassal be immediately placed under the ban of the Holy See. Clement hastened to comply, and a bull was issued enjoining the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against Bruce and his adherents.* The spiritual sentence, which otherwise might have proved, in that superstitious age, fatal to the cause of the new-made king, altogether failed in its design. The wise policy of Bruce had made Lamberton and many of the chief Scottish ecclesiastics his fast friends, and the inferior clergy, influenced by their superiors, and jealous of their own independence, paid no respect to the mandates of the Pontiff.

Bruce excommunicated by the Pope.

The next step of Edward was an appeal to the chivalrous spirit of the age. On arriving in London, he conferred the honour of knighthood on his son, the Prince of Wales, and on three hundred young men belonging to the noblest families in England. The occasion was signalised by a splendid entertainment and a singular ceremony. Two swans, covered with golden ornaments, were brought before the king, who made a solemn vow to God and to the swans, that he would punish Bruce for his sacrilege, and thereafter devote himself to the pious work of redeeming the Holy Sepulchre from the Saracens.† The young Prince of Wales also took oath, that he would not remain two nights in the same place until he reached Scotland.

Pembroke proceeded rapidly to the north, to check the progress of the revolt, while the aged king followed more leisurely in his carriage, preceded a day's march by his son and the band of newly made knights. On his arrival in Scotland, Pembroke took possession of the important town of Perth, which was, at that time, walled and strongly fortified. Bruce arrived before the town with an army greatly inferior in numbers to that of the English commander. Nevertheless, in the chivalrous spirit of the age, he challenged the Earl to come out and fight in the open field. Pembroke having promised to meet him on the morrow, Bruce drew off his men, and encamped in the wood of Methven, about six miles distant from the town. Relying on the promise of the English leader, and unsuspicious of danger, the soldiers proceeded to throw off their armour and to cook their evening meal, while parties were sent in different directions to procure forage for the troops. But the crafty Guardian led out his soldiers towards nightfall, and surprised the Scottish forces, which, though taken unawares and unarmed, made a desperate resistance. Bruce was thrice unhorsed, and at one moment in imminent danger of being taken prisoner, but was rescued by the valour of Sir Christopher Seton, his brother-in-law. The rout of the Scots was complete; and, in addition to the number of the slain, Bruce had to deplore the captivity of Hugh de la Haye, Sir David Inchmarten, Sir John de Somerville, Thomas Randolph, and others of his bravest adherents.* Edward, on receiving intelligence of the victory, commanded the prisoners to be instantly led to execution. But Pembroke ventured to disobey the sanguinary edict. Randolph was pardoned; a few were ransomed; but the majority were hanged and quartered, in the spirit of a merciless revenge.

Earl of Pembroke proceeds to Scotland.

Battle of Methven, and defeat of Bruce—

In the meantime, Bruce and his friends, with about five hundred men, who had kept together, retired into the wild fastnesses of Athole. Driven from Athole by the necessities of his starving soldiers, he descended into the low country of Aberdeenshire; but had quickly to withdraw to the mountains of Breadalbane, on the approach of a superior force of the enemy. Amid these wilds they preserved, for some time, a miserable existence, by wild berries and the scanty and precarious produce of fishing and the chase. The presence of the queen and many other ladies, who had joined the fugitive band at Aberdeen, determined to share the dangers of their husbands and fathers, though it secured to them the solace of female society, aggravated the sufferings and anxieties of their situation. Barbour makes mention of the efforts of the knights, and especially of the "good Sir James Douglas," to provide for the wants and to promote the comforts of the ladies,—

—straits to which he is reduced.

> "For whiles he venesoun them brocht,
> And with his hands whiles he wrocht
> Gynnis, to tak geddis (pikes) and salmonys,
> Troutis, elys, and als menonys" (minnows);

and the king himself was often comforted by his wit and cheerfulness.†

They had now reached the head of the Tay, and were approaching the shire of Argyle, the country of the Macdougals, of Lorn, whose chief had married the third daughter of the Red Comyn, and was eager to revenge the death of his kinsman. On receiving intelligence that Bruce and his adherents were lurking on the borders of his territories, this powerful chieftain collected a thousand men and attacked the fugitive band of patriots, who were now only three hundred strong.‡ The encounter took place in Strathfillan, near Teyndrum, at a spot which still bears the name of Dalry, or the King's Field. After a severe engagement, the adherents of Bruce, overwhelmed by numbers, were compelled to give way. Sir James Douglas and Sir Gilbert de la Haye were wounded, and many of the horses were slain by the long pole-axes with which the Highlanders were armed. At length the king, dreading the total destruction of his little band, commanded

Bruce is attacked and defeated by the Lord of Lorn—

* Rymer Foed. vol. i. p. 997; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 4.
† Hailes, vol. ii. p. 6; M. Westm. p. 454.

* Trivet, p. 343; Barbour, pp. 35, 36; M. Westm. p. 455.
† Barbour, vol. i. p. 40. ‡ Ibid. pp. 41, 42.

them to retreat through a narrow pass, he himself bringing up the rear, and repeatedly turning and driving back the assailants who attempted to press upon them. Lorn, observing the skill and valour displayed by Bruce in protecting the retreat of his followers, said to one of his retainers, "Methinks, Murthokson, he resembles Gol Mak-morn, protecting his men."* Two brothers, whom Barbour calls Mackyn Dorser (interpreted the sons of Durward or Porter), and a third person, whose name is not mentioned, the strongest and bravest among Lorn's followers, had made a vow that they would either slay the king or perish in the attempt. Watching a favourable opportunity, they simultaneously assailed him in a narrow pass, between Loch-an-Our and the edge of a steep precipice; one seized his horse's rein, but received a wound which hewed off his arm; a second had, in the meantime, grasped Bruce by the leg, and was attempting to dismount him, but the king, putting spurs to his horse, made the animal suddenly spring forward, so that the Highlander was thrown down, still holding by the stirrup. The third, taking advantage of an acclivity, sprung up behind him on his horse. Bruce, however, by his great personal strength, forced him forward on the horse's neck and slew him, after which he killed with his sword the other assailant whom he dragged at his stirrup. There is a tradition in the family of the Macdougals, of Lorn, which, in all probability, refers to the same perilous conflict, though it does not entirely coincide with the narrative of Barbour, either in the names or number of the vassals by whom Bruce was assailed. According to this tradition, Macdougal himself engaged in a personal encounter with Bruce, during his retreat, and was struck down by the king, and would have been slain on the spot, had not two of Lorn's retainers, named McKeoch, rescued him by seizing the mantle of the monarch, and dragging him from above his adversary. Bruce rid himself of these foes by two blows of his redoubted battle-axe, but was so closely pressed by the other followers of Lorn, that he was forced to abandon the mantle and brooch which fastened it, clasped in the dying grasp of the McKeochs. A studded brooch, said to have been that which King Robert lost upon this occasion, is still preserved in the family of Macdougal as a memorial of this memorable incident.† The signal bravery displayed by Bruce in this encounter, extorted the applause even of his enemies. Barbour mentions that Mac-Naughton, a baron of Cowal, expressed to the Lord of Lorn, in the strongest terms, his admiration of the deeds of valour which Bruce performed in this perilous retreat. "It seems to give thee pleasure," said Lorn, "that he makes such havoc among our friends." "Not so, by my faith," replied Mac-Naughton; "but, be he friend or foe who achieves high deeds of chivalry, men should bear faithful witness to his valour; and never have I heard of one who by his knightly feats has extricated himself from such dangers as have this day surrounded Bruce." The Macdougals, appalled by an arm that carried with it certain death, or unwilling to press so brave a foe, discontinued the pursuit, and retired to their own country. In after times, and under happier circumstances, Bruce took ample vengeance on this powerful family.

—his narrow escape.

The winter was now approaching, when it was no longer possible to subsist amid these barren wilds. It became necessary to provide for the safety of the ladies, to whom the rigours of the coming season, and the hardships of a wandering life, would have proved fatal. The queen and her attendants were therefore sent away to the Castle of Kildrummie, under the escort of the cavalry, commanded by Nigel Bruce, the king's brother, and the Earl of Athole. With two hundred infantry, the remains of his force, Bruce resolved to seek refuge in the district of Cantire, or among some of the adjacent islands. Sir Neil Campbell, who possessed great influence in that district of the country, was accordingly sent forward to provide vessels and provisions for the voyage. The heroism of Bruce, which shone so brightly in the battle-field, displayed itself now in circumstances even more trying. Wandering from place to place, hungry, weary, and footsore, he sustained the spirits of his followers by relating

The queen and the ladies sent to Kildrummie Castle.

"Auld stories of men that wer
Set in tyll hard assayis ser" (sore)—

tales of romance and chivalry, in which indomitable courage and perseverance had triumphed over the greatest obstacles.* In Rome, rendered almost defenceless by the battle of Cannæ, and insulted by Hannibal, who marched up to her very gates, but after years of patient endurance, triumphing at last over all her foes, he saw foreshadowed the present fortunes and ultimate glory of his own kingdom.

The king and his friends, in their retreat before the Lord of Lorn, had been driven considerably to the southward of Dalry, and their progress was now interrupted by Loch Lomond, to cross which they had no boats, while to go round it would expose them to the attacks of their enemies in Argyle. After long search, a leaky boat, capable of carrying only three persons, was discovered by Douglas, in which the king and he were first ferried over. They then despatched it in return for the rest of the party, so

Bruce passes over Loch Lomond—

* This curious passage has been often quoted in the Ossianic controversy. There can be no doubt that it refers to an ancient Celtic tradition, but the incident alluded to is not to be found in the poems published by Macpherson.

† See Lord of the Isles, Canto ii., St. xi., and Appendix, note F. An engraving of the brooch is in preparation for this work.

* "'Tharfor,' he said, 'atour all thing,
Keep you from disparying,
And thynk that thouch we now harmys feel,
That God may yet releve us weill.
We rede off mony men that war
Far harder sted than we yet ar,
And syne our Lord sic grace them lent,
That they came weill till thair entent.'"

that the whole band, partly, says Barbour, by swimming, partly by rowing, reached in safety the other side. The passage of the lake occupied a considerable period, and the king, in the meantime, entertained those who had passed over by relating to them the romance of Ferambras (more probably Fierabras), and an account of the siege of the "Duke Peris," in the tower of Egrymor, by King Lawyn.* They were now reduced to great extremities from the want of provisions, and while traversing the hills and woods in search of food, they met with the Earl of Lennox, who had recognized the peculiar sound of the king's bugle. Lennox, who, since the fatal encounter at Methven, had heard nothing of the fate of his royal master, fell upon his neck, and, the king embracing him, they wept together.† The earl supplied his friends with provisions, and, by his guidance and assistance, they succeeded in reaching the province of Cantire, where they were rejoined by Sir Neil Campbell. Cantire was at this time subject to Angus, Lord of the Isles, the descendant of the renowned Somerled, and the chief of the powerful clan of the Macdonalds, who received Bruce and his adherents with kindness and hospitality, assigned to them the castle of Dunnaverty for their residence, and, according to Barbour, swore fealty to the king, and engaged to render him every assistance in his power. Bruce, however, did not deem himself secure, even in this remote district, from the pursuit of his enemies, and therefore resolved to pass over to the little island of Rachrin, on the coast of Ireland, a dreary and half desolate spot, inhabited by the vassals of the Lord of the Isles. Amid these rude, but friendly islanders, Bruce and his followers continued to lurk in concealment during the winter of 1306.

—and crosses to Cantire.

It was at this period that an incident is said to have happened, which, though it rests only on tradition, carries with it an air of verisimilitude, and is in itself extremely probable. The king was lying one morning upon a handful of straw, and deliberating whether he ought not to abandon all further attempts to make good his right to the Scottish crown, and transporting himself to the Holy Land, spend the remainder of his life fighting against the Saracens. It happened, that while he was thus pondering, he looked upward to the roof of the hut in which he lay, and his eye was attracted by the exertions of a spider, who, in order to fix its web, was endeavouring to swing itself from one beam to another above his head. Involuntarily he became interested in the pertinacity with which the insect renewed his exertions. At length, after it had tried to carry its point six times, but without success, it occurred to him that he had himself fought just six battles against the enemies of his country, and he resolved that he would decide his own course, according to the success or failure of the spider. At the seventh effort, the insect gained its object, and Bruce in like manner persevered, and never afterwards met with any decisive check or defeat in his efforts to vindicate his own rights, and the freedom of Scotland. Hence it has been held unlucky or ungrateful, or both, in one of the name of Bruce to kill a spider.

Story of Bruce and the spider.

In the meantime ruin fell upon the greater part of the friends and adherents, whom Bruce had left behind. Exasperated beyond measure at the repeated revolts of the Scots, Edward issued an ordinance, commanding the Guardian of Scotland to proclaim that the people of the country should search for and pursue all who had been in arms against the English government, and under the penalty of imprisonment and loss of their estates and castles, to apprehend every such offender, dead or alive. All who harboured these rebels were to be punished at the discretion of the Guardian. Those who were present at the murder of John Comyn, or were abettors of that deed, or knowingly received the guilty persons, or their accomplices, were sentenced to be drawn and hanged. It was added, that all who were at any time in arms against the king, as well as all, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, who had willingly espoused the party of Bruce, or who had exhorted the people of Scotland to rise in rebellion, were, on conviction, to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. With regard to the common people who might have been constrained by their lords to take up arms, a discretionary power was committed to the Guardian to fine or ransom them, according to their offences.*

Fate of Bruce's friends.

These orders were rigorously executed in the treatment of the patriots who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of their enemies. Bruce's queen, and his daughter Marjory, who, on the approach of an English army, had fled from the castle of Kildrummie, and had taken refuge in the sanctuary of St. Duthac, at Tain, in Ross-shire, were meanly and treacherously delivered up to the English by the Earl of Ross, who violated the sanctuary, and made them and their escort prisoners. The ladies were committed to different prisons in England,† while the knights and squires who attended them were immediately put to death. The heroic Countess of Buchan, who had placed the king upon the coronation chair, was immured in a cage, constructed in one of the centre turrets of the castle of Berwick, strongly latticed and cross-barred with wood, and secured with iron. She was not permitted to converse with any person, except the women who brought her food; and it was expressly stipulated that these should "be English and liable to no suspicion."‡ Mary and Christina Bruce, both sisters to the king, were also

* Barbour, vol. i. p. 54. Pinkerton says, that for "Duk Peris" we should read "Dukes of Paris," but Dr. Jamieson is of opinion that these personages are unquestionably the same with Wyntown's *Dowchsperis*, Fr. *les doux pers*, or the twelve peers of France.

† Barbour, vol. i. p. 56.

* Ryley, p. 510; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 11.

† Barbour's Bruce, vol. i. p. 66.

‡ Fordun, vol. ii. p. 1014.

taken prisoners; the latter was shut up in a convent, but Mary was confined in a cage, similar to that of the Countess of Buchan, constructed in one of the turrets of Roxburgh Castle;* Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews; Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow; and the Abbot of Scone, were taken in arms, and conveyed in fetters to England.† Edward wrote to the Pope, requesting that, in consequence of their opposition to his authority, these prelates should be deprived of their benefices, and that William Comyn, brother to the Earl of Buchan, should be appointed to the see of St. Andrews, and Geoffrey de Mowbray to that of Glasgow; but this request does not appear to have been granted.

Surrender of Kildrummie, and cruel fate of Nigel Bruce, and other patriots.

The Castle of Kildrummie, in which Nigel Bruce had shut himself up, was besieged by an English army, under the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford. The garrison made a gallant defence, till a traitor, named Osburn, having set fire to the magazine of corn and destroyed their supplies, they were compelled to surrender at discretion.‡ Nigel Bruce, a beautiful and accomplished youth, whose fate excited commiseration even among the English,§ was sent in irons to Berwick, and there executed as a traitor, along with divers other knights and soldiers.‖

Christopher Seton, who had married Christian, the sister of Bruce, and so gallantly rescued him at the battle of Methven, shared the same fate. According to Barbour, he was betrayed to the English by one McNab, "a disciple of Judas," in whom the unfortunate knight reposed entire confidence.¶ He was immediately taken to Dumfries, where he was tried, condemned, and executed. It appears that he was present at the murder of Comyn, and was therefore regarded as an accomplice in that deed. John de Seton, his brother, was about the same time put to death at Newcastle.

The Earl of Athole, in attempting to escape out of the kingdom, was driven back by a tempest, and fell into the hands of the enemy. He was taken to London, and executed with circumstances of shocking barbarity,—being first half strangled, then let down from the gallows while yet alive, his bowels taken out and burnt before his face; and finally his head was cut off and placed amongst those of the other Scottish patriots, upon London Bridge. Athole was related to the royal family of England, and when this circumstance was pleaded in his favour, Edward swore that his only distinction should be a higher gallows than his fellow traitors. Matthew of Westminster mentions, that the king, then grievously sick, endured the pains of his disease with more patience, after hearing of the capture of his relative.*

The veteran Sir Simon Frazer, the last friend and companion of Wallace, was still in arms; but soon after this he was defeated at a place called Kirkencliffe, near Stirling, and taken prisoner, along with many other knights and squires. He was carried to London in chains, and as he rode through the city, with his legs fettered under his horse's belly, a garland of periwinkle was, in mockery, placed upon his head. He was then condemned and executed, with all the studied and revolting cruelty of the English law of treason, and his head was fixed beside that of his murdered compatriot Wallace, upon London Bridge. Sir Herbert de Morham and his squire, Thomas Boys, Sir David Inchmarten, Sir John de Somerville, Sir Walter Logan, and many others of inferior rank, were put to death at the same time. Superstition mingled its horrors with those of a ferocious state policy, and the citizens of London were taught to believe, that demons with iron hooks were seen ramping on the gibbets, among the dismembered limbs of these unfortunate men, and "horribly tormenting their bodies."†

To complete the ruin of the patriotic cause, the extensive estates of Bruce were bestowed on different English nobles, and he and his adherents were solemnly excommunicated at Carlisle, by Cardinal St. Sabinus, the legate of the pope in England, with all the terrific pomp with which such a sentence is usually fulminated against the objects of papal displeasure.‡

While his family and friends were thus consigned to the dungeon and the gibbet by their ruthless captor, Bruce passed the winter in the small island of Rachrin, ignorant of their miserable fate and beyond the reach of the papal thunder. His own situation was apparently unknown both to friends and foes: and Fordun states, that at this period he was proclaimed, in derision, through the churches of Scotland, as lost, stolen, or strayed.§ On the approach of spring, Sir James Douglas, impatient of inactivity, obtained permission from the king to make a descent, along with Sir Robert

* Fordun, vol. ii. p. 1014. † M. Westm. p. 455.
‡ Barbour, vol i. p. 67. § M. Westm. p. 455.
‖ There is a passage in Barbour singularly expressive of the vindictive spirit of Edward. The news of the surrender of Kildrummie arrived when he was in his mortal sickness at Burgh-upon-sand.

"And when he to the death was near,
The folk that at Kildromy were
Come with prisoners that they had tane,
And syne to the king are gane.
And for to comfort him they tauld
How they the castell to them yauld,
And how they till his will were brought,
To do off that whatever he thought;
And ask'd what men should off them do.
Then look'd he angrily them to,
He said grinning 'HANGS AND DRAWS,'
That was wonder of sic saws,
That he that to the death was near,
Should answer upon sic manner;
For outen moaning and mercy,
How might he trust on him to cry,
That sooth-fastly dooms all thing
To have mercy for his crying,
Off him that throw his felony,
Into sic point had no mercy?"—p. 74.

¶ Barbour, p. 65.

* M. Westm. p. 456; Scala Chron. vol. ii. p. 543; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 18, and Note.
† See Appendix, Note VI. ‡ Hemingford, p. 236.
§ Fordun, book xii. chap. xi.

Boyd, upon the island of Arran. Passing over, with a small band of followers, in an open boat, he arrived there during the night, and placed his men in ambush near the castle of Brathwick, or Brodick, which was then held by a strong garrison, under Sir John Hastings, an English knight. Early next morning, Douglas had the good fortune to surprise the under-warden of the castle with a valuable cargo of provisions, arms, and clothing for the garrison, and, after killing forty of the escort, he made himself master of the stores which they carried. The governor, hearing the noise of the conflict, sent out a body of soldiers to the assistance of his men; but they were repulsed by the Scots, and forced to seek refuge within the walls of the fortress.* Finding the castle too strongly fortified to be assailed with any hope of success, Douglas drew off his men to a fortification of the ancient inhabitants, situated in a woody dell. Here they were joined by the king, who soon after arrived from Rachrin, with a company of about three hundred men, embarked in thirty-three galleys, which, according to Fordun, he had been enabled to procure by the aid of a chieftainess called Christiana of the Isles.†

The patriots leave Rachrin—

Before passing over to the Scottish mainland,‡ Bruce despatched one of his followers named Cuthbert, into his ancestral territory of Carrick, to learn how his vassals in that district stood affected, and with instructions, if he found appearances favourable, to make a signal, on an appointed day, by lighting a fire on an eminence near the castle of Turnberry.§ When the day arrived, Bruce anxiously watched for the expected signal, from the dawn of the morning. At length, about noon, he perceived a fire on the appointed place, and instantly embarked with his men, steering their course, as darkness came on, by the friendly light. On reaching the shore about midnight, they found the messenger waiting for them, with the evil tidings that Lord Percy, with a strong garrison, occupied Turnberry Castle, and many of his men were stationed in the town; that the people were utterly dispirited; and that there was no hope of receiving from them any assistance. "Traitor!" said Bruce, "why, then, did you kindle the fire?" "Alas! sir," replied Cuthbert, "the fire was not made by me; but, as soon as I saw it burning, I knew that you and your men would come over, and therefore I came to meet you here, and to warn you of your danger."‖ In this perplexing position, Bruce hesitated what to do; but his brother Edward boldly declared that he would pursue the enterprise at all hazards. Bruce, also, after some deliberation, determined to remain and take such adventure and fortune as Heaven should send him. They immediately proceeded to attack the English troops, cantoned in careless security in the village of Turnberry, at some little distance from the castle, and succeeded in putting most of them to the sword. Percy heard the uproar, but, ignorant of the numbers of the enemy, he did not dare to sally out to the relief of his men. After this exploit, Bruce remained three days in the neighbourhood of the castle, and then withdrew to the mountainous parts of the surrounding country.*

—and pass over to the mainland—

—they attack and defeat a body of the enemy.

While Bruce remained in the vicinity of Turnberry, a lady, nearly related to him, but whose name has not been preserved, brought him a supply of money and provisions, and a reinforcement of forty men. From her, too, he received the first intelligence of the melancholy fate of his friends who had taken refuge in the castle of Kildrummie towards the close of the preceding year. He was deeply affected by the recital, and vowed that their deaths should not go unrevenged. In the meantime, Percy kept close within the castle of Turnberry, afraid to venture beyond its walls, until the arrival of a powerful reinforcement, under Sir Roger St. John, enabled him to evacuate the fortress in safety, and to retreat with all haste into England.

Percy evacuates Turnberry Castle.

Meanwhile, Bruce retired into the mountainous parts of Carrick, expecting to be joined by his brothers Thomas and Alexander, whom he had despatched to Ireland, for the purpose of collecting reinforcements in that country and the adjacent islands. On their return,—having landed in Loch Ryan, in Galloway, with a force of seven hundred men, —they were instantly attacked and routed (9th Feb. 1306-7,) by Duncan Mc Dowall, a powerful chieftain of that country, in the English interest. The brothers of Bruce, along with Sir Reginald Crawford, who were all grievously wounded, fell into the hand of the victor, who carried them to the English king, at Carlisle. Edward ordered them to be instantly executed.†

Defeat and execution of Bruce's brothers.

This grievous disaster was somewhat counterbalanced by a successful enterprise undertaken by Sir James Douglas.‡ Having obtained the king's permission, that adventurous knight, taking with him only two yeomen, repaired secretly into Douglasdale, which Edward had bestowed on Lord Clifford, by whom the castle of Douglas was held with a strong garrison. Here Sir James discovered himself to Thomas Dickson, who had been the faithful friend of his father, and had showed great kindness to himself in his early youth. This trusty vassal concealed Douglas in his house, and brought to him secretly the principal adherents of the family, who eagerly welcomed the son of their old lord, and pledged themselves to assist him, to the utmost of their power, in the recovery of his patrimonial

The Douglas Larder.

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 89—92.

† M. Westm. p. 458. Langtoft states that Alexander Bruce had been educated at Cambridge, where he made extraordinary proficiency in learning, and adds, that he was Dean of Glasgow.—Vol. ii. p. 336.

‡ Barbour, vol. i. pp. 96—101.

Barbour's Bruce, vol. i. p. 77. † Book xii. chap. xi.
‡ See Appendix, Note VII.
§ Barbour, vol. i. p. 82. ‖ See Appendix, Note VIII.

inheritance. Having obtained from these friends accurate information respecting the state of the country, he concerted with them a plan for surprising the English garrison on Palm Sunday, during their attendance on divine service, in the neighbouring church of St. Bride. On the day appointed, the garrison, consisting of thirty men, marched in procession to the church, leaving only the cook and porter in the castle. A number of Douglas's adherents, with arms concealed under their clothes, entered the sacred edifice along with them, and suddenly raising the cry of "Douglas! Douglas!" made a fierce onset upon the English, and after a stout resistance killed or took prisoners the whole party, with the loss, however, of the faithful Dickson. Douglas then took possession of the castle, and after plundering it of all the arms and valuables which could be carried off, he heaped together, on the floor of the store-room or magazine, all the wheat, flour, meal, and malt which he found in the stores, and staved the casks of wine and other liquors; after which he put his prisoners to death, flung their dead bodies on the pile, and then set fire to the castle. This atrocious deed, which was long commemorated in the tradition of the country by the name of the Douglas Larder, took place March 19th, 1306-7.

Deprived of the succours which he expected from Ireland, the situation of Bruce was now very critical. He was frequently in great danger as he skulked from one hiding-place to another among his native mountains, and was indebted for safety to his superior knowledge of the woods and morasses of that wild district. His enemies hunted him like a beast of prey, and even had the baseness to lay plots for his assassination. One of his own relatives, in whom he placed great confidence, was gained over by Sir Ingram de Umphraville, the English commander at Ayr, who prevailed upon him, by the promise of an ample reward, to attempt to slay Bruce. It appears that the king was in the habit of rising early in the morning, and retiring to some sequestered spot for private meditation; and this villain, with his two sons, lay in wait for him near his usual place of retirement. Bruce, unconscious of his danger, went out one morning, attended only by a page, who carried a bow and arrows, and proceeded towards the covert where the traitors had concealed themselves. They advanced to meet him, the father having a sword in his hand, one of the sons a sword and a spear, and the other a sword and a battle-axe. Bruce, however, had received some hints respecting their intended villany, and stood upon his guard. He had no weapons excepting his sword, and the bow and arrows, which he took from the page, commanding him to stand at a distance; for, said he, "If I overcome these traitors, thou shalt have enough of weapons, but if I am slain, you may make your escape." In the meantime, the traitors drew near, with the evident intention of making a simultaneous attack upon the king. Bruce commanded them to come no nearer, as he was aware of their treachery. The father, however, answered with professions of zeal for his person and service, and still continued to approach, when Bruce let fly an arrow, which hit him in the eye, and penetrating into his brain, killed him on the spot. One of the sons rushed forward and fetched a blow at Bruce with a battle-axe, but missing his stroke, he stumbled and fell, so that the king cleft his skull with one blow, before he could recover his feet. The remaining traitor ran on Bruce with his spear, but the king, with a sweep of his sword, cut off the steel head of the weapon, and then killed him, before he had time to draw his sword. Wiping his bloody weapon and looking upon the dead bodies, Bruce remarked to the page, who ran joyfully forward to congratulate him upon his victory, "These would have been three gallant men if they had resisted the temptation of covetousness." *

Critical situation of Bruce—

—is attacked by three traitors, whom he slays.

After this perilous exploit, Bruce continued to wander among the fastnesses of Carrick, often with a very slender train, both for the sake of secrecy and from the difficulty of finding support for his men. The Galwegians, having learned that he was in their country with only sixty followers, resolved to attack him by surprise, and for this purpose collected a body of two hundred men, and provided bloodhounds to track his steps through the forests and morasses. About night-fall, however, he received notice of their approach from his scouts, and instantly withdrew his little troop into the shelter of a morass, about two bow-shots from a deep and rapid mountain stream, of which the banks were steep and rocky. Having drawn up his men in this secure position, he left them under charge of Sir Gilbert de la Haye, commanding them to lie down and rest, while he himself, with two attendants, went forward to reconnoitre. After a careful survey of the ground, he found that the river could be crossed only by a deep ford, and that the path which led up from the water's edge to the summit of the bank, was so steep and narrow, that two men could not advance a-breast. Here he stood for a considerable time, till at length the baying of a hound was heard at a distance; but from his reluctance to disturb his followers on what might, after all, prove a false alarm, he remained at the ford, till the trampling of horses and the voices of men made him aware of the near approach of his enemies, and, by the light of the moon, he could see them preparing to cross the river. Unwilling to lose the advantage of his strong position, he sent back his two attendants to rouse and bring up his men, while he remained alone to defend the pass. The fierce Galwegians seeing only a solitary opponent guarding the ford, plunged at once into the river and made for the opposite bank. But as they crossed one by one, Bruce, who stood high above the landing-place, transfixed the foremost man with his long spear, and with a second thrust

Adventure with a body of Galwegians.

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 103—108.

stabbed his horse, which blocked up the narrow path in such a way that the next assailant must charge over its body. Five or six of the enemy were thus slain in succession, and the rest, dismayed by the fate of their companions, drew back for a little; but ashamed that so many should be held at bay by one man, they returned to the attack, encouraging each other with loud cries to press on. The dreadful sword of the king, however, swept round on all sides, and slew a man at every stroke, till the pass was completely blocked up by the dead bodies of men and horses. At length, on the approach of his followers, the Galwegians turned and fled, having lost fourteen of their number by the single arm of Bruce. When De la Haye and the soldiers came up, they found the king wearied, but unwounded, sitting alone on the bank of the river, where he had cast off his helmet to cool himself in the night air. Barbour describes them as gazing upon him with affectionate admiration when they heard the recital of his exploit, and saw the dead bodies of those whom he had slain with his own hand. Those of his followers who had been dispersed over the district, hearing of this adventure, hastened to rejoin his standard, in case of any further attack.*

Exploit of Sir James Douglas.

Meanwhile Sir James Douglas was still lurking among the fastnesses of Douglasdale. "He loved better," he said, "to hear the lark sing than the mouse squeak." Clifford had rebuilt the castle of Douglas, and restored its defences, and having placed a new garrison in it, under the command of a brave soldier, named Thirlwall, had himself returned to England. After his departure, Douglas determined again to expel the enemy from his patrimonial inheritance. For this purpose he had recourse to stratagem; and having concealed a part of his followers in a wood, he sent a detachment at an early hour in the morning, to drive off some cattle from the immediate vicinity of the castle, towards the place where the ambush was laid. Provoked at this audacious act, Thirlwall hastily armed a considerable portion of his men, and pursued the marauders with the view of recovering the spoil. As soon as he had passed the place where Douglas was lying concealed, the Scots suddenly turned upon their pursuers, who, suspecting no danger, were following with all speed, and in great disorder. At the same moment those who were lying in ambush burst forth upon them with the war-cry of "Douglas, Douglas," and intercepted their retreat. Thirlwall, and the greater part of his followers, were slain, and only a very few regained the shelter of the castle. After this exploit, having heard that Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, with a powerful force was marching against the king, Douglas collected his vassals and joined his sovereign, who was then at Cumnock, in Ayrshire.†

Having received this reinforcement, Bruce, with whom was now his brother Edward, awaited the advance of the enemy. Pembroke, who brought with him a large body of men-at-arms, had recently been joined by John of Lorn, with eight hundred Highlanders, whose active habits and training rendered them well fitted to follow an enemy among the moors and morasses in which Bruce had so often found shelter. Lorn is reported also to have had along with him a remarkably sagacious bloodhound, which had formerly belonged to Bruce himself, and having been fed with his own hands, had become so much attached to the king, that if once put upon his track, he would follow his footsteps anywhere. Bruce, whose force amounted to only four hundred men, had his attention fixed on the movements of the men-at-arms in the low country, while, unknown to him, Lorn, with his eight hundred Highlanders, made a circuit among the hills, and gained the rear of Bruce's little army. Perceiving the danger of his situation, and unable to make head against the superior forces which pressed upon him on both sides, the king divided his men into three bodies, and having appointed a place of rendezvous, commanded them to retreat by different routes. But when Lorn arrived at the spot where they had divided, he set loose the bloodhound, which instantly fell upon the well-known scent, and led the pursuers directly in the track which the king had taken. Finding his party closely followed by the whole force of the enemy, Bruce again subdivided his small body into three parts, but without effect, for the pursuers attached themselves exclusively to that which he led in person. He then ordered the remainder of his followers to disperse, and each one to provide for his own safety, and retained with himself only his foster-brother, or the son of his nurse. The bloodhound, however, neglecting the footsteps of the other fugitives, followed the traces of the two men. On this Lorn became convinced that one of the two must needs be the king, and despatched five of the swiftest of his men, with orders to follow hard after Bruce, and intercept his flight. They did so with such agility, that they soon came in sight of the king and his foster-brother. "What aid wilt thou make? for we shall speedily be attacked," said Bruce to his single attendant, when he saw the mountaineers rapidly gaining on him. "The best I can," replied his foster-brother. "You say well," rejoined the king; "then here I make my stand." The five pursuers soon approached with loud cries and menaces. Bruce took three to himself, leaving the other two to his foster-brother. The first who encountered him, he cleft through the skull with one stroke. The other two, starting back at the fall of their companion, allowed Bruce to observe that his foster-brother was hard pressed, on which he sprung to his assistance, and struck off the head of one of his assailants. Leaving him to deal with the survivor, he returned upon the other two, both of whom he slew before his foster-brother had despatched his single antagonist.* When this

The king narrowly escapes from the pursuit of John of Lorn—

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 109—118. † Ibid. pp. 121—123.

* It has been supposed that this, and some other kindred exploits of Bruce, have been exaggerated by his metrical

perilous encounter was over, Bruce, with a courtesy, which strongly marked his character, thanked his foster-brother for his aid. "It likes you to say so," answered his follower, "but you yourself slew four of the five." "True," said the king, "but only because I had better opportunity than you. Your two assailants were not apprehensive of me when they saw me encounter three, so I had a moment's time to spring to your aid, and to return equally unexpectedly upon my own opponents."

In the meanwhile Lorn and his men approached rapidly, and the king and his foster-brother betook themselves with all haste to a neighbouring wood, through which ran a small river. Here they sat down, for Bruce was exhausted by fatigue, and declared that he could go no further. But the cry of the bloodhound intimated that their pursuers were close at hand, and his foster-brother entreated Bruce to provide for his safety by resuming his flight. "I have ofttimes heard," answered the king, "that whosoever will wade the length of a bow-shot down a running stream shall make the 'slouth-hound' lose scent. Let us try if it will do so now, for were yon devilish hound away, I should care nothing for the rest."

Meantime Lorn reached the spot where lay the bodies of his slain vassals, over whom he made his moan, and threatened vengeance for their blood. He then followed the hound to the side of the brook, down which the king and his attendant had waded a great way. Here the hound was completely at fault; and Lorn, after a long and fruitless attempt to recover the trace, was reluctantly compelled to relinquish the pursuit.* In this encounter Bruce had the misfortune to lose his banner, which was taken by his nephew Randolph, who was then fighting in the ranks of the English.

"Others," says Barbour, "affirm that upon this occasion the king's life was saved by an excellent archer, who accompanied him, and who perceiving they would be finally taken by means of the bloodhound, hid himself in a thicket, and shot him with an arrow. "In which way," adds the venerable Archdeacon, "his escape happened I am uncertain; but at that brook the king escaped from his pursuers."

After their escape from the pursuit of Lorn, Bruce and his trusty attendant proceeded towards the appointed rendezvous. In the midst of the forest they met with three armed freebooters, one of whom carried the carcase of a sheep. These men pretended that they were in search of the king, whose party they intended to join. Bruce answered, that if they would go with him, they would find the Scottish king. To this they agreed; but something in their manner excited Bruce's suspicions, and caused him to be on his guard. "Until we are better acquainted," said he, "you must go before us, and we will follow near to you." "You have no occasion to suspect any harm from us," answered one of the strangers. "Neither do I," said Bruce; "but this is the way in which I choose to travel till we know each other better." The men did as he commanded, and thus they travelled till they came to a waste and ruinous house, where they made a fire, and dressed part of their provisions. The king, however, insisted that a separate fire should be kindled for himself and his foster-brother at the other end of the house. After a hearty meal, Bruce, who was overcome with fatigue, could not resist an inclination to sleep; but first he desired his foster-brother to watch while he slept, as he entertained strong suspicions of the three strangers. The king had not been long asleep, however, ere his foster-brother fell into a deep slumber also, and the three villains having discovered who Bruce actually was, plotted to slay him, doubtless with the expectation of obtaining the reward which the English had offered for his life. Fortunately he awoke as they were advancing for this purpose, with their weapons in their hands, and starting up he drew his sword and prepared to meet them; at the same moment treading heavily upon his foster-brother, to awake him. A fierce conflict ensued, in which the three ruffians were slain, but to the great grief of the king his faithful follower lost his life.* From this place Bruce travelled alone to the appointed rendezvous, where he was joined by his brother Edward and Sir James Douglas, with a hundred and fifty men. No sooner did he find himself at the head of such a considerable body of followers, than forgetting hunger and weariness, he began to inquire where the enemy were quartered, feeling assured that they would, in all probability, be off their guard, under the impression that the Scots were entirely dispersed. Having received information from Sir James Douglas, that a party of about two hundred English had taken up their quarters for the night in a village, a mile or two from the camp of the main army, Bruce set out under cover of the night, and falling upon them at daybreak, he put the greater part of them to the sword.

—is attacked by three freebooters—

—surprises a body of the English—

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 133—136.

biographer; but when we keep in mind that Bruce was possessed of great bodily strength, and skill in the use of his weapons, and was, moreover, clad in complete armour, there will appear to be nothing improbable in the account of his victories over half-naked and ill-armed caterans.

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 125—132. The account Barbour gives of the mode in which the English pursued Bruce and his followers, and the dexterity with which he evaded them, is corroborated by the English chronicler Harding, a great enemy to the Scottish nation:—

"The king Edward with hoost him sought full sore,
But aye he fled into woods and strait forest,
And slew his men at staytes and dangers thore;
And at marreys and mires was aye full prest,
Englishmen to kill withoutyn any rest;
In the mountaynes and cragges he slew ay where,
And in the nyght his foes he frayed full sere.

"The king Edward with horns and hounds him sought,
With men on foot through marris, moss, and myre,
Through woods also, and mountens (where they fought),
And even the king Edward hight men great hyre,
Him for to take and by might conquere;
But they might him not get by force ne by train,
He sat by the fire while they went in the rain."

Harding's Chronicle, pp. 303-4.

See Appendix to Lord of the Isles, note K.

In consequence of these successes, the number of Bruce's adherents increased daily; and the Earl of Pembroke, after repeated failures in his attacks upon the Scots, became disgusted with his ill success, and, abandoning the country, retreated to Carlisle.* Bruce immediately quitted his mountain fastnesses, and, descending into the lower districts of Ayrshire, expelled the English from the fortified places, and reduced the whole of Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick to his obedience. About the same time, a detachment of the enemy, amounting to a thousand men, while marching from Bothwell into Kyle, under the command of Sir Philip Mowbray, were attacked by Sir James Douglas, and completely routed. Mowbray himself with difficulty escaped to the castle of Innerkip, then held by an English garrison, while his men fled in great disorder to Bothwell.

—expels the enemy from Ayrshire.

Alarmed at these successes, Pembroke, in the beginning of May, advanced into Ayrshire, with a body of three thousand cavalry. Barbour relates, that in the chivalrous spirit of the times, the English commander challenged the king to give him battle, and intimated that he intended to march by Loudon Hill on the 10th of May. Bruce, who then lay with his little army at Galston, agreed to meet his old enemy on the appointed day, at the place mentioned. Profiting by the recollection of his discomfiture at Methven by Pembroke, he took due precautions to guard against an unforeseen attack, and to prevent his small army from being overwhelmed by the greatly superior forces of the enemy. The road at that part of Loudon Hill where Bruce resolved to wait the advance of the English, led through a piece of dry level ground, about five hundred yards in breadth, and bounded on both sides by extensive and deep morasses. Barbour says, that when Bruce rode out from Galston to survey the ground, the hay was lying on the "fayr feild, even and dry," which he selected for the encounter. Considering this open space too large for his small army of six hundred spearmen, as it could be easily outflanked by the English cavalry, he drew three deep parallel trenches on either hand, from the morasses to the road, leaving only room for the movements of a force similar to his own. He thus secured both his flanks and rear, and at the same time provided two successive rallying places in case of need. His baggage was placed on a hill in the rear, under the charge of the camp followers. Early in the morning, the king, who was on the watch, perceived the enemy advancing in two lines, or divisions. Barbour describes, in glowing language, the splendid and imposing appearance of their goodly array;—the sun gleaming upon their burnished helmets and shields—their glittering hauberks "that were white as flouris"—the steel harness of the horses—the coats of arms of various colours, and the pennons and banners waving above the wood of spears. The first line couched their lances, and at full gallop charged the Scottish spearmen, who were drawn up in a deep battalion. But they received the charge with such firmness that many of their assailants were unhorsed and slain; and after a short, but severe conflict, the English van was driven back in disorder upon the rear, which, in its turn, fell into confusion, and ultimately took to flight. The Scots followed up their advantage, and pressing forward on the disordered ranks of the enemy, gave them no time to rally, and drove the whole army off the field with considerable loss. Pembroke himself took refuge in the castle of Ayr.* Three days after the victory of Loudon Hill, Bruce defeated, with great slaughter, Ralph de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester, and compelled him also to fly to Ayr. The Scots blockaded this fortress for some time; but, on the approach of succour from England, they were obliged to retire.

Battle of Loudon Hill.

Defeat of Pembroke—

—and of the Earl of Gloucester.

The moral effect of these victories was most beneficial to the patriotic cause. Emboldened by his success, the Scots now flocked in great numbers to the standard of their sovereign. His power and reputation daily increased, and "a general opinion, long suppressed by the former course of adverse events, began to be entertained throughout Scotland, that Heaven, in the hour of utmost need, had raised up, in the heir of the Scottish throne, a prince destined by Providence to deliver his country, and that no weapon forged against him should prosper."

The repeated reverses which his troops had met with, greatly incensed the English monarch. Although advanced in years, and enfeebled by illness, he resolved to march in person against the Scots, and to take signal vengeance upon them for their insubordination. He had been detained at Carlisle during the whole winter, by the wasting effects of a dysentery; but now, under the excitement caused by the tidings of Bruce's increasing success, he flattered himself that the virulence of his malady was abated. As an evidence of his recovery, he offered up, in the cathedral at Carlisle, the horselitter in which he had hitherto been carried, and, mounting on horseback, he proceeded towards Scotland, though he was so weak that he required to be supported in the saddle. But the effort was vain. In four days he advanced only six miles. On the 6th of July he reached the small village of Burgh-upon-Sands, on the shores of the Solway Frith, where he stopped once more for the night, and on the morning of the next day, as his attendants were raising him up to receive some food, he expired, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

Illness and death of Edward I.

The death-bed of this powerful, but ambitious and unprincipled monarch, is calculated to teach a memorable lesson. For more than twenty years the conquest of Scotland had occupied his almost undivided attention. To accomplish this darling

* Barbour, vol. i. p. 149.

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 155—160.

object of his guilty ambition, he had employed the most unscrupulous devices,—had lavished the treasure of his subjects, and shed their blood like water,—had doomed to the axe and gibbet, men who owed him no allegiance, and were guilty of no crime, except an ardent love of their native land. He had transformed into inveterate enemies two nations who, for nearly a century, had lived in a state of friendly intercourse, and engendered between them a spirit of implacable animosity which it required many ages to soften and obliterate. And now, when worn out by age and disease, the prize, for which he had loaded his soul with guilt and his memory with infamy, was wrested from his grasp, and he was doomed to terminate his career within sight of that devoted country of which he had been so long the scourge, and which, after all his attempts to enslave it, lay yet before him free and unsubdued. In his last moments his thoughts were entirely occupied with the subjugation of Scotland, and his deadly hatred to the nation he had so grievously injured, was manifested by his dying injunctions to his son, that he should prosecute the war without truce or breathing space; and that his bones should be carried at the head of the invading army, and never be committed to the tomb till Scotland was entirely subdued. His heart he commanded to be sent to the Holy Land, in whose defence he had once fought. Froissart, who probably had the authority of eye-witnesses for his statements, has given us the following account of this remarkable injunction:—"When King Edward saw that he should die, he called before him his eldest son, who was king after him, and there, before all the barons, he caused him to swear, that as soon as he were dead, that he should take his body and boil it in a cauldron, till the flesh departed clean from the bones, and then to bury the flesh and keep still the bones; and that, as often as the Scots should rebel against him he should assemble the people against them and carry with him the bones of his father; for he believed verily, that if he had his bones with them, that the Scots should never attain any victory against them. The which thing was not accomplished, for when the king died his son carried him to London."

Edward was interred in Westminster Abbey, where his tomb is still to be seen, bearing the appropriate inscription:—

HERE LIES EDWARD THE FIRST, THE HAMMER OF THE SCOTTISH NATION.*

Accession of Edward II.

Edward the Second, who succeeded to the throne of England in his twenty-fourth year, was a weak prince, fond of idle amusements, and of worthless favourites and parasites, and showed as little inclination as ability, to carry out the schemes of his predecessor. After a delay of several weeks, he advanced into Scotland, as far as Cumnock, where he remained from the 6th to the 28th of August. He then retraced his steps, and, having appointed the Earl of Pembroke Guardian of Scotland, made his way back into England, without having performed a single act of importance. On reaching York, with his characteristic fickleness he removed Pembroke from the guardianship of Scotland, and bestowed that office on John de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond. Full power was conferred upon him over all ranks of persons; and the Sheriffs of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, were enjoined to raise the whole military strength of their respective counties, under his command. Information was soon afterwards received, that Edward Bruce had made an inroad into Galloway, and had laid waste, with fire and sword, those districts in which the inhabitants had refused to join his standard. The Guardian was therefore directed to protect the Galwegians from the ravages of Bruce. Special orders were at the same time issued to Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and several other Scottish barons, to accompany the English army in this expedition, while the sheriffs of London were enjoined to purchase and transport to Berwick, provisions and military stores for the troops, together with iron, hempen cord, crossbows and arrows, and certain larger weapons of the same kind, called balistæ de turno, employed in the attack and defence of fortified places.*

Expedition of the Earl of Richmond, and retreat of the king to the north.

At the head of this army, the Earl of Richmond marched into Galloway. Bruce, unable to make head against a force so much superior to his own, prudently avoided a general action, and retreated to the north of Scotland. Sir James Douglas, however, appears to have remained in the south, for the purpose of reducing the wooded and mountainous district of Ettricke forest.† On his way to the north, the king was joined at the Mounth, on the borders of the Highlands, by Sir Alexander and Simon Fraser, sons of the gallant hero of Roslin, with all their power. From them he learned that John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, with Sir John Mowbray, and his own nephew, Sir David de Brechin, were assembling their vassals, and preparing to attack him. The time seemed favourable for their purpose, for Bruce was now attacked by a wasting distemper, which deprived him of his appetite and strength, and threatened his life. Fordun attributes his illness to cold and hunger, and the hardships which he had been subjected to ever since his defeat at Methven.‡ Barbour says, that the king fell sick at Inverury, while on his march in search of the Earl of Buchan; and that Edward Bruce and the other knights who were along with him, considering their position in that place as too open and exposed, removed

Bruce's illness.

* "Edwardus Primus Scotorum Malleus hic est. Pactum Serva."

* Kerr's Life of Bruce, vol. i. p. 329; Rym. Foed. vol. iii. p. 16.

† Barbour, p. 162. According to this author, Bruce's expedition into the north was undertaken for the reduction of that part of the country.

‡ Book xii. chap. xvi.

the king in a horse-litter to Slenath, a strong post on the north coast of Aberdeenshire.

Defeat of the Earl of Buchan, 25th December, 1307.

Buchan, having received intelligence of Bruce's situation, assembled his vassals, and marched towards Slenath; but finding the royalists strongly posted, he did not venture to attack them. Several skirmishes, however, took place between the archers of both armies; and as provisions began to fail, and their enemies daily increased in numbers, the Scots deemed it prudent to retire into Strathbogie. Here they remained for some time, until the king had somewhat recovered from his illness, when they returned to Inverury, as a more convenient station for procuring provisions during the winter. Upon this, the Earl of Buchan, with a body of about a thousand men, advanced to Old Meldrum, and Sir David de Brechin pushed on to Inverury with a small party, and suddenly attacked and put to flight a few of Bruce's soldiers at the end of the town. Enraged at this military affront, the king instantly rose from his litter, and called for his horse. In answer to the remonstrances of his friends, he declared that the insults of the enemy had wrought his cure; and although so weak that he was obliged to be supported in his saddle, he led on his troops in person, and, marching to Old Meldrum, he made a furious attack upon the Earl of Buchan, and entirely defeated his army, pursuing them for many miles with great slaughter. If we may believe the poetical historian, Barbour, the king was restored to health by the excitement of the conflict, and the exultation consequent upon his victory.* He soon after marched into Buchan, the territory of his mortal enemies—the Comyns—wasting it with fire and sword; and took such signal vengeance for the injuries they had done him, that Barbour informs us, the "harrying of Buchan" was the subject of lamentation for fifty years after this severe military execution; and traces of the devastation may even yet be seen.†

Continued successes of the royalists.

After the victory over Comyn, his ally, Sir David de Brechin, who had been taken prisoner in his own castle of Brechin, was pardoned and taken into favour, and is said to have joined his uncle with his whole force. The citizens of Aberdeen also declared in Bruce's favour, and, assisted by some of his adherents, stormed and took the castle, expelled the English garrison, and levelled the fortifications with the ground. The castle of Forfar, which was strongly garrisoned by the English, was next taken by a soldier named Philip the Forester of Platane, who put all the English to the sword; and the fortifications were instantly demolished by the command of the king,—a course of policy which he invariably followed, in order that the fortresses might not fall again into the hands of the enemy, and thus enable them to retain their hold upon the country.

Daring exploits of Edward Bruce.

Meanwhile, Edward Bruce overran and reduced the district of Galloway, the turbulent inhabitants of which had always been hostile to the family of Bruce, and had on various occasions reduced the king to great straits. With an inferior force he encountered, at the water of Cree, a body of twelve hundred English, under Sir Ingram de Umfraville and Sir John de St. John, assisted by a native chief called Donegal, or Dougal; and, after a fierce conflict, he routed and put them to flight, with the loss of two hundred men. Many of the fugitives fled for safety to the mountains, while their leaders with difficulty escaped to Butel, a castle on the sea-coast of Galloway.* After this victory, Bruce proceeded to reduce the country, and compelled the inhabitants to swear allegiance to his brother. While carrying on these operations, he received intelligence that John de St. John had levied a new army of fifteen hundred horsemen, and was advancing, by forced marches, with the intention of surprising the Scottish troops. Edward, however, resolved to anticipate the attack by a daring enterprise, which a soldier of more prudent valour would never have hazarded. He ordered his infantry to take up a position in a strait valley, strongly fortified by nature; and early in the morning, taking with him fifty horsemen, well armed and mounted, he made a retrograde movement, and, under cover of a thick mist, succeeded in gaining, unperceived, the rear of the English army. It appears to have been his intention to charge the enemy in the rear, as soon as they should have commenced their attack upon his infantry. But the mist suddenly cleared away, and exposed his little party to the view of the English, who were only a bow-shot distant. In this critical situation, Edward, deeming retreat very dangerous, if not impracticable, without hesitation or delay charged the enemy with so much fury, that they were thrown into confusion, and many of them were unhorsed and slain. Before they had time to recover from the panic produced by this sudden assault, he made a second, and, soon after, a third charge, which threw them into inextricable disorder, and put them entirely to the rout. Barbour states that the particulars of this daring and successful exploit—which he calls a right fair point of chivalry—were recounted to him by Sir Alan de Cathcart, a companion of Edward Bruce on this occasion, and a knight,

> "Worthy and wycht, stalwart and stout,
> Curtaiss and fayr, and off gude fame."†

* Barbour, p. 172. He thus relates the expressions which the king used:—

> "'Yes,' said the king, 'withouten weer,
> Their boast has maid me haill and feer;
> For should no medicine so soon
> Have cured me, as they have done.'"

† The oaks which at this day are turned up in the mosses of Buchan, bear upon their trunks the marks of being scathed with fire.

* Barbour, pp. 181, 182; Kerr's Life of Bruce, vol. i. p. 345. Umfraville was a Scottish baron, who embraced the English interest in 1305. Barbour states, that he had acquired so great renown of knightly prowess, that he always had a red bonnet carried before him, on the point of a spear, as a token that he had attained the summit of chivalry.

† Barbour, pp. 183—185.

In a third engagement, on the banks of the Dee, (June 29th, 1308,) he defeated and took prisoner Donald of the Isles, who was assisted by Sir Roland of Galloway, and other chiefs of that turbulent district. By these successes he expelled the English entirely from Galloway, and brought the whole province under the dominion of his brother.*

Expulsion of the English from Selkirk Forest, by Douglas—

Meanwhile Sir James Douglas was engaged in reducing to obedience, Douglasdale and the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh. Douglas Castle was at this time held under Clifford, by Sir John de Webeton, a brave young English knight, who, according to Barbour, had engaged, for the love of a beautiful lady, to keep the "adventurous castle," as it was called, for a year and a day. Douglas succeeded in decoying him into an ambuscade, by means of a stratagem which, in its contrivance and success, bore a close resemblance to that which proved fatal to the former governor. Sir John and the greater part of the garrison were slain, and the castle having shortly after surrendered, the fortifications were again levelled with the ground.†

While employed in the expulsion of the English from Ettricke Forest, and scouring the mountainous country of Tweeddale, Douglas happened to hear some persons in a farm-house near the water of Lyne talking loudly, one of whom used the word, "devil," as an oath or adjuration.‡ Concluding, from this expression, that the house contained warlike guests, he immediately assailed it, and had the good fortune to take prisoners Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew, afterwards the famous Earl of Moray, and Alexander Stuart, of Bonkill, both of whom were still in the English interest, and had come into that country with the purpose of driving out Douglas and his adherents. They were well treated by their captor, who carried them to the king. "Nephew," said Bruce, "you have for a while renounced your allegiance, but you must now be reconciled." "You reproach me," answered Randolph; "but you are more deserving of reproach. Since you have chosen to defy the King of England, you ought to meet him in the open field, and not trust to cowardly ambuscades." "That may happen in due time," replied the king, "and perhaps ere long; meanwhile, since you are so rude of speech, it is fitting that your proud words should meet their due punishment, till you know my right and your own duty." Having thus spoken, he ordered his nephew into close confinement. The lesson was not without effect; for, after a short restraint, Randolph was reconciled to his uncle, whom he ever after served with unshaken fidelity.

—and capture of Randolph.

* Fordun, book xii. chap. xvii.; Barbour, p. 186.

† Barbour, p. 163; Hume's History of the House of Douglas, pp. 29, 30. This story is the foundation of Sir Walter Scott's last romance—"Castle Dangerous."

‡ The Lyne falls into the Tweed a little above Peebles. Barbour, p. 187. It would appear from this anecdote, that the vice of profane swearing was at this time confined to military men, in Scotland at least.

Bruce, after these successes, was able to requite the Lord of Lorn for the injuries he had done him in the extremity of his distress, after the defeat at Methven. Accordingly, after the junction of Douglas and his forces, he marched into Argyleshire, and laid waste the country. John of Lorn, the son of the chieftain, had posted his men in ambush, in a narrow and formidable pass, between Dalmally and Bunawe, where the huge and precipitous mountain, called Ben Cruachan, sinks down upon the margin of Loch Awe. The road, which ran between steep rocks on the one hand, and a precipice overhanging the lake on the other, was in some places so strait that only one person could pass at a time. Bruce, however, had received accurate intelligence respecting the nature of the ground, and the position of the enemy; and having divided his army into two parts, he despatched one division, consisting of light-armed archers, under the command of Douglas, with orders to make a circuit round the mountain, and to take possession of the heights, which commanded the position of the Highlanders. The king himself, with the main body of the army, having entered the pass, were immediately assailed by the men of Lorn, who, with loud shouts, began to shoot arrows, and hurl down huge stones upon them. Meanwhile, Douglas and his men had gained the high ground, and letting fly a shower of arrows, made the Argyleshire men aware of their perilous situation; and then, rushing down sword in hand, attacked them in the rear. After a stout resistance, the Highlanders were thrown into confusion, and took to flight. The deep and rapid river Awe was then crossed by a bridge, which the fugitives attempted to demolish, in order to stop the pursuit. But the victors were too close upon their rear; and taking possession of the bridge, they pressed upon their retreating foes, and dispersed them with great slaughter. The Lord of Lorn had early betaken himself to his galley, from which he was compelled to witness the total defeat of his army, without being able to render them any assistance.*

Invasion of the territory of Lorn.

Defeat of the Macdougals—

After this decisive engagement, Bruce ravaged the territory of Lorn, and laid siege to the castle of Dunstaffnage, the principal stronghold of the Macdougals, to which their chief had fled for refuge. It was soon compelled to surrender; and the Lord of Lorn, now wearied with the contest, submitted to the victor; but his son John, "rebellious," says Barbour, "as

—and submission of their chief.

* In noticing this circumstance, Barbour expresses the following generous sentiments:—

"To John of Lorn it should displease,
I trow when he his men might see,
Out of his schippis fra the sea,
Be slayne and chassyt in the hill,
That he might set na help there till;
Bot it angers as gretumly (much)
To good hearts that are worthy,
To see their fayis (foes) fulfill thair will,
As to themselves to thole (suffer) the ill."
p. 192.

he wont to be," fled to England by sea, and continued in the service of the English king.*

Vacillating policy of Edward.

While Bruce and his adherents were thus steadily wresting their country from the domination of their enemies, the measures of the English Government were feeble, fluctuating, and capricious. In less than a year, commissions were granted to six different governors in Scotland, and recalled before those appointed had time to act upon them. It could scarcely be expected that such changes as these could bring any change of fortune to the English arms. The Scots continued steadily to gain ground, and many of the fortresses of the kingdom fell into their hands at different times, and, according to the prudent policy of Bruce, were immediately demolished. Meanwhile, the measures of Edward showed the remarkable decay of national spirit which had taken place under his feeble and vacillating rule. Lamberton, the able but versatile Bishop of St. Andrews, who had remained a prisoner in England ever since the battle of Methven, was liberated from his confinement and pensioned, on taking an oath of fidelity to the English king, and engaging to become his faithful liegeman. With the zeal, real or pretended, of a new convert, he engaged to publish the sentence of excommunication against Bruce and his adherents (11th Aug., 1308), and was soon after permitted to return to Scotland, doubtless for the purpose of promoting his patron's interests.† At length, in the spring of 1309, a truce was concluded by the mediation of Philip, King of France. Hostilities, however, were not long suspended. Edward charged the Scots with having violated the truce, and summoned his barons to meet him in arms at Newcastle, on the 29th of September, in order to march against the enemy. But all his proceedings continued to be characterized by weakness and uncertainty. The orders issued for the muster of the royal army, appear to have been obeyed or neglected by the English barons at their pleasure. Preparations were made to carry on the war vigorously, and in a short time were laid aside, and directions given to the English governors in Scotland to conclude, and if necessary, even to purchase a truce. On the other hand, all the public measures of the Scots exhibited the steadiness and vigour which were stamped upon them by the personal character of their sovereign. On the 24th of February, 1309, the estates of Scotland assembled at Dundee, and solemnly declared that Robert, Lord of Annandale, the competitor, ought, by the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom, to have been preferred to Baliol, in the competition for the crown, and that for this reason they recognized Robert Bruce, now reigning, as their lawful sovereign, and they engaged to defend his right, and the liberties and independence of Scotland, against all opponents, declaring all contraveners of the same to be guilty of treason against the king, and to be held as traitors against the nation.* At the same time, the clergy of the kingdom issued a pastoral charge to their flocks, declaring "that the Scottish nation, seeing the kingdom betrayed and enslaved, had assumed Robert Bruce for their king, and that the clergy had willingly done homage to him in that character."† At length the progress of Bruce became so alarming that Edward was roused into action, and prepared to take the field in person. Perth, which was at that time an important fortress, and had been strongly fortified by the English, was now threatened by the Scottish army. Edward made immediate preparations for its defence. He ordered a fleet to sail to the Tay; directed the Earl of Ulster to assume the command of a considerable body of Irish troops assembled at Dublin for the invasion of the west coast of Scotland, and commanded the whole military array of the kingdom to meet him at Berwick, on the 8th of September, 1310. In spite of the defection of many of the great barons, who were disgusted with the conduct of the king and his favourite Gaveston, a powerful army assembled at the place of rendezvous, and entered Scotland about the end of autumn. Bruce cautiously avoided a general engagement, and contented himself with harassing the invaders on their march, cutting off their provisions, driving the flocks and herds into remote fastnesses, and laying waste the country as the enemy advanced. A famine of unprecedented severity, by which Scotland was at this time visited, must have proved a powerful auxiliary to this wary policy. According to Fordun, "so great was the scarcity and dearth of provisions, that the people in many places were constrained to feed on the flesh of horses and other unclean animals."‡ The English king marched on from Roxburgh Castle to Biggar, and thence to Renfrew § looking in vain for an enemy to encounter. The scarcity of forage and provisions soon compelled him to retrace his steps, and without having achieved any thing of importance, he returned to Berwick, where he spent eight months in a state of inactivity. He afterwards boasted, in a letter to the Pope, that Bruce and his adherents lay lurking in their coverts, after the manner of foxes, all the time he was in the country, not daring to oppose him in the open field.‖ It is not improbable that the Scots had secret friends in the camp of the enemy, for it appears that they had received from England, supplies of provisions, arms, and horses. Edward, on his return to his own country, issued a proclamation prohibiting this practice, under the highest penalties of the law.

A truce concluded.

The Scottish estates recognize Bruce's title to the throne.

Edward invades Scotland, but without effect.

* Barbour, p. 193. According to Fordun, book xii. chap. xviii., both Lorn and his son fled to England, where the former soon after died. But Barbour is an earlier authority, and he affirms, that Lorn "sent treyteris to the king, and became his man."

† Hailes, vol. ii. p. 36; Foedera, vol. iii. pp. 82, 98.

* Kerr's Life of Bruce, vol. i. p. 370; Instrument in the General Register-House, Edinburgh.

† Hailes, vol. ii. p. 40; Anderson Independ. App. No. 12.

‡ Fordun, book xii. chap. xviii. Foedera, vol. iii. pp. 225—230. ‖ Ibid. p. 283.

Upon the retreat of the English, the Scots quitted their fastnesses and descended into Lothian. Edward, on receiving intelligence of this movement, marched again into Scotland, but was speedily compelled to retreat. A third expedition, headed by his favourite Gaveston, and a fourth, conducted by the Earls of Gloucester and Surrey, were successively undertaken, but with the same unfortunate result.

Bruce retaliates by invading England.

Bruce had now established his authority throughout the greater part of Scotland, and he resolved to retaliate the many and grievous injuries which his subjects had suffered at the hands of the English. He accordingly collected an army, and marching into the bishopric of Durham, plundered and ravaged the country with merciless severity. Having gratified their thirst for vengeance by a week of unrestrained devastation, the Scots returned homeladen with booty. Edward, in a letter to the Pope, complained bitterly of the excesses committed by the Scottish army during this invasion, and declared that they "perpetrated the most horrible ravages, depredations, burnings, and murders in the border counties of our kingdom, but more especially in the bishopric of Durham, not sparing the innocent youth or the female sex, and paying no respect, alas! even to the immunities of ecclesiastical liberty." * We must recollect, however, that the cruel injuries which the English had inflicted upon the Scottish nation, provoked, if they did not justify, this retaliation, and "it was not strange," as Lord Hailes remarks, "that in a fierce age, one who had seen the ruin of his private fortunes, the captivity of his wife and only child, and the tortures and execution of his dearest relatives and tried friends, should have thus satisfied his revenge." † It must be added, that this cruel species of warfare was the universal practice of the age, and that most of Bruce's contemporaries would, without doubt, have coincided with Fordun, who, in giving an account of this inroad, says, "Thus, by the blessing of God, and by a just retribution of Providence, the perfidious English, who had despoiled and slaughtered many, were in their turn subjected to punishment."‡ In a second expedition, undertaken a few weeks later, Bruce and his army burnt and plundered the districts of Redesdale and Tynedale, and inflicted such miseries upon the people, that after abiding fifteen days in England, the northern provinces found it necessary to purchase their retreat.

On his return from this invasion, the king laid siege to the city of Perth, one of the most important fortresses which the English still possessed. It was a place of great strength, and was fortified by a strong and high wall, protected at intervals by stone towers, and surrounded by a broad, deep moat, full of water. The garrison, under the command of William Oliphant, an Anglicised Scot, with whom were associated the Earl of Strathern and a soldier named Moffat, made a brave resistance, and for six weeks defied all the efforts of the besiegers; but the town was at length captured by means of a skilful stratagem, planned by the king, and executed with great courage and dexterity. Having carefully marked the spot where the moat was shallowest, and the wall most accessible, he raised the siege, and marched to a considerable distance, as if he had abandoned the enterprise. After an absence of eight days, he suddenly returned during the night, at the head of a chosen party of his soldiers, furnished with scaling ladders, and reached the walls without being discovered by the garrison. The king in person led the way, in complete armour, and, bearing a scaling ladder in his hand, he waded through the moat, the water of which reached to his chin, and was the second man who mounted the wall.* A French knight, who happened at this time to be present in the Scottish army, at the sight of this gallant action, exclaimed, "What shall we say of our French lords who spend their days in feasting, wassail, and jollity, when so worthy a knight is here putting his life in hazard to win a miserable hamlet." So saying he threw himself into the water after the king, and was one of the first to surmount the wall. Animated by this heroic example, the Scots scaled the rampart, and surprised the garrison in their beds. The town was almost instantly taken, plundered, and burned, and the fortifications completely demolished. The lives of the English garrison were spared; but the Scots, who had espoused the cause of the invaders, were put to the sword. The Earl of Strathern was taken prisoner by his own son, who then fought under the banners of the king. Having renewed his allegiance, he was pardoned, and received into favour.

Invasion of England by the Scots.

Edward now attempted, but without success, to negotiate another truce, and appointed five commissioners to conduct the treaty. But as the continual dissensions between the English king and his nobles, afforded a favourable opportunity for the complete expulsion of the enemy from Scotland, Bruce refused to accede to the proposal, and again invaded the north of England, plundering and laying waste the county of Northumberland, and the bishopric of Durham. In the course

* Foedera, vol. iii. p. 284. † Hailes, vol. ii. p. 45.
‡ Book xii. chap. xviii.

* Barbour, pp. 175—179. Lord Hailes justly remarks, that this little circumstance adds much to the credibility of Barbour's narrative. A writer of romance would have represented the king as the *first*. From the manner in which Barbour relates the story, it seems probable that the gallant Frenchman first entered the town.—See Hailes, vol. ii. p. 46, and note. If we may believe Anderson, ("Muses Threnodie,") the French knight whose gallantry is commemorated by Barbour, was the famous Sir Thomas de Longueville.—See ante, p. 102.

"Kinfauns, which famous Longoveil
Sometime did hold: whose ancient sword of steele
Remaines unto this day."—p. 153.

This sword is still preserved in Kinfauns Castle, and an engraving of it is given in "The Fair Maid of Perth" (Abbotsford edition).

of this expedition, the towns of Hexham and Corbridge, and a great part of the city of Durham, were reduced to ashes. The king established his head-quarters for some time at Chester-le-Street, while Sir James Douglas penetrated to Hartlepool, which he sacked, and, having laid waste the surrounding country, returned to the main army with much booty, and many prisoners of both sexes. Such was the terror which this invasion inspired, that the four northern counties purchased a truce by the payment of two thousand pounds each. On their way home the Scots assaulted Carlisle, but were repulsed with considerable loss. They also attempted to surprise Berwick by a forced march and a night attack; but when they were in the act of scaling the wall, the barking of a dog alarmed the garrison, and the assailants were compelled to beat a retreat.

Bruce obtains possession of various strong fortresses.

Soon after his return to Scotland, Bruce succeeded in making himself master of the castle of Dumfries, and of those of Butel and Dalswinton in Galloway; the former a seat of the Baliols, the latter of the Comyns. The castle of Dundee was also closely besieged by the Scots, and the garrison, under William de Montfichet, agreed to surrender, unless relieved within a stipulated time. The English king on receiving intelligence of this agreement, meanly and dishonourably commanded Montfichet, under the penalty of death to himself, and confiscation of his estates, to violate the truce and retain possession of the town; and supplies of ships, provisions, and soldiers, were ordered to be sent with all speed, from Newcastle and Berwick, for the reinforcement of the garrison.

Capture of the Castle of Linlithgow—

About this time the strong castle of Linlithgow, erected by Edward I., was surprised by a brave husbandman, named William Binnock, or Binny—"A stout carle and a sture," says Barbour, "and of himself dour and hardy." Observing that the Scots were, on every hand, recovering from the English, the castles and fortresses which the invaders possessed within Scotland, this stout-hearted and patriotic peasant could not brook that the castle in his vicinity should remain unassailed. He therefore concerted a stratagem for its surprisal, which was equally remarkable for ingenuity and daring courage. He communicated his design to some of his neighbours, whom he persuaded to join him in the enterprise. Binny had been accustomed to supply the garrison with hay, and they had lately required from him a fresh supply. He assured them of the excellence of the forage, and undertook to send it to the fort, early in the morning. Having stationed a party of his friends in ambush near the gate, he concealed eight armed men in his wain, and covered them with hay; the team was driven by a servant, who bore a sharp axe under his gaberdion, while Binny himself walked carelessly at his side. The porter, on the approach of the expected wain, lowered the drawbridge, and raised the portcullis. As soon as the waggon had reached the middle of the gateway, the driver, on a sign from his master, suddenly cut asunder with his axe the soam, or tackle, by which the oxen were attached to the waggon. Binny, at the same instant, shouted the signal-word, which was "Call all, call all," and, drawing the sword which he had under his country habit, killed the porter. The armed men then leapt up from under the hay, where they lay concealed, and attacked the astonished garrison. The waggon was so placed that the gate could not be shut, or the portcullis lowered, or the drawbridge raised; and the Scots, who were in ambush, hearing the signal agreed on, rushed in to the assistance of their companions, overpowered and slew the garrison, and took possession of the place. Bruce worthily rewarded Binny for his gallantry, and, faithful to his usual policy, ordered the castle to be demolished.*

—of Roxburgh, 7th March, 1312-13—

The important fortress of Roxburgh, situated near the confluence of the Tweed and the Teviot, had been committed by Edward to the charge of Gillemin de Fiennes, a knight of Burgundy, and its position, the strength of the fortifications, and the number of the garrison, rendered it apparently secure from any open assault on the part of the Scots. Douglas, who was then lurking in the forest of Jedburgh, concerted a plan for its surprisal, and having collected sixty chosen men, and provided them with rope-ladders for scaling the walls, he approached the castle on Fasten's Even, immediately before Lent, when the garrison were full of jollity, and indulging in drunken wassail. Favoured by the twilight, and having black frocks thrown over their armour, Douglas and his followers cautiously crept on their hands and feet through the park, which surrounded the castle. On drawing near to the moat, they were observed by one of the sentinels, who, mistaking them for a herd of cattle belonging to a neighbouring farmer, remarked to his comrade in their hearing, "The good man is making merry to-night, and has forgotten to bring in his oxen, unheeding that they may fall a prey to the Douglas." The Scots waited till the retiring sound of their voices satisfied them that the two English soldiers had left the rampart, and then hastened to the foot of the wall, and applied their scaling ladders. But the noise made by fixing the iron hook on the crib-stone, alarmed the nearest sentinel on the outer wall, who immediately ran to the spot, and attacked with his lance the foremost of the Scots, who, at that moment, had reached the top of the ladder.† But he parried the stroke, and, closing with his assailant, struck him a deadly blow with his dagger, and threw him over, before he had time to give the alarm. Another sentinel rushed forward and

* Barbour, pp. 193—196.

† Barbour says, the name of this soldier was Sime, or Simon, of the Leadhouse, "a crafty man and curious," and that it was he who constructed the rope ladders.—pp. 200—202.

assailed the Scot, but he shared the fate of his comrade. The rest of the garrison were singing, dancing, and making merry in the great hall; and before the unsuspecting revellers had the slightest suspicion of their danger, the assailants broke into the midst of them, shouting the war-cry of "Douglas, Douglas." Many of the soldiers were slain, and more were taken prisoners. De Fiennes, the governor, with a few of his men, retreated to the keep, and gallantly defended himself till next day, when, being severely wounded in the face, and having no hope of succour, he surrendered on condition that he and his men should be allowed to retire to England. But this brave soldier died of his wounds soon after. The king immediately sent his brother, Edward, who levelled "baith town and castell and dungeon," and reduced the rest of Teviotdale, with the exception of Jedburgh, and that part of the border district closely adjoining to England.

When intelligence of this gallant action was conveyed to Randolph, who was now reconciled to his uncle, and had been created by him Earl of Moray,* he was stimulated to rival the exploit by the reduction of the yet stronger castle of Edinburgh, which he had already beleagured for six weeks. For twenty years it had been in the possession of the English, and was now held by a strong garrison, under the command of Sir Piers Luband, a knight of Gascony; but suspecting his fidelity, they cast him into a dungeon, and elected a governor of their own nation to take the command of the fortress. Finding that the castle could not be taken by open force, Randolph anxiously inquired whether any of his men could devise some stratagem by which the walls might be scaled. A soldier, named William Francis, presented himself to the earl, and informed him that he could point out a place where the wall was only twelve feet high, and could be easily surmounted. This man in his youth had lived in the castle, and, having become enamoured of a girl in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of meeting her he had been in the habit of lowering himself from the wall during the night by means of a ladder of ropes, and gaining the foot of the rock by a secret and precipitous path. Custom had rendered this perilous passage so familiar to him, that he could accomplish it in the darkest night, and he now offered to guide the besiegers into the castle by the same way. Randolph, eagerly embraced the proposal, and placed himself, and thirty chosen men, under the guidance of Francis. Taking advantage of a dark night, they clambered up the precipitous rock, on which the castle stands, with great difficulty and danger, and when they had ascended about halfway, found a projecting crag, on which they sat down to recover their breath, and to prepare for the farther part of their perilous expedition. While seated there, they heard the "check-watches," as Barbour calls them, pass, making their round and challenging the sentinels on the walls above them. At this critical moment a soldier on the ramparts, whether in mere wantonness and gaiety, or really perceiving something moving on the rock, threw down a stone, and called out—"Away! I see you well." The stone rolled down the precipice and passed over the heads of Randolph and his men, as they sat cowering under the rock from which it bounded. They had the presence of mind to remain perfectly silent, and the watch, hearing no movement, continued their rounds. The Scots then renewed their toilsome and dangerous ascent, and arrived in safety at the foot of the wall, where it was only twelve feet high, and fixed their scaling ladder. Francis, their guide, ascended first, then came Sir Andrew Gray, and Randolph himself was third. Before, however, all the party had mounted, the sentinels, who had heard whispering and the clank of arms, caught the alarm, raised the cry of "Treason," and attacked Randolph and his men. But they were speedily repulsed or slain, and the Scots having by this time gained the parapet, hastened towards the keep, or principal strength. The whole garrison was now alarmed, and ran to arms, and a desperate conflict ensued, in which Randolph was for some time in great personal danger, as the garrison greatly out-numbered their assailants. But the constable was at length slain, and his followers immediately surrendered at discretion. Sir Piers Luband, the former governor, on being released from his imprisonment by Randolph, entered the service of Bruce. Francis was rewarded by a grant of the lands of Sprouston, in Roxburghshire, and the castle itself was instantly demolished.

—and of Edinburgh, 14th March.

"A more desperate adventure was never achieved," says Barbour, "in the taking of any fortress in any age or country, saving only at the capture of Treile, when Alexander the Great leapt headlong from the top of the wall, alone among a crowd of foes, and courageously defended himself until rescued by Aristæus and his noble chivalry."*

The capture of the strong fortresses of Roxburgh and Edinburgh, alarmed Edward for the safety of Berwick, and induced him to issue orders for the removal of the heroic Countess of Buchan from her cage there, to a safer place of confinement. An attempt was at this time made, through the mediation of the King of France, to renew the truce with the Scots, but without effect; and Bruce again invaded Cumberland and laid waste the country. Soon after, he made a descent upon the Isle of Man, to which his inveterate enemies, the Macdowalls, had retreated, after their expulsion from Galloway. The governor of Man, who appears to have been the same chief by whom

King Robert invades the Isle of Man, 11th June.

* Barbour, who probably had seen Randolph, thus describes his appearance and character: "He was of comely stature, broad visaged, and of a countenance fair and pleasant; the friend of brave men, loyal, just, and munificent, loving loyalty above everything, and hating falsehood and treason. He was jovial in company, and amorous, and altogether made up of virtue."—pp. 197, 198.

* Barbour, pp. 205—210.

Thomas and Alexander, the brothers of Bruce, were surprised and taken prisoners at Loch Ryan, was defeated in battle. The castle of Russin was taken by storm, and the whole island completely subdued.

While the king was absent on this expedition, Edward Bruce expelled the English from Galloway and Nithsdale, and demolished the fortresses in these districts. He next made himself master of the castles of Rutherglen and Dundee, and proceeded to lay siege to the castle of Stirling, now almost the only considerable fortress in Scotland, which still remained in the hands of the English, and a place of great importance, as the key to the whole northern part of the kingdom. The governor, Sir Philip de Mowbray, defended himself for a considerable time with great courage and success; but at length, becoming straitened for provisions, he offered to surrender the fortress, if not relieved before the Feast of St. John the Baptist (24th June), in the following year. To this proposal Edward Bruce, without consulting his brother, consented. It is evident that his conduct in entering into such an agreement, all the advantages of which were on the side of the English, was most imprudent. It arrested the progress of the Scottish arms, afforded the King of England a whole year to assemble the entire military force of his dominions, and compelled the Scots either to abandon the siege of Stirling with dishonour, or to peril the fate of the kingdom upon a general engagement, in which the superior numbers and appointments of the English, gave them a great advantage. King Robert expressed the highest displeasure when the treaty was made known to him; but, disdaining to imitate the conduct of Edward, who, in a former year, had compelled the governor of Dundee to violate an agreement made in precisely similar circumstances, he determined to abide by the engagement, and to meet the English in a fair field, if they were disposed to risk a battle for the relief of the fortress.*

Truce with the Governor of Stirling. A.D. 1313.

Meantime, Sir Philip de Mowbray was allowed to go in person to London, that he might state to the King of England and his council the terms of the agreement which he had entered into with the Scots. Edward and his barons had long been alienated from each other, but the urgency of affairs brought about a temporary reconciliation, and both parties felt that they could not, without dishonour, decline the enterprise to which they were called. Immense preparations were accordingly made for the relief of the beleaguered fortress. The English king summoned all the military power of the kingdom to meet him at Berwick on the 11th of June. Ninety-three great tenants of the crown were commanded to repair thither with their entire feudal service of cavalry, while the different counties of England and Wales were enjoined to levy a body of twenty-seven thousand infantry. The English barons who held estates in Ireland were ordered to collect their vassals and join the army; and letters were directed to Eth O'Connor, Prince of Connaught, and twenty-five other native Irish chiefs, requesting the attendance of all the force they could muster. A powerful fleet was also assembled for the invasion of Scotland by sea, and for the transportation of provisions and warlike stores for the use of the army. The supreme command of the fleet was intrusted to John Sturmy and Peter Bard; and John of Argyle, who received the title of High Admiral of the western fleet of England, was appointed to co-operate with the naval armament. Great care was taken that an abundant supply of provisions for the troops, and forage for the cavalry, should be collected, together with waggons and cars for the conveyance of the tents and baggage,* and that the army should be amply provided with smiths, armourers, carpenters, and other useful artisans. On the appointed day there was assembled at the place of rendezvous, perhaps the most magnificent army that England had ever yet sent forth. The powerful Earls of Lancaster, Surrey, Arundel, and Warwick, indeed, refused to attend in person, alleging that the king had failed to perform certain stipulations which he had promised, but they sent their vassals; and the rest of the barons mustered in great splendour, with all their military force. According to the best authorities, the accumulated array exceeded a hundred thousand men,† including fifty thousand archers, and a body of forty thousand cavalry, of whom three thousand were clad in complete armour, both horse and man. ‡

Great preparations made by Edward for the relief of the fortress.

Meanwhile, King Robert had collected his forces in the forest called the Torwood, midway between Stirling and Falkirk. The number of fighting men

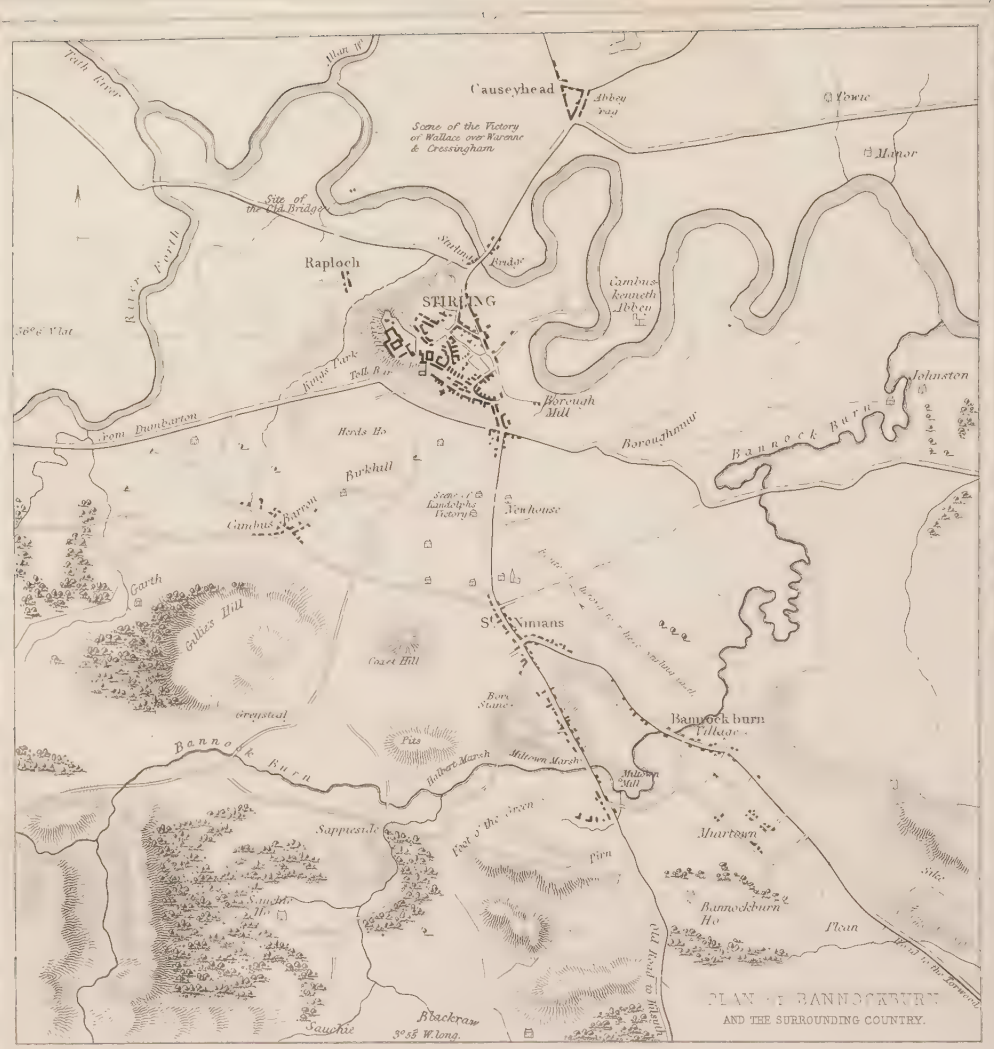
* Barbour states, that when the king remonstrated with his brother on his imprudence in entering into this treaty on such terms, he received this characteristic reply: "Let Edward bring every man he has; we will fight them were they more." The king admired his courage, though it was mingled with rashness. "Since it is so, brother," he said, "we will manfully abide battle, and assemble all who love us, and value the freedom of Scotland, to come, with all the men they have, and help us to oppose King Edward, should he come with his army to rescue Stirling."—*Barbour*, pp. 216, 217

* The waggons which attended the English army were stored with every article of necessity, convenience, and luxury. Barbour makes particular mention of a hundred and sixty carts loaded with poultry; and William of Malmesbury states, that the multitude of carriages of all kinds was so great, that, if placed in one line, they would have extended sixty miles in length.

† Tyrel, vol. iii. p. 260; Barbour, p. 218.

‡ "Men mycht see then that had bene by,
Mony a worthy man and wycht,
And mony ane armur gayly dycht,
And mony ane sturdy sterand steed,
Arrayit intill ryche wede;
Mony helms and habergeons,
Shields, and spears, and pennons,
And sa mony a comely knycht,
That it seemed that in to fycht
They should vanquish the world all haile."
Ibid. p. 219.

The metrical historian also states, that the English army was reinforced by a considerable body of men-at-arms from Gascony, Poictou, Provence, and Languedoc.



ENCOUNTER BETWEEN BRUCE & DE BOHUN.

who assembled in obedience to his summons did not much exceed thirty thousand, besides nearly twenty thousand unarmed and undisciplined camp-followers and servants. The great deficiency of his army was in cavalry, which, both in numbers and accoutrements, were utterly unable to compete with the English men-at-arms. But Bruce was well aware, both from his own experience and that of Wallace, that a body of infantry, armed with long spears and judiciously posted, could offer an effective resistance to the charge of a superior body of horse, and he had heard of the recent discomfiture of the French men-at-arms by the Flemish pikemen at the battle of Coutray.* He resolved, therefore, to fight on foot, and to compensate by the skilful disposition of his forces, their inferiority in number and strength. Having reviewed his army, he was greatly delighted with the courageous appearance both of the leaders and common soldiers, and addressed them in a cheerful and encouraging manner, urging them to fight manfully, in the approaching battle, in defence of their lives, fortunes, and liberties, and of the honour of his crown. The place which he selected for the field of action was a piece of ground near Stirling, to which Barbour gives the name of the New Park. It was partly open and partly encumbered with trees, and the approach to it on one side was protected by a morass, called the New-miln Bog, the passage of which would be difficult and dangerous to an enemy. Bruce, having carefully examined the ground, determined to arrange his men in four divisions, separated from each other, yet sufficiently near for the purposes of communication. Three of these formed a front line, facing the south-east, from which direction the enemy was approaching, and extending from the brook of Bannock to the village of St. Ninians, probably in the direction of the present road from Stirling to Kilsyth. The right wing was protected by the steep and rugged banks of the rivulet called Bannockburn, by the marshes of Milton and Herbert, and by rows of pits, dug in those places where the ground was firm. The left flank was exposed to a sally from the garrison of Stirling, but the terms of the treaty precluded them from rendering any assistance to their countrymen, and their numbers were too inconsiderable to excite apprehension. This, however, was the most vulnerable part of Bruce's position; and as the ground on this quarter was firm and level, and adapted for the manœuvres of cavalry, he fortified it against their assaults, by causing a number of pits to be dug in it, so close together, says Barbour, as to resemble the cells in a honeycomb. They were a foot in breadth, and between two and three feet deep, and were slightly covered with brushwood and green sods. According to Buchanan, sharp stakes were also fixed in the pits, and iron calthrops or spikes, contrived to lame the horses, were scattered in different directions.* The military advantages of this position were very great; for while defences, partly natural, partly artificial, secured either flank from being turned, the space in front was, at the same time, so narrow and impeded, as in a great measure to deprive the enemy of the advantage of their immense superiority in numbers.†

Measures taken by Bruce to resist the English invasion.

Field of Bannockburn.

The Scottish army remained in their original camp at the Torwood until Saturday, the 22nd of June, when word was brought that the English had lain all night at Edinburgh. On receiving this intelligence, they marched to the New Park, and took up their appointed positions on the ground selected for the field of battle. The right wing was commanded by Edward Bruce; the vaward or centre was led by Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray; and the left wing by Douglas and the young Steward of Scotland. The king himself commanded the fourth division, which lay in reserve behind the centre, and was composed of the men of Argyle, Cantire, and the Isles, and of his own vassals of Carrick. Along with him was his faithful friend and ally, Angus, Lord of the Isles, with the men of Bute; and here also was stationed a select body of cavalry, under the immediate command of Sir Robert Keith, the Mareschal of Scotland, who were destined for the important service of charging and dispersing the English archers. The royal standard was pitched, according to tradition, in a stone, having a round hole for its reception, and hence termed the Bore Stone. It is still shown on the top of a small eminence, called Brock's-brae, to the south-west of St. Ninian's. The baggage of the army, and the camp-followers, from fifteen to twenty thousand in number, were stationed in a valley at some distance in the rear, and separated from the field of battle by an eminence, still called, from that circumstance, the Gillies' (*i. e.* the servants') Hill.‡

Position of the Scottish army.

Early next morning (June 23rd) the whole army heard mass, and many of them, says Barbour, made their shrift "full devoutly," and with the solemnity of men who were resolved to die on the field, or to free their country; and as it was the vigil of St. John, they took no dinner, but kept their fast on bread and water. Meanwhile, the king, after hearing mass, rode out to examine the pits which he had commanded to be made during the previous night. Having satisfied himself that his orders had been properly executed, he returned, and commanded his soldiers to arm, and array themselves under their different banners. He then caused

* Scala Chron. vol. i. part. ii. p. 547; and William of Malmesbury, p. 152; Tytler, vol. i. p. 300.

* Barbour makes no mention either of the stakes or the calthrops, but they are specially noticed in the Latin poem of Barton the Carmelite. It does not appear, however, that the English cavalry attempted to charge over the pits on either flank.

† Some farther remarks on the position of the Scottish army will be found in the Appendix, Note IX.

‡ According to Holinshed, Randolph and Douglas had each under his command seven thousand borderers and three thousand of the Irish Scots (*i. e.* Scots of Irish descent), otherwise called Katerans, or Red Shanks: the latter no less fierce and forward, than the others provident and skilful.

proclamation to be made, that those who were not prepared to conquer, or to die with honour, were at liberty to depart; but he was answered by a great shout, and an expression of the determination of the troops with one accord to take the issue of victory or death, as God should send it.

Having arranged his men in their proper order, the king despatched Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Keith to reconnoitre the English army, which had rested all night at Falkirk, and was then in full march towards Stirling. They soon descried the tremendous approach of the vast host, which covered, according to Barbour, the whole country far and wide, forming a glorious spectacle of martial pomp and splendour. The sunshine, falling upon the burnished armour of the men-at-arms, made the land seem all in a glow. White banners, right fairly floating, and pennons waving in the wind, made so gallant a show, that the bravest and most numerous host in Christendom might have been alarmed to see such a hostile array moving against them. Having, on their return, reported to the king the vast number and formidable appearance of the enemy, he, dreading the effect of this intelligence upon the minds of his soldiers, directed them to give out to the army, that the English, though numerous, were badly disciplined and arranged.

On approaching Stirling, the English king detached Sir Robert Clifford with a chosen body of eight hundred horse, directing him to make a circuit by the low grounds to the east and north of St. Ninian's, and, turning the left flank of the Scottish army, to throw himself into the beleaguered fortress. Bruce was apprehensive that an attempt of this kind would be made, and had enjoined Randolph, who commanded the centre division, which was probably somewhat in advance of the two wings, to be vigilant in preventing the enemy from throwing succours into the castle of Stirling. The movement of Clifford, however, escaped the notice of Randolph; but the eagle eye of Bruce detected a line of dust, with the glancing of spears and the flashing of armour, northward in the direction of Stirling, and coming up hastily to his nephew, he exclaimed angrily, "See, Randolph! there is a rose fallen from your chaplet. The enemy have passed where you kept ward." On receiving this reproof, Randolph hastened with a body of five hundred spearmen to repair his fault, or to perish in the attempt. As he advanced into the plain, Clifford, interrupted in his purpose of gaining Stirling, wheeled his large body of cavalry, and charged the Scots at full speed. Randolph drew up his men in a close column to receive the onset, so as to present a front on all sides, with their spears extended directly outwards, like a wall of steel, and exhorted them to offer a steady resistance to the charge of the enemy.* At the first onset, Sir William Daynecourt, an English commander of distinguished valour, was unhorsed and slain. The enemy, far superior in numbers, environed the little band of Scottish infantry, and assailed them on every side with the utmost violence. The combat appeared so unequal, that Douglas, considering Randolph in great jeopardy, requested permission from the king to go and succour him. "You shall not stir a foot to help him," said the king; "I will not alter my order of battle, and lose the advantage of my position. Let Randolph extricate himself as he best may." Still the danger seemed to increase, and the English horse appeared entirely to encompass the Scottish spearmen. "In truth," replied Douglas, "I cannot stand by and see Randolph perish, and therefore, with your leave, I must aid him." The king unwillingly consented, and Douglas hastened to the assistance of his friend. On approaching the scene of conflict, however, he perceived that the English were falling into disorder, and that many of the horses were galloping off with empty saddles. He therefore ordered his followers to halt, saying, "These brave men have repulsed the enemy: let us not diminish their glory by claiming a share in it." "When it is remembered," says Sir Walter Scott, "that Douglas and Randolph were rivals for fame, this is one of the bright touches which illuminate and adorn the history of those ages of which blood and devastation are the predominant character." The assailants had by this time lost a great number of men in their fruitless attempts to break the serried ranks of the Scottish spearmen, and were beginning now to flag in their efforts. Randolph, observing this, ordered his men to make a sudden and violent charge in their turn, and put the enemy to flight with great slaughter. The remains of Clifford's party fled in disorder to the main body of the army, while Randolph and Douglas returned to their respective stations in the Scottish line of battle. The scene of this memorable skirmish was at the north end of the village of Newhouse, about a quarter of a mile from the town of Stirling.

While this affair was still undecided, the English army was slowly advancing in order of battle towards the Scottish position, when Edward gave orders for his men to halt, that he might consult with his principal barons whether to give battle that night or next day. By some mistake, however, the English vanguard, being unapprised of the order to halt, continued its march till it came within sight of the Scottish army. King Robert himself, mounted on a small palfrey, was at this period riding along the front of his line, marshalling the ranks of his host. He carried a battle-axe in his hand, and was distinguished by a golden coronet which he wore on his helmet. In front of the English vanguard there was "a wycht knight and a hardy," called Sir Henry de Bohun, who, perceiving Bruce thus engaged, conceived that he saw an opportunity of acquiring distinction, and ending the war at a single blow. He therefore couched

* "Be not dismayed for their schor (threatening aspect),
But set your spears you befor,
And back to back for all your rout,
And all the spears their points out:
Swa gate (in this manner) us best defend may we,
Environed with them giff we be."

Barbour p. 232.

his lance, and, spurring his charger, rode furiously against the king, with the expectation that he would easily bear him to the earth. The contest was most unequal, as the English knight was armed at all points, and mounted on a heavy war-horse; but Bruce, instead of declining the encounter, to the surprise of the spectators, rode forward to meet his assailant. Just as they were about to close, however, he suddenly turned his palfrey to one side, so that de Bohun missed him with the lance point; and, rising in his stirrups as the baffled warrior passed him in his rapid career, he struck him with his battle-axe so severe a blow that it dashed helmet and head to pieces, and laid him dead at his feet. The handle of the weapon was shivered by the violence of the blow.*

Animated by this exploit, his men advanced boldly upon the English vanguard, which began to withdraw in confusion to the main army. Upon this, the Scots raised a great shout, and, pressing vigorously on their retreating foes, slew a few of them; but Bruce, afraid of disorder getting into his ranks, recalled his soldiers from the pursuit. The Scottish leaders then gathered around the king, and remonstrated with him upon his temerity in thus exposing himself to danger. Conscious of his imprudence, and yet aware that he could not have declined the combat without damping the courage of his followers, Bruce looked at his broken weapon, and only replied, "I am sorry for the loss of my good battle-axe."

On the return of Randolph from his encounter with Clifford, the other Scottish commanders hastened to meet him and to congratulate him on his victory. The king, seeing them thus assembled, "blythe and glad," says Barbour, "that their foes were rebutyt in such a manner," addressed them in cheering strains, pointed out the favourable omen of next day's success which so fortunate a beginning afforded, and remarked that the same events which had animated the courage of their men must have proportionately depressed the spirits of the enemy.

"And fra the heart be discomfyt,
The body is not worth a mite;
Therefore I trow that good ending
Shall follow till our beginning."

He then requested their advice, whether it was now expedient to fight or to retreat, declaring his willingness to submit to their decision. In spite of the immense disparity of force, however, the Scottish leaders were now resolved, at all hazards, to abide the issue of the conflict, and with one voice they declared their determination to fight on the morrow. Delighted with their alacrity and courage, the king then directed them to have all their troops arrayed by sunrise next morning in their proper positions, each man under his own banner. He earnestly entreated them on no account to break their order, and so courageously to receive with levelled spears the charge of the English cavalry that even the hindmost ranks of the enemy might feel the shock. He reminded them that they possessed three great advantages in the impending struggle. First, theirs was the righteous cause—

The king's address to his leaders.

"And for the right ay God will fight."

Secondly, the enemy had sought them in their own land, and had brought with them such a vast amount of wealth that, if the Scots gained the victory, the poorest soldier in the army would be enriched by the spoil. Thirdly, they fought for their lives, their wives and children, their freedom and their country, while the English fought only for conquest. He warned them that if they were beaten, they need expect no mercy at the hand of their enemies,* and exhorted them to think in the heat of the conflict, of the grievous injuries which "they and theirs" had inflicted on Scotland, and would yet do if they had the power. He pointed out that their honour, freedom, and happiness were entirely in their own hands, and that everything depended on their own discipline and valour. He gave strict injunctions that not a single soldier should quit the ranks to plunder or to make prisoners, until the field was completely won. He promised that the heirs of all who fell should enter into possession of their lands without the usual feudal fine; and, finally, he assured them that if they quitted themselves like men, and obeyed the orders he had now given, they might confidently expect the victory.†

At the close of this spirit-stirring address to his leaders, the soldiers were dismissed to their quarters. After making the necessary arrangements for the battle, they assembled again in the evening, and lay all night in arms upon the field. Meanwhile, the English troops were greatly discouraged by the unfortunate events of the day; and, thinking it not advisable to hazard an attack in these circumstances, the king and his nobles drew

Conduct of the hostile armies during the night.

* "High in his stirrups stood the king,
And gave his battle-axe the swing
Right on De Boune; the whiles he pass'd
Fell that stern dint,—the first—the last!
Such strength upon the blow was put,
The helmet crash'd like hazel-nut;
The axe-shaft, with its brazen clasp,
Was shiver'd to the gauntlet's grasp:
Springs from the blow the startled horse,
Drops to the plain the lifeless corse:
First of that fatal field, how soon,
How sudden, fell the fierce De Boune!"
Lord of the Isles, c. vi. st. xv.

It may be interesting to the reader, to compare with these spirit-stirring lines the rude but graphic description which the ancient metrical biographer of Bruce gives of the same memorable incident:—

"Schyr Henry myssit the noble king;
And he that in his stirrups stud,
With the ax that was hard and gud,
With sa great mayne (force) raucht him a dynt,
That neither bat nor helm mycht stynt
The heavy dusche (clash) that he him gave,
That ner the heid till the harnys (brains) clave.
The hand-ax schaft fruschit (broke) in twa,
And he down to the earth gan ga:
All flatlyrys (flat) for him faillyt mycht.
This was the first stroke of the fycht."
Barbour, p. 236.

* "For they should slay us I wot weill,
Rycht as they did my brothyr Neil."

† Barbour, pp. 240—244.

off their men to the low grounds, to the right and rear of their original position, where, according to an old English chronicler, they passed the night in drunkenness and riot.* Barbour states that they laid bridges of communication over the ditches and water-courses, by which the low, swampy grounds were everywhere intersected, and that it was reported that the garrison of Stirling Castle brought doors and windows during the night to the camp, to assist in these operations.† At this time, it is said, a Scotsman named Alexander Seton, who served in the English army, deserted to Bruce, and informed him that he might obtain an easy victory if he would attack the enemy at an early hour in the morning. But the king refused to abandon the advantages of the position which he had so judiciously chosen.

The next morning, being Monday, the 24th of June, at break of day, the whole Scottish army heard mass. This solemn ceremony was performed by Maurice, the Abbot of Inchaffray, upon an eminence in front of their line, where he could be seen by all the troops. They then took breakfast, and arranged themselves in their appointed divisions, under their different banners. Each of them was furnished, says an old chronicler, "with light armour that a sword could not easily penetrate. They had an axe at their side, and carried lances in their hands. Their forces moved also as thick as an hedge."‡ When the whole army was in array, and their banners displayed, the king proceeded, according to the custom of the age before a battle, to confer the honour of knighthood upon Walter, the young Steward of Scotland, Sir James Douglas, and many other gallant soldiers, in due order, and according to their rank.§

The vanguard of the English army, composed of archers and lancers, under the command of the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, now drew near. The other nine divisions, which followed at a little distance, were compressed, by the narrowness of the ground, into a close column, and seemed to the eye of the Scots to form one dense mass of warriors, gleaming with their bright and burnished armour, and the number of banners which floated over them.‖ The English king in person brought up this vast and unwieldy body. A chosen band of five hundred horse attended him as his body-guard; and Sir Aymer de Valence, the veteran Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Giles de Argentine, one of the most accomplished knights of the age, rode at his bridle-rein. When Edward observed the firm array of the Scottish army, he seemed greatly surprised, and turning to Sir Ingram de Umfraville, an Anglicised Scottish baron, who was in attendance upon his person, he exclaimed, "What! will yon Scots fight?" Umfraville assured him that they certainly would; and he then advised the king, instead of an open attack, to order an apparent retreat behind his encampment, expressing his confidence that the Scots would then, in spite of their leaders, break their array, and disperse to plunder the camp, when the English army might easily return and overwhelm them. But Edward rejected this sagacious counsel, thinking it unworthy of him even to appear to retreat before an enemy so inferior in numbers. At this moment the Abbot of Inchaffray, bareheaded and barefooted, walked along the Scottish line, and, holding a crucifix aloft, in few and forcible words exhorted the soldiers to combat bravely for their rights and liberties.* As he passed, the whole army knelt down with one consent—

> "And a short prayer there made they
> To God, to help them in that fight."

"See!" cried Edward, "they are kneeling to ask mercy." "You say truly," replied Umfraville; "they do ask mercy, but it is from God, not from you. Trust me, yon men will win or die." "Be it so, then," said the king, and immediately commanded the charge to be sounded.

The battle.

The English van, led by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, advanced at full gallop on the right wing of the Scots, commanded by Edward Bruce; but some rivalry between these two leaders, as to precedency, induced Gloucester to hurry to the attack with a precipitancy which greatly diminished the effect of the charge. The Scottish spearmen stood firm in their array, presenting a serried front of steel, on which the impetuous assault of the enemy scarcely produced any impression. There was such a breaking of spears at the meeting of the lines, says Barbour, that the noise might be heard a great way off, and many good knights were thrown from their saddles and slain, and horses were stabbed and rendered furious by their wounds. When the Earl of Moray saw the right wing thus engaged, he brought up the centre division to meet the main body of the English, whom he encountered with great gallantry, and even gained ground upon them, although they outnumbered him by ten to one, so that his men, says Barbour, appeared to be lost amidst the multitude of the English, as if they had been plunged into the sea. The left wing was then brought up by Sir James Douglas and Walter the Steward, preserving a small interval to the left of the centre, so that the whole Scottish line was now engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with the enemy. The battle raged with the utmost fury. The English cavalry attempted, by repeated and desperate charges, to break through the phalanx of the Scottish spearmen; but they,—

* "Vidisses primâ nocte Anglos *haud Anglico more* vino madentes, crapulam eructantes, *Wassaile et drinkhaile plus solito* intonantes."—Thomas de la More. Cambden Brit. p. 594.

† Barbour, p. 246.

‡ M. Malmesb. p. 149.

§ Barbour, p. 248.

‖ "Who had been by, might have seen there
That folk ourtak a meikle field
On breid: where mony a shining shield,
And mony a burnyst bright armour,
And mony a man of great valour,
Might in that great schiltrum (a compact column) be seen,
And mony a bright banner and sheen."
Barbour, p. 249.

* Fordun, book xii. chap. xxi.

exasperated by the remembrance of the grievous injuries inflicted upon them during many long years of oppression, and eager for revenge,—repelled every attack with steady and determined valour, and slew great numbers of their assailants. The English archers, however, by whom the charge of the cavalry was supported, began to do great execution on the close ranks of the Scottish spearmen; but Bruce had made provision against a force whose importance he had learned by fatal experience. He directed Sir Robert Keith, Marshal of Scotland, with five hundred men-at-arms whom he had kept in reserve for that purpose, to make a circuit round the morass called Miltown Bog, and to charge the left flank of the archers. This well-timed movement was promptly and successfully executed. The bowmen, who had neither spears nor other long weapons, to defend themselves against cavalry, were instantly overthrown with great slaughter, and dispersed in all directions, spreading confusion throughout the whole English army. Part of them fled to the main body, who endeavoured to compel them to rally; but they were so thoroughly intimidated by the onset of the Scottish cavalry, that neither force nor persuasion could induce them to return to their post.* On the overthrow of their formidable opponents, the Scottish bowmen, who were greatly inferior in numbers, and probably also in skill, had now an opportunity of galling the English cavalry without opposition; and after their arrows were exhausted, they made great havoc among the enemy with their short battle-axes.

Defeat of the English archers.

The battle continued to rage with great fury, but with evident disadvantage to the English. Bruce, perceiving symptoms of exhaustion in the ranks of his enemies, and seeing, too, how manfully his own soldiers had borne themselves in the conflict, and that they were still fighting with undiminished vigour, encouraged his leaders to continue their exertions, assuring them, that if they did so, the victory would soon be won. He then brought up the reserve to take part in the conflict, and all the four divisions of his army were now engaged in one line. The English, however, still stood their ground, and made repeated but unavailing efforts to break through the firm array of the Scottish spearmen, though at every successive charge they lost more men, and fell into greater confusion. "It was awful," says Barbour, "to hear the noise of these four battles fighting in a line,—the din of blows, the clang of arms, the shoutings of the war-cries; to see the flight of the arrows, horses running masterless, the alternate sinking and rising of the banners, and the ground streaming with blood, and covered with shreds of armour, broken spears, pennons and rich scarfs torn and soiled with blood and clay, and to listen to the groans of the wounded and the dying." The Scots continued to gain ground, and pressed with renewed energy upon the confused and already wavering mass of the English, shouting, "On them! on them! They fail!" At this critical moment, when the fortune of the day still hung in the balance, the servants and attendants on the Scottish camp, prompted either by the enthusiasm of the moment, or the desire of plunder, suddenly appeared on the Gillies'-hill, in the rear of the Scottish line of battle, and having hastily assumed such arms as they found nearest, and fastened sheets and horsecloths upon tent poles for ensigns, they presented the appearance of a new army advancing to the assistance of the Scots. This unexpected sight spread instant dismay amidst the ranks of the English, already wearied and disheartened by the obstinacy of the contest, and they began to give way all along the line, though at first slowly. King Robert, whose piercing eye perceived the effect of this movement, instantly put himself at the head of the reserve, and raising his war-cry, pressed with redoubled fury on the failing ranks of the enemy. This onset, vigorously supported by the other divisions of the Scottish army, decided the fate of the day. The English broke into disjointed squadrons, and began to quit the field, in spite of the most energetic exertions of their leaders to rally them and restore order. In one of these attempts to renew the fight, the young Earl of Gloucester rode headlong on the ranks of the Scottish spearmen, and was instantly unhorsed and slain.* The flight now became general. Edward, whose personal courage was undoubted, remained on the bloody field till all was lost, when the Earl of Pembroke seized his bridle-rein and constrained him to retire. Sir Giles de Argentine accompanied the king a short way in his flight, till he saw him safe from immediate danger. He then bade him farewell, saying, "It is not my custom to fly!" and turning back, he cried his war-cry, "Argentine!" galloped boldly against the division commanded by Edward Bruce, and was borne down and slain by the Scottish spears.† Sir Robert Clifford, a veteran soldier, renowned in the Scottish

Important movement of the camp followers.

Total rout of the English.

* It is very remarkable that the Scottish generals do not appear to have profited by the lesson which the success of this manœuvre was fitted to teach them. Almost every subsequent battle against England which they lost, was decided by the archers, to whom the close and compact array of the Scottish phalanx afforded an exposed and unresisting mark.

* He was killed at a place called the Bloody Folds, a short mile from the field of battle. The Scots would gladly have saved his life, but, neglecting to wear his surcoat with armorial bearings over his armour, he fell unknown, after his horse—a beautiful and spirited animal, which had lately been presented to him by the king,—was stabbed with spears.

† Barbour, p. 263; Scala Chron. vol. ii. p. 547. This gallant soldier was one of the most accomplished knights of the age. He had lately returned from the wars of the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg, with such high reputation, that he was, in popular estimation, the third best knight of his time. Those to whom fame assigned precedence over him, were Henry of Luxemburg himself, and Robert Bruce. Argentine had warred in Palestine, thrice encountered with the Saracens, and had slain two antagonists in each engagement,—an easy matter, he said, for one Christian

wars, and Sir Edmund Mauley, the Seneschal of England, shared the same fate. The slaughter was immense. Multitudes of the fugitives were drowned in attempting to escape across the river Forth. Others, who fled in the opposite direction, were hemmed in by the deep ravine of Bannockburn, and were there overtaken and slain in such numbers, that, according to Barbour, the brook was so choked and bridged over with the dead bodies of men and horses, that it might have been passed over dry-shod. The camp-followers, also, when they saw the enemy completely broken and dispersed, fell upon the disheartened fugitives (who had thrown away their arms to facilitate their escape), and put multitudes of them to death. Thirty thousand of the English were left dead upon the field, amongst whom were twenty-seven barons, two hundred knights, and seven hundred esquires. The loss on the side of the Scots was very small, and Sir William Vipont and Sir Walter Ross were the only persons of note among the slain.*

When Edward left the field he was accompanied by five hundred heavy armed horse. He appears to have been bewildered in the confusion of the route, for, instead of directing his course to the south, he fled northward to Stirling Castle, and demanded admittance. But Sir Philip de Mowbray, the governor, remonstrated against this imprudent step, reminding the king that the fortress would be again immediately besieged, and could not possibly hold out any time. Edward, therefore, made a circuit round the castle park, by the Round Table, and, avoiding the field of battle and the victorious army, fled towards Linlithgow, closely pursued by Douglas with about sixty horsemen. In passing the Torwood, Douglas met with Sir Laurence Abernethy, a Scottish knight, who, with a small body of cavalry, was hastening to join the English army. Sir Laurence, like the greater part of the Scottish barons of that day, appears to have held his political opinions very loosely, and on learning from Douglas that the English were entirely defeated and dispersed, he was easily persuaded to desert the vanquished cause, and to join in the pursuit of that prince whose standard he was on his way to join. They came up with the fugitive monarch at Linlithgow, but were too few in number to attack the royal escort of five hundred men-at-arms. They continued the chase so closely, however, as not to give the enemy a moment's rest, killing or taking prisoners all who fell an instant behind. Edward's ignominious flight terminated at Dunbar, a distance of sixty miles from the field of battle, where the Earl of March received him hospitably, and furnished him with a fishing skiff, or small ship, in which he escaped to Berwick.

In the meantime, great numbers of the fugitives had taken refuge in the recesses of the rock on which Stirling Castle is built, but being soon assailed by a party of the Scots, they were compelled to surrender at discretion. A large body of Welshmen escaped from the field, under the command of Sir Maurice Berkley, and having, according to the old Celtic custom, thrown off their upper garments previous to the battle, they presented a singular appearance in their flight through the country. The greater part of them were slain or taken prisoners by the peasantry before they reached England. A similar fate overtook many other stragglers who had thrown away their arms and accoutrements, in their flight from this disastrous field. The Earl of Hereford, the Constable of England, escaped with a considerable number of men, and took refuge in the castle of Bothwell, which was then held by the English, under the command of Sir Walter Gilbertson. But twenty-two barons and bannerets, and sixty knights, with an immense quantity of spoil, fell into the hands of the victors. According to an English historian, "the chariots, waggons, and wheeled carriages which were loaded with the baggage and military stores, would, if drawn up in a line, have extended for sixty leagues." * Barbour says that two hundred pairs of gilded spurs were taken from the field of battle. Among other prisoners, Roger de Northburge, keeper of the king's signet, or privy seal, with his two clerks, and the signet itself, fell into the hands of the Scots. King Robert restored it to Edward, on condition, however, that it should not be again used. Many of the prisoners paid large sums for their ransom, and the victorious army must have been greatly enriched by the plunder of the English camp, which contained great store of provisions, with vessels of gold and silver, splendid arms, rich apparel, and sumptuous horse and tent furniture, together with the military chest holding the money for the payment of the troops. Of the immense value of this booty, some idea may be formed from the lamentation of an old English chronicler over this disastrous battle. "O day of vengeance and misfortune!" says he; "odious and accursed day! unworthy to be included in the

knight to slay two pagan dogs. Baston the Carmelite mentions with some feeling the death of de Argentine:—

"Nobilis Argentin, pugil inclyte, dulcis Egidi,
Vix scieram mentem cum te succumbere vidi."

"The first line," says Lord Hailes, "mentions the three chief requisites of a true knight,—noble birth, valour, and courteousness. Few Leonine couplets can be produced that have so much sentiment. I wish that I could have collected more ample memorials concerning a character altogether different from modern manners. Sir Giles de Argentine was a hero of romance in real life." Boece says, that Robert Bruce knew de Argentine well, and expressed great regret at his death.

* Barbour states, that Sir Walter Ross was so dearly beloved by Edward Bruce, that he said he would rather that the battle had remained unfought, than that Ross had died:—

"Out-taken him men has not seen,
Where he for any man made moaning."

In like manner, when, in a sally from Carrickfergus, Neil Fleming, and the guards whom he commanded, had fallen, after the protracted resistance which saved the rest of Edward Bruce's army, he made such lamentation as surprised his followers:—

"Sic moan he made, men had ferly (wonder);
For he was not customably
Wont for to moan men any thing,
Nor would not hear men make moaning."

M. Malmesb. p. 147.

circle of the year, which tarnished the glory of England, and enriched the Scots with the plunder of the precious stuffs of our nation, to the extent of two hundred thousand pounds (nearly three millions of our present money). How many illustrious nobles and valiant youths, what numbers of excellent horses and beautiful arms, how many precious vestments and golden vessels, were carried off in one cruel day!"* Another of the English historians states that "all the spoil collected after this great victory was munificently divided by Robert among his troops, who had so gloriously triumphed in defence of their country; and that he treated the nobles and others who were made prisoners with so much courtesy and humanity, that he wonderfully changed the hearts of many of the English from enmity to admiration and esteem."† The generous courtesy which the Scottish king displayed towards the prisoners, and the last remains of those who fell in this engagement, presents a noble and striking contrast to the mean and cruel treatment which his adherents received at the hands of the English. The body of the young Earl of Gloucester, for whose death the king was much grieved, was carried to a neighbouring church, where it was waked all night, and afterwards sent to England, along with the remains of the gallant Clifford, to be interred with the honours due to their rank. The other barons and knights were honourably buried in consecrated ground. The rest of the slain were interred upon the field. Sir Marmaduke Twenge contrived to conceal himself during the fury of the pursuit, and early next morning, when the king was surveying the field of battle, he came forth from his hiding-place, and approaching the king, kneeled down before him. "Welcome, Sir Marmaduke," said Bruce, to whom he was personally known; "whose prisoner are you?" "Yours, Sir," answered the knight. "I receive you," replied the king, and retained him in his company for a considerable time, treating him with the utmost courtesy, and ultimately dismissed him, not only without ransom, but loaded with gifts.‡ The other prisoners were all well treated. The generosity and clemency which Bruce displayed after this signal victory, extorted the admiration even of his enemies. An English contemporary chronicler relates, that through his humane and courteous attentions to his captives, he won their affections, and showed the English how they might have improved their victories.§

On the day after the battle, Mowbray, the governor of Stirling Castle, surrendered that fortress, according to the conditions of the truce, and entered into the service of the King of Scotland. The castle of Bothwell, in which the Earl of Hereford had taken refuge, capitulated, after a short siege, to Edward Bruce. This nobleman was exchanged for Bruce's queen and daughter, his sister Christian, Wishart the Bishop of Glasgow, now blind, and the young Earl of Mar. John de Segrave, one of the English barons taken prisoner in the battle, was exchanged for David de Lindesay, Andrew Moray, Thomas de Moraire, or Morham, Reginald de Lindesay, and Alexander his brother.

In the train which followed the English king to Scotland there was one Baston, a Carmelite friar, esteemed an excellent Latin poet, who was brought for the purpose of commemorating the expected triumph of the English arms. He was taken prisoner, and was compelled, as his appropriate ransom, to celebrate "the victory of the Scots at Bannockburn."*

Such was the memorable battle of Bannockburn; which, both in its immediate consequences, and its more remote effects, must be regarded as one of the most interesting and important events in the history of our country. It put a final termination to the schemes of conquest on which successive English monarchs had lavished so much blood and treasure, and raised Scotland from the condition of an oppressed and conquered province, to that of a free and independent state. It taught the Scottish people to continue their resistance to invaders to the last extremity, and never to regard their cause as desperate. They had seen their country, to all appearance, entirely crushed beneath the iron yoke of the oppressor, their cities sacked, their national monuments plundered or destroyed, their laws abrogated, their noblest patriots consigned to the dungeon, the axe, and the gibbet, and their sovereign hunted like a beast of prey among the mountains and forests of his native land; and now, by the Divine blessing on the sagacious and persevering efforts of that great man, whom Providence had raised up to vindicate the cause of his oppressed fellow-countrymen, they saw the most powerful army that their enemies had ever brought against them scattered like chaff before the wind, and the independence of their country established on a solid and permanent basis. "Dark times, indeed, succeeded these brilliant days; and none more gloomy than those during the reign of the conqueror's son. But though there might be fear or doubt, there could not be a thought of despair, when Scotsmen saw hanging, like hallowed reliques, above their domestic hearths the swords with which their fathers served the Bruce at the field of Bannockburn."† The effects of this victory have been felt through every period of Scottish history, down to our own day; and there cannot be a doubt that the proud position which Scotland now occupies, is, in no small degree, owing to the great deliverance achieved by the exertions of Bruce and his gallant compatriots.

* Hailes, vol. ii. p. 67, and Note; Fordun, book xii. chap. xxii.

† Sir Walter Scott. He mentions, that the proprietors of the small estate of Dunchar, in the county of Fife, had a broadsword transmitted from father to son bearing this proud inscription:—

"At Bannockburn I served the Bruce,
Of whilk the Inglis had na russ" (boast).

* M. Malmesb. p. 152.
† Joh. de Trokelowe, p. 28.
‡ Barbour, p. 269.
§ Walsingham, p. 106.

CHAPTER VIII.

ROBERT BRUCE.

THE great and decisive overthrow at Bannockburn produced such a discouraging effect on the minds of the English people, that they became, for a time, unable to defend their own frontiers from the incursions of the Scots. Taking advantage of the general panic which his recent victory had created among the English, the king, about the end of summer, sent his brother Edward and Sir James Douglas into England, by the eastern marshes, with a large force, which laid waste Northumberland, and levied contributions from the principality of Durham. Having proceeded as far as Richmond in Yorkshire, leaving devastation behind them, they turned to the westward, and, after burning Appleby and other towns, re-entered Scotland loaded with spoil, and the large amount of ransom-money paid by the wealthy religious houses of the district. Their advance and return were alike unopposed; for such was the fear which had seized on the inhabitants, that the sight of three or four armed Scots was sufficient to put a hundred of them to flight;* while many of the wild troopers in the marshes, eager for plunder, joined the invaders in spoiling their countrymen.

Inroad of the Scots into England.

In the meantime, Edward had summoned his Parliament, and endeavoured, but in vain, to raise a force sufficient to protect his kingdom, and punish the Scots. The Earl of Pembroke, however, was appointed Warden of England to the north of the Trent; his former services as Guardian of Scotland eminently qualifying him for the difficult duty of defending the frontier. Bruce, who was sincerely desirous to obtain for his kingdom a speedy and honourable peace, availed himself of the crisis to make proposals to Edward for a cessation of hostilities, until the interests of their respective kingdoms should be satisfactorily adjusted by commissioners belonging to both nations. To this Edward agreed, granting a safe-conduct to the Scottish commissioners, and appointing persons to meet and arrange with them the terms of peace. Sir Nigel Campbell, Sir Roger de Kirkpatrick, Sir Robert Keith, and Sir Gilbert Hay, accordingly crossed the border, and began negotiations with the English commissioners. The attempt, however, was speedily abandoned. England refused to renounce her offensive claims on Scotland as its feudal superior, and the Scottish nobles, determined to treat only as the representatives of an independent nation, proud of their recent success, and hopeful for the future, returned to Scotland. Another destructive invasion of the northern provinces followed this abortive attempt to establish peace between the two countries. According to the Chronicle of Lanercost, the Scots entered England by Redesdale and Tynedale, and for six months marched through Cumberland, driving away cattle, burning towns, oppressing the inhabitants, and compelling them to pay tribute, and swear allegiance to the Scottish king.* A sum equal to £60,000 is said to have been paid to the invaders by the people of Cumberland alone. Though the Parliament of England was sitting during this destructive inroad, it offered neither resistance to the Scots, nor protection to the miserable people;—the growing unpopularity of Edward, and the fierce factions existing amongst the nobles, preventing the combinations and energy which the crisis required. The Scots therefore returned home, unmolested, with their plunder. To the events of this year, so important to the Scottish king, must be added the death of John Baliol, the competitor with his grandfather for the crown. He died in France, at Bailleul, his patrimonial estate, where for many years he had resided, utterly forgotten by the people, to whom his weak and inglorious reign had been productive of such suffering; and leaving one son, Edward, who was destined, like himself, after a brief and shadowy sovereignty, to live and die in circumstances as obscure. In the spring of the following year (1315), the Scots advanced, for the third time, into England. They penetrated into the bishopric of Durham, and plundered the town of Hartlepool. In this expedition, however, their success was by no means equal to that of former inroads. They were repulsed from Carlisle, which they had besieged, and failed altogether in an attempt to surprise the town and castle of Berwick.†

Another inroad of the Scots.

Death of John Baliol.

The attention of Bruce and the Scottish nobles seems at this period to have been anxiously turned to the necessity of an Act of Settlement, regulating the succession of the crown; and accordingly, in a parliament held at Ayr on the 26th of April, a deed was passed, and solemnly ratified, of which the following were the leading provisions: That on the demise of the king the crown should devolve on his heirs male; that, with consent of Marjory, his daughter and heiress-presumptive, should Robert die without male issue, his brother Edward, and his male heir, should succeed to the throne; and that, failing these, Marjory and her heirs male should be next in succession: provided always, that she married with the consent of Parliament. It was also decreed, that, in the event of either Robert, or Edward, or Marjory, leaving an heir male who was a minor, the regency of the kingdom should devolve on Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray; or should the royal family become extinct, the same nobleman was empowered to conduct the administration until the Scottish parliament should elect a suc-

Negotiations for a truce.

Settlement of the Scottish succession.

* Walsingham, p. 106.

* Apud Tyrrell, vol. iii. p. 262.

† Chron. Lanercost, apud Tyrrell, vol. iii. p. 264; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 70.

cessor to the vacant throne.* The wisdom of this deed is not more apparent than the disinterested patriotism of Bruce himself, in preferring to his daughter Marjory his brother Edward, in whose martial spirit and experience the independence of Scotland, on his own death, would have found a ready and resolute defender. This important arrangement was speedily followed by the marriage of Marjory with Walter, the Hereditary High Steward of Scotland, who received as the dowry of his bride extensive estates in the shires of Linlithgow and Roxburgh. From this union sprung a race of sovereigns, under whom Scotland and England were at length happily united, and whose descendant wears at this moment the British crown. In the midst of these wise measures for the safety of the kingdom, it was invaded by a new and terrible foe. A grievous famine, the result of ungenial seasons and destructive wars, spread over England and Scotland, reducing the miserable peasantry to the lowest depths of distress, and sweeping them away by thousands. The harvest of 1314 had been greatly injured by continued rains; much of the seed sown in the spring of the following year rotted in the ground from the same cause, so that the scanty yield of autumn proved utterly inadequate to the wants of the population, and, being speedily devoured, left them to hunger and death. In 1315, the quarter of wheat, beans, and peas, was sold for 20*s.*, equal to £15 of our modern currency: in July, 1316, wheat rose to 30*s.*, or £22 10*s.*; and in August reached to 40*s.*, or £30, per quarter. The blockade of the Scottish ports by an English squadron, aggravated the pressure of famine, so that at one period the quarter of wheat rose to the enormous price of 100*s.*, equal to £75 of our money. Though every expedient was employed to lessen the evil, and Scotland was less dependent, from its extensive pasture, on grain as an article of food than the sister kingdom, the mortality was yet so great, that the survivers are said to have been hardly sufficient to bury the dead.

Our history must now record the brief, though splendid success of the Scottish arms in Ireland. In that country the Anglo-Norman power had succeeded, so early as the reign of Henry II., in reducing the native population, and formally adding the island as an appendage to the English crown. Misgovernment and oppression had made the rule of England for a long time hateful to many of the native Irish chiefs, and rendered them eager to regain their independence. Instigated accordingly by the successes of the Scots, and encouraged by the weakness of Edward's administration, and the factions of the English and Anglo-Irish nobles, the chieftains of Ulster despatched messengers to Bruce, imploring his aid in the attempt to expel their oppressors, and offering, in return, to bestow the crown of Ireland on his brother Edward. Though the chances of success were both remote and doubtful, Robert, desirous to distract and enfeeble the English, as well as gratify the ambition of his brother, whose spirit was fired by the prospect of a crown, ultimately complied; and within a month after the passing of the Act regulating the succession to the crown, Edward Bruce, accompanied by six thousand soldiers, embarked for Ireland. The Scottish armament reached the opposite coast in safety, and the troops were disembarked at Clondowne, near Carrickfergus. Immediately thereafter the vessels returned to Scotland—a measure either rendered necessary by the great naval superiority of England, or adopted with the design of teaching the soldiers, that on their own discipline and valour their safety and success would now mainly depend. The Scots advanced on Carrickfergus in two divisions, the van commanded by Randolph, Earl of Moray, and the main body led by Edward Bruce in person. On their march they encountered a body of Anglo-Irish troops, consisting of about twenty thousand men, under Mandeville, Bisset, and Logan, military vassals of the Earl of Ulster. A brief engagement ensued, in which the Scots obtained a complete victory.* The town of Carrickfergus was subsequently taken; but an attempt to reduce the castle altogether failed, as the invaders were destitute of the engines usually employed in storming fortified places. The cause of Bruce was now strengthened by the accession of some of the principal native chieftains of Ulster, who swore fealty to him as their sovereign.† Two chieftains, however, in the English interest, with about two thousand spearmen, and the same number of archers, posted themselves at the strong pass of Innermallane, and by hemming in the Scots, and preventing the passage of provisions, endeavoured to starve the invaders into submission. With his characteristic impetuosity, Bruce led his men to the attack, and succeeded in clearing the pass, defeating his enemies with great slaughter, and capturing a large number of cattle, which afforded a seasonable supply to his hungry soldiers.‡ The Scots, now in conjunction with their Irish allies, marched into the interior of Ulster, and ravaged the possessions of the English settlers and their adherents with merciless severity. The towns of Dundalk and Atherdee, also, were stormed and burned.

Expedition of Edward Bruce to Ireland, May 25th, 1315.

Defeat of the Anglo-Irish.

In the meantime, Richard de Burgh, the powerful Earl of Ulster, assembled his vassals, and, assisted by some of the chiefs of Connaught, who remained faithful to England, prepared to repel and avenge the aggression of the Scots. Lord Edmund Butler, also, the Justiciary of Ireland, assembled the military force of Leinster, and marching northwards, offered to De Burgh his services in resisting the foe; but, confident in his own strength, and jealous of interference in his feudal domains, Ulster arrogantly declined his aid and after increasing his force and ravaging the

* Fordun, book xii. chap. 24.

* Barbour, p. 279. † Ibid. p. 280.

‡ Ibid. p. 281.

districts supposed to be friendly to the Scots, advanced to meet the invaders. On the approach of De Burgh, Bruce retreated to the neighbourhood of Conyers, where he took up a strong position, while the English army encamped within the shelter of a large forest, about twelve miles distant from the town. A series of brilliant skirmishes ensued, in which the Scots, led by the Earl of Moray, were uniformly successful, interrupting the convoys of provisions destined for the English army, and killing, with little loss to themselves, numbers of their enemies. Harassed by these constant attacks, De Burgh now took up a safer position, and, resolving to close the war by a decisive engagement, moved with his whole force on the encampment of the Scots. Bruce, on learning the advance of his enemy, had recourse to a stratagem suggested by Sir Philip Mowbray, which was attended with complete success. The banners and pennons of the Scottish army were left flying in their camp, as if the troops were drawn up behind the huts and baggage-cars, by which all the avenues to the camp itself were guarded and encumbered; while, in order to complete the deception, a portion of the Irish allies were ranged in the rear. The English force advanced in careless confidence, and speedily became entangled among the baggage-cars, while many of the soldiers left their ranks to plunder, under the impression that the Scots had fled. In the meantime, Bruce, with the best part of his force, had executed a skilful *détour*, and gaining unperceived the flank and rear of his foes, made a sudden and fierce attack. Surprised and dismayed, the soldiers of Ulster made scarcely any resistance. Thousands perished on the spot; and the rest, who fled to Conyers, were overtaken by the cavalry of Moray, and many of them slain in the streets.* This brilliant victory was followed by the flight of the Earl of Ulster to the south of Ireland, and the revolt of the Irish inhabitants of Connaught and Meath, who rose on the English settlers, burning their castles and destroying their possessions. The Earl of Moray was now despatched to Scotland to obtain reinforcements, as the troops had been greatly reduced by the hard service of the preceding three months; while Bruce in person prosecuted the siege of Carrickfergus. Compelled to abandon the siege, but strengthened by the return of Moray with five hundred men, the Scottish leader marched southwards through Meath into Kildare, his progress marked by a cruelty and devastation as ungenerous as it was impolitic, and the results of which he lived to deplore. Near Arscol, in Kildare, the march of the Scots received a momentary check, from the presence of a new army, commanded by Lord Edmund Butler, the Justiciary of Ireland.

Edward Bruce defeats the Earl of Ulster near Conyers.

Overthrow of the Justiciary of Ireland.

The force of Butler greatly outnumbered that of Edward Bruce, but the factions existing among the leaders had destroyed the unity, and relaxed the discipline, necessary to success; so that, after a feeble resistance to the fierce charge of the Scots, they fled in dismay, leaving their camp and military stores to be plundered by the conquerors (26th January, 1316). By the victory of Arscol, Bruce was left undisputed master of the greater part of Ireland, and the coveted crown seemed already within his reach; but his late unsparing cruelty now recoiled upon himself, and rendered useless the advantage he had already gained. A grievous famine, the consequence chiefly of his destructive inroad, swept over the devoted districts; thousands of the native population, and many of his own soldiers, perished; so that, to escape inevitable ruin, he was compelled to retreat to Ulster, where provisions might be procured from Scotland by sea. Roger, Lord Mortimer, who possessed extensive estates in Meath, hastily collected an army of fifteen thousand men, and endeavoured to intercept the retreat of the Scots. The hostile armies encountered at Kenlis, in Meath; but the troops of Mortimer were defeated with so great slaughter, that eleven thousand of them are said to have been slain. Having reached Ulster, Edward Bruce, availing himself of a brief breathing-time, despatched Moray again to Scotland to procure reinforcements to his troops, greatly reduced by the hardships of war and the ravages of famine.

Battle of Kenlis.

While Edward Bruce was prosecuting the Irish campaign, Scotland, under the rule of his wise and politic brother, was peaceful and flourishing, and rapidly recovering from the effects of her struggles for independence. The English government, directed by a feeble king, and distracted by the fierce dissensions of the nobles, could offer no efficient opposition to the Scots; while a rebellion in Wales, to quell which the whole military force of the country had been summoned, and the successes of the younger Bruce in Ireland, rendered a cessation of hostilities in the highest degree desirable.* In the western islands of Scotland alone, did there exist anything like opposition to the sovereignty of Bruce. John of Lorn, driven from his possessions on the mainland, after his defeat in 1308, had established himself in these remote islands, and continued for a long time to inflict grievous injury on the commerce of the kingdom. This horde of pirates, Bruce determined to destroy; and accordingly, accompanied by his son-in-law, he set sail with a powerful fleet. To conceal his intentions, and take his foe by surprise, instead of rounding the peninsula of Cantire, the fleet sailed up Lochfine, and cast anchor at East Tarbet. A narrow isthmus, scarcely exceeding a mile in breadth, separates the Lochs of East and West Tarbet: across this low-lying neck of land the vessels were dragged upon a species of slide, composed of smooth planks of trees laid lengthwise, parallel to each other.† The disaffected

King Robert invades the western isles, and subdues John of Lorn.

* Barbour, pp. 294—296.

* Foed. vol. iii. pp. 546—580.

† Barbour (p. 302) states, that there was a superstitious

islanders, intimidated by the sudden appearance of their sovereign at the head of a powerful force, immediately submitted, while John of Lorn was captured, and committed first to Dumbarton Castle, and afterward to the castle of Lochleven, where he terminated his turbulent career.

Birth of Robert II., March 2, 1316.

About this time, to the great joy of the king and the nation, the Princess Marjory bore a son, Robert, who, fifty-five years afterwards, ascended the throne of Scotland, on the death of his uncle, David II. But this joyful event was soon changed to mourning, by the death of the young mother, almost immediately after child-birth.*

In the meantime, the Scottish expedition in Ireland was pursuing its course with varying fortune. Immediately after the victory of Kenlis, Edward Bruce resumed the siege of Carrickfergus; but from the want of military engines the castle resisted all his efforts to storm it, and the siege was converted into a blockade. Reduced to extremities, the garrison were about to capitulate, when they received a sudden accession of strength and spirit from the presence of Thomas, Lord Mandeville, who, with a large body of troops, passed the encampments of the besiegers, and entered the castle in safety. The discipline of the Scottish force must have become greatly relaxed, and they appear to have neglected even the ordinary precautions necessary to insure success. Mandeville resolved to take advantage of their carelessness, and accordingly, on the morning after his entrance into the castle, he made a sudden and vigorous sally on the cantonments of the Scots. Neil Fleming, and a guard of sixty chosen men, were alone in readiness to repel the attack; and Fleming generously resolved to save the army, by the sacrifice of himself and his little band. Having despatched messengers to Bruce, warning him of the attack, he drew up his men to the best advantage, and, after a chivalrous appeal to their patriotism, met the shock of the advancing force. The contest was fierce, though unequal. Fleming and his companions were slain to a man, but not until many of their enemies had fallen, and time had been gained for their countrymen to arm, and form in order of battle. Mandeville, after sending round two detachments to prevent the escape of the Scots, proceeded rapidly along the main street of the town, to attack the head quarters of Edward Bruce. He was met, however, by Bruce himself, at the head of a large body of men hastily armed. In the conflict which followed, Mandeville, conspicuous from his armorial bearings, was struck down and slain by Edward Bruce. On the loss of their leader, the English retreated in dismay to the castle; but, alarmed lest the enemy might enter along with them, the garrison barricaded the gate, hoisted the drawbridge, and excluded their friends, who were all slain or taken captive by the Scots. After the conflict, Bruce—himself a man of generous feeling and chivalrous valour, though deficient in the prudence necessary to constitute a great commander—sought out the gallant Fleming, still alive, though in the agonies of death, with his brave band lying dead around him, and bewailed with tears the loss of his noble follower. The garrison of Carrickfergus now agreed to surrender, unless relieved before the close of the month of May; and on the 2nd of the same month Edward Bruce was solemnly crowned King of Ireland.*

The Scottish army saved by the heroic conduct of Neil Fleming.

During the next five months the historical records furnish little that is interesting respecting the proceedings of Bruce, if we except the surrender of Carrickfergus Castle, and the defeat of a party of Scots, under Allan Stewart, by an English force. In the month of November, however, the English government, alarmed at the success of the Scots, and dissatisfied with the conduct of the Anglo-Irish leaders, appointed Roger Mortimer Guardian and Lieutenant of Ireland, and besides giving orders that twenty vessels should be provided to convey the new governor, with a large force of cavalry and infantry, to Ireland, commanded all Englishmen, holding lands there, to be in readiness to join him at Haverford, on the 2nd of February, 1317.† In this emergency, Moray was again despatched to Scotland by Edward Bruce, to obtain reinforcements; and the King of the Scots, impressed with the importance, to himself and his kingdom, of maintaining his brother's crown, determined to conduct in person a large body of troops to the scene of war. The government of Scotland was intrusted, during his absence, to his son-in-law, Walter Stewart, aided by the gallant Douglas; and the expedition having sailed from Loch Ryan, in Galloway, landed safely at Carrickfergus.‡ After a brief period of rest, the two brothers, at the head of their united force, amounting to twenty thousand men, hastened by forced marches, and having eluded a strong body of troops stationed to prevent their entrance into Leinster, passed through the county of Lowth and advanced to Slane. During the march an engagement took place, which strikingly exhibits the cautious intrepidity of the Scottish king. The Earl of Ulster had assembled an army of forty thousand men to oppose the Scots, and lining, with this large force, an extensive wood through which his enemies must of necessity pass, proposed to attack their rear when the van had defiled through the forest. Edward Bruce, who led the first division, hurried on without any apprehension of danger, leaving the main body, under his brother, far behind. Scarcely had the rear entered the wood, when it was assailed by a galling discharge of arrows, and Robert, suspecting the neighbourhood of a superior force, commanded

King Robert goes in person to the assistance of his brother—

belief current among the islanders that they should never be subdued till their invader sailed across the Isthmus of Tarbet, and that, considering this supposed prophecy to have been fulfilled by the passage of Bruce's vessels in the manner described, they immediately submitted to his authority.

* Fordun, xii. 26.

* Barbour, pp. 297—300. † Fordun, xii. 25.

‡ Foed. Angl. iii. 580—596.

his men to march in order of battle, and on no account to quit their ranks. His own nephew, Sir Colin Campbell, who, irritated by the discharges of two English archers, rushed to attack them, received a blow from the king's truncheon which almost beat him from his horse, accompanied with a stern rebuke for his insubordination. The Scots slowly but steadily advanced, and on reaching an opening in the wood the whole force of Ulster was discovered drawn up in order of battle. Robert hastened to attack them, and after a short but fierce conflict the sturdy valour of the Scots prevailed, and the tumultuary host of Ulster was either slain or driven from the field. Edward Bruce returned only to find the battle ended, and to encounter a severe but merited rebuke from his brother, for his having endangered the safety of the whole army by his inconsiderate rashness. The Scots advanced, by way of Drogheda, on Dublin, which they endeavoured to capture; but in this they were unsuccessful, as the citizens,—after burning the suburbs, which might have facilitated the entrance of the Scots, and strengthening the fortifications with the materials of a church which they demolished for that purpose,—offered a brave and determined resistance. Foiled in this attempt on Dublin, the king of the Scots, and his brother, took possession of the neighbouring castle of Cnoc, and, after a short stay at Leixlip, marched to Naas, and thence to Cullen, in the county of Kildare. They penetrated, if we may credit the Irish annals, as far as Limerick, accompanied by bands of the savage native population, who ravaged the country without mercy, despoiling the religious houses, and even rifling the sepulchres in their search for spoil.

—he defeats a powerful army under the Earl of Ulster.

While the Scots were reaping the fruits of their previous successes, Mortimer landed in Ireland with a chosen body of troops, and having transmitted orders to Butler, his predecessor, to delay any further attack upon the Scots until he arrived at the camp, advanced rapidly to Kilkenny. On his arrival he found that the royal brothers, taking advantage of the inaction of the Anglo-Irish leaders, had skilfully extricated themselves from the difficulties of their position, and by forced marches had reached Kildare in safety, on their return to Ulster. Disbanding, therefore, the tumultuary army, which he found assembled at Kilkenny, Mortimer, with a smaller but better disciplined force, pursued the Scots, who, after various indecisive skirmishes with the English army, made good their retreat into Ulster. An incident which occurred on this march, deserves notice, as illustrating the humanity and courtesy by which King Robert was eminently characterized. When the Scottish army was about to commence its march from Limerick, the king heard the cries of a woman, and on inquiring what was the matter, he was informed that a poor woman, a laundress, or washerwoman, had been seized with the pains of labour, and was making a great outcry at the prospect of being left behind in that helpless situation. Bruce immediately gave orders that the march should be stopped, that a tent should be pitched for her reception, and that the other women should attend upon her delivery; and he gave special directions respecting the manner in which she should be conveyed along with the army. "This was a full great courtesy," says Barbour, "that such a king, and so mighty, made his men dwell in this manner for a poor lavender."*

Mortimer brings reinforcements to the English, April, 1317.

Bruce's humanity—

On the return of the Scots to Ulster, many of the Irish chieftains hastened to acknowledge Edward Bruce as their king. Robert having thus accomplished the chief design of his expedition in consolidating the power of his brother, set sail for Scotland, accompanied by Randolph, but leaving behind him the flower of his army.

—his return to Scotland.

During his absence, various attempts were made to disturb the tranquillity of his dominions, but with very limited success. The English king, encouraged by the absence of his great rival in Ireland, summoned his military vassals to meet him at Newcastle, about the end of September, 1317, for the purpose of invading Scotland; but he was compelled to abandon the attempt in consequence of the opposition of the Lancasterian party. Hostilities between the kingdoms were therefore confined to occasional border frays, in which the Scots were almost uniformly successful, mainly through the activity and skill of Sir James Douglas and the Steward. At this time Douglas had erected a mansion for his own residence at Linthaughlee, near Jedburgh, and had resolved to give a banquet to his military vassals on the completion of the building. The Earl of Arundel, the warden of the English marches, having received notice of this intention, crossed the borders with a force of ten thousand men, in the hope of surprising the Scots in the midst of their festivities. Douglas, however, received timely notice of the approach of the enemy, and resolved to attack them in an extensive wood, through which their line of march lay; and having thickly twisted together the young birch trees on either side, so as to form an abatis, impenetrable by cavalry, he posted a considerable body of archers in ambush at the narrowest part of the pass, where its breadth did not exceed twenty yards. The English advanced in careless security, and on reaching that part of the road where their ranks were so compressed by the narrowness of the

Exploits of Sir James Douglas.

* Barbour, p. 320. The narrative of the metrical chronicler affords no authority for the statements which have been added to it in modern times, that when the incident occurred the English were pressing hard upon Bruce, who had given orders for a hasty retreat; that he countermanded the orders, and offered battle to the enemy, who, conceiving that he must have received a large reinforcement, were afraid to attack him, and thus afforded him an opportunity to send off the poor woman and her child, and then to retreat at his leisure without suffering any inconvenience from the halt.

glade, that it was impossible for their cavalry to act with effect, Douglas rushed upon them at the head of a small body of men-at-arms, shouting his war cry, while the archers at the same time suddenly poured in repeated volleys of arrows. The English thus assailed on every side, were thrown into inextricable confusion, and driven back with great slaughter; but, owing to their vast superiority of force, Douglas did not venture to pursue them into the open country. In the first onset Sir Thomas de Richemont, one of the English leaders, was slain by the hand of Douglas, who took, as a trophy of victory, a furred hat which he wore above his helmet.*

Soon after this, a Gascon knight, named Edmund de Cailou, governor of Berwick, was attacked by Douglas, while returning through the Merse to that fortress, loaded with spoil from an inroad into Teviotdale. Cailou and most of his men were slain, and the booty of the plundered districts recovered. A similar fate befell Sir Robert Neville, who at that time resided in Berwick. On hearing from some of De Cailou's fugitive soldiers, a high eulogium on the prowess of Douglas, Neville boasted that he would encounter this puissant leader, if he would come and display his banner before Berwick. Douglas, on receiving information of this vaunt, marched into the neighbourhood of that town, and sent out a detachment to burn some villages within sight of the garrison. Neville immediately issued from Berwick at the head of a force more numerous than that of the invaders, and encamping upon an eminence, waited till the Scots should disperse in quest of forage. But Douglas called in his detachments and instantly marched against the enemy. An obstinate engagement ensued, in which Sir Robert was slain in a hand to hand encounter with Douglas, and his party was entirely routed with great slaughter. Sir Ralph Neville and many other persons of distinction were taken prisoners. Douglas, after ravaging the whole district, burning all the villages and hamlets, and driving away the cattle, returned to the forest of Jedburgh, leaving behind him a name of such terror, that, according to Barbour, all along the borders, the English mothers were accustomed to pacify their children by threatening that they "would make the Black Douglas take them."†

The English attempt a landing at Fife—

Foiled in his attacks upon Scotland by land, the English monarch resolved to attempt an invasion by sea. A party of English troops embarked in the Humber, and, sailing up the Frith of Forth, landed at Dunybrissle, in Fife. The sheriff of the county hastily collected five hundred men, and attempted to oppose their landing; but, intimidated by the superior numbers of the invaders, the raw levies made a precipitate retreat. In their flight they encountered William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, who was hastening from his seat at Auchtertool, at the head of sixty of his servants. Having received notice of the flight of the sheriff and his men, this warlike prelate,—whom Barbour terms "rycht hardy, meikill, and stark,"—immediately put on his armour, and, casting a linen frock or rochet over it, threw himself on horseback and rode out to meet the fugitives. "Whither are you fleeing?" said he to their leaders; "you deserve to have your gilt spurs hacked off." Then, throwing aside his ecclesiastical garment and seizing a spear, he cried out, "Let all who love their country and their king turn again with me." With this he made a fierce attack upon the English, who were speedily defeated and driven back to their ships, with the loss of five hundred men, besides many who were drowned by the swamping of some of their boats. The survivors immediately set sail, and returned with all speed to their own country. On the return of the king from Ireland, he highly commended this gallant exploit, declaring that Sinclair should be his own bishop; and by the name of "The King's Bishop" was this courageous prelate long and honourably remembered by his countrymen.*

—and are repulsed by the Bishop of Dunkeld.

Interference of the Pope—

After the return of king Robert from his Irish expedition, Edward, smarting under his frequent defeats, and alarmed for the safety of his kingdom, attempted to intimidate the Scottish king and his subjects, by the thunders of spiritual warfare. In Pope John XXII., a man alike servile and venal, he found a ready instrument for his purpose; and, by the liberal use of English gold, he induced him to issue a bull, commanding, under pain of excommunication, a cessation of hostilities for two years, "between the King of England and his beloved son the noble lord Robert Bruce, carrying himself as King of Scotland."† Two cardinals were despatched into England, as the papal legates, to enforce the observance of the truce; and, foreseeing that such an unjust and partial exercise of ecclesiastical authority would be resisted by the Scots, the legates were privately empowered to inflict upon the King of Scotland, or on any other persons whom they might think proper, the highest spiritual censures. The pontiff still further exhibited his thorough subserviency to Edward by intrusting the cardinals with a bull, to be made public if necessary, by which the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against all the enemies of the English king, and the invaders of his dominions, and especially against Robert Bruce and his brother Edward. The pope also fulminated another bull against the Minorite Friars, for instigating the Irish to rise in rebellion

* Barbour, pp. 322—324.

† Barbour, p. 310. Fordun, book xii. chap. xxv.

* Fordun, book xii. chap. xxv.; Barbour, pp. 328—332. According to Barbour, the English landed to the west of Inverkeithing, but Bower, the continuator of Fordun, affirms that they landed at Dunybrissle. The former says that the Earl of Fife commanded the Scots, along with the sheriff of the county; but no mention is made of this by Bower, and it is on other grounds exceedingly improbable.

† Rymer Foed. vol. iii. p. 594.

against the English government and to join the Scottish invaders.

—firm and prudent conduct of Bruce in regard to it—

The conduct of Bruce, in this delicate and trying situation, evinced great calmness and prudence, combined with unshaken courage. While showing all due respect to the pope, as the head of the church, he firmly resisted all attempts to encroach upon the dignity of his crown and the independence of his kingdom. On their arrival in England, the cardinals despatched two nuncios,—the Bishop of Corbeil and Master Aumery,—to convey the papal letters to the Scottish king.* On their way to the north, in company with Lewis de Beaumont, the bishop elect of Durham, the nuncios were intercepted, at a spot called Rushy Ford, near Darlington, by a band of freebooters, under Gilbert Middleton and Walter Selby, who robbed them of their money, luggage, and horses, and then dismissed them to prosecute their journey.† They reached the Scottish court in a very disconsolate plight, and were courteously received by Bruce, who listened patiently to their statements. Having then consulted with his nobles who were present, upon the message delivered to him by the nuncios, he made answer, that he earnestly desired to procure a good and firm peace, either through the mediation of the pope, or by any other means; but that, so long as he was only addressed as Governor of Scotland, and the title of king was withheld from him, he could not, until he had advised with the whole council, and the other barons of his kingdom, admit the legates to an interview, nor was it possible for him to convene a council for this purpose before the Festival of St. Michael (29th Sept.) He allowed the open letters of the pope, recommending peace, to be read in his presence, and listened to them with all due respect; but he refused to receive the sealed letters addressed to Robert Bruce, Governor of Scotland. "Among my barons," said he, "there are many bearing the name of Robert Bruce, who share in the government of my kingdom; these letters may possibly be addressed to some one of them; but they are not addressed to me, who am King of Scotland."

The nuncios attempted to offer an apology for the omission of the title of king, by observing that it was not customary for their holy mother the church to say or to do anything, during the dependence of a controversy, which might prejudice the rights of either of the parties. "Since, then," replied Bruce, pointing to the papal letters, "my spiritual father and my holy mother are unwilling to prejudice the cause of my adversary by giving me the title of king, they ought not to have prejudiced my cause, during the dependence of the controversy, by withdrawing that title from me. I am in possession of the kingdom of Scotland. All my people call me king, and other princes address me by that title; but my spiritual parents assume an evident partiality among their sons. Had you presumed to present letters so addressed to other kings, you might perhaps have been answered in a different style; but I reverence you as the messengers of the holy see." The messengers then requested that the king would command a temporary cessation of hostilities. "To this," replied Bruce, "I can never consent without the advice of my parliament, the more especially while the English daily invade and spoil my people." "All this was spoken," says the letter of the nuncios to the pope, "in an affable manner and with a pleasant countenance, evincing all due reverence for your holiness and the church." It appears from the same interesting document, that another papal messenger, named Jacobinus, had been despatched some time before, with letters to the Scottish prelates, announcing the coronation of the pope, but had been refused admission into Scotland. The two nuncios carried Jacobinus along with them, and earnestly entreated the king to permit him to execute his commission. To this request Bruce gave no answer, but, "by a certain change of his countenance, silently intimated a refusal," and they were informed by the secretaries of the king, that this refusal was owing to the omission of his royal title; and the Scottish counsellors assured them, that if the letters had been addressed to the king of the Scots, negotiations for a good and lasting peace would have been readily entered into, but no attention would be paid to the injunctions of the pope, so long as the royal title was withheld.*

—his refusal to receive the papal nuncio.

On receiving intelligence of the rejection of their proposals, the cardinals, who had remained all this time at Durham, resolved, at all hazards, to proclaim the papal truce in Scotland. This perilous office was intrusted to Adam Newton, the Father Guardian of the Minorite Friars of Berwick, who was furnished with the requisite documents, and with letters to the Bishop of St. Andrews, and the other Scottish prelates, requiring them to enforce the papal mandate. A most interesting account of this journey to Scotland has been given by Newton himself, in a letter addressed to the cardinals.† "In the first place," says he, "I arrived safe at Berwick, with God's assistance, but not without difficulty and tribulation. About a week ago I proceeded from Berwick to Old Cambus, a village about twelve miles distant from Berwick, near which place in a wood the Lord Robert lay concealed with his accomplices, labouring night and day in the construction of various machines, intended for the siege and destruction of Berwick.

"But I cautiously left all the bulls, letters, and other papers with which you had intrusted me, in safety at Berwick, till I should receive a safe conduct from the said Lord Robert; which I received for myself and the papers from the Lord Alexander Seton, seneschal to the said Lord Robert, and Master John de Montonforth, his clerk.

"I then went back to Berwick for my papers

* Rymer Foed. vol. iii. p. 661.
† Tyrrel Hist. vol. iii. p. 269.

* Rymer Foed. vol. iii. pp. 661, 662. † Ibid. p. 682.

and credentials, and returned again to Old Cambus, but was refused any personal intercourse with the said Lord Robert, and was desired to give all my letters to the foresaid seneschal and clerk, that they might be shown to the said Lord Robert. And because he was not named as King of Scotland, all the bulls and letters were contemptuously returned to me; and a message was delivered me from the said Lord Robert, declaring that he would not acquiesce in the bulls or in your processes, unless called King of Scotland, nor until he had acquired possession of Berwick. On this, seeing that I was environed with danger, I was greatly troubled how I might preserve the papers, and my own mortal life. Before the foresaid persons, and a multitude of others who were gathered around me, I expressly and publicly proclaimed, that a two years' truce was established and ordained between England and Scotland, by the authority of the supreme pontiff; but which proclamation they all despised.

"I next earnestly entreated the foresaid persons, in the name of the Lord, that in charity and compassion, and from reverence for the holy see, they would give me a safe conduct to pass further into Scotland to some of the prelates of that country, to carry your orders into execution, or at least for my safe return to Berwick.

"But they refused to grant me either, and dismissed me desolate on all sides, with express orders to get out of the country in all haste. I was, therefore, reluctantly constrained to measure back my steps towards Berwick. In my way thither I was encountered by four armed ruffians, who robbed and despoiled me of all my papers and of my garments, stripping me entirely naked. It is rumoured, that the Lord Robert and his accomplices, who instigated this outrage, now have the papers which were taken from me."

Throughout the whole of this negotiation it is evident that the pope acted as the servile tool of the English court; but the good sense and firmness of Bruce, aided by the patriotism of the Scottish clergy and the attachment of his subjects, enabled him to thwart the cunning policy of Edward and his ecclesiastical ally, and to maintain the dignity and independence of his kingdom.

Capture of Berwick.

The important town of Berwick, the key of the eastern marches, still remained in the hands of the English; and Bruce, as we have seen, was found by the papal messenger busily engaged in the construction of engines for its capture. Fortunately for the Scots, a burgess named Spalding, having been harshly treated by the governor, Roger Horsely, determined, in revenge, to betray the town into the hands of the enemy. This purpose he communicated to a Scottish lord, called by Barbour the Marshall,* by whom the intelligence was immediately conveyed to Bruce himself. "You did well," said the sagacious monarch, "in making me your confidant, for if you had told this to either Randolph or Douglas, you would have offended the one whom you did not trust. Both of them, however, shall aid you in executing this enterprise." The king then commanded his informant to repair, with a strong body of troops, to Dunse Park, about fourteen miles from Berwick; and separate orders were given to Douglas and Randolph to meet him at the same place, each accompanied by a chosen band of retainers. At nightfall, the troops thus secretly assembled, quitted the place of rendezvous, and marched to Berwick; and having, by the assistance of Spalding, fixed their ladders near the Cowport, they scaled the walls undiscovered, and were speedily masters of the town. When the alarm was given, the citizens hastily assembled in groups, or ran wildly through the streets; but, panic-struck by the suddenness of the attack, they offered no effectual resistance. Not a few were slain or made prisoners, but many escaped over the walls or threw themselves into the castle. A portion of the assailants dispersed themselves through the streets to slay and plunder; but a select body were kept together by Randolph and Douglas, in readiness to repel any attempt on the part of the garrison to recover the town. This precaution saved the Scottish force from destruction; for next day, about noon, the governor of the castle, discovering the small number of the assailants, made a desperate sally, and had nearly succeeded in recapturing the city. After a fierce struggle, however, in which a young knight, called Sir William Keith of Galston, eminently distinguished himself, the English were driven back into the citadel with great slaughter. On learning that the town was taken, King Robert came up with the rest of his forces to secure the important conquest. Great numbers of Scotchmen also flocked into the town, from the Merse, Teviotdale, and Lothian, to assist in the reduction of the castle, which soon surrendered. The garrison were permitted to depart into England. Immense quantities of merchandize, provisions, and military stores were found in the city, and its plunder greatly enriched the Scottish army. Instead of demolishing the castle, as he had hitherto done with all the fortresses recovered from the English, Bruce resolved to strengthen the fortifications, and to commit the keeping of both town and castle to his gallant son-in-law. The Steward being well aware, from the importance of the town, that the English would soon make a vigorous effort to recover it, carried on his preparations with great energy. He reinforced the garrison, which consisted of a strong body of archers, spearmen, and cross-bowmen, with five hundred gentlemen, who quartered his arms, and were collected from his own hereditary possessions, and among the relations of his family. He laid in such ample stores of provisions that the town and castle were victualled for a year; and, assisted by John Crab, an experienced Flemish engineer, he constructed springalds, cranes, and every other kind of warlike

* Barbour, pp. 333—339. Lord Hailes conjectures, on very plausible grounds, that the nobleman referred to by Barbour, was the Earl of March.—Annals, vol. ii. p. 97.

engine, then employed in the defence of fortified towns.* In the midst of these preparations, Bruce invaded Northumberland, surprising the Castle of Mitford, and reducing the strongholds of Wark and Harbottle. He penetrated into Yorkshire, plundering and burning Northallerton, Boroughbridge, Scarborough, and Skipton; and compelled the inhabitants of Ripon to redeem themselves from military execution, by the payment of a large sum of money. He then led back his army into their own country, loaded with booty, and driving their prisoners before them, according to the chronicle of Lanercost, like flocks of sheep.† Edward, unable to protect his subjects from the destructive inroads of the Scots by force of arms, again sought and obtained the aid of the Pope; and the two cardinals, who still remained in England, were instructed by the pontiff to issue a bull of excommunication against Robert Bruce and all his adherents, on the ground that they had captured Berwick in violation of the terms of the papal truce, and maltreated the messengers of the holy see.‡ Meanwhile, Edward had summoned his parliament to meet at Lincoln, but was compelled to prorogue it on account of the invasion of the Scots; while an army hastily assembled at York was dismissed, as the enemy had already returned home. The English parliament met at London, about Michaelmas, and gave orders that the various towns throughout the kingdom should furnish each a certain number of soldiers, completely armed, who were required to serve for forty days, and to be maintained at the expense of the citizens.§ These levies, along with the military barons and their retainers, formed a large and efficient force; but when they came to the rendezvous at York, the animosity between the king and his nobility ran so high, that it was found necessary to disband the army, without making any effort to recapture Berwick, or to punish the aggressions of the Scots.

Invasion of England.

Papal bull of excommunication against Bruce and his adherents.

At this period tidings were conveyed to Scotland of the disastrous issue of the expedition to Ireland. Edward Bruce had maintained a precarious authority in Ulster by means of frequent reinforcements from his native country. He now rashly encountered at Fagher, near Dundalk, a greatly superior force, amounting to nearly twenty thousand men, under John de Bermingham, and was defeated and slain. The army of Edward Bruce is said to have numbered only two thousand men, exclusive of his Irish allies, a large, but irregular and ill-disciplined host. As the English were approaching, Bruce despatched three of his principal officers, Soulis, Stewart, and Mowbray, to observe the number and strength of the enemy. On their return they strongly urged the propriety of declining an engagement with an army so vastly superior. To these judicious counsels Edward Bruce, with his characteristic impetuosity and contempt of danger, refused to listen; nor could his resolution be shaken by the intimation of his Irish allies, that they would decline taking part in so hopeless a contest. The engagement began by a vigorous charge of the English on the vanguard of the Scots, who were almost instantly overwhelmed. Edward Bruce was slain by John Maupas, who was himself found lying dead upon the body of his enemy. Sir John Soulis and Sir John Stewart were also slain, while Sir Philip Mowbray was mortally wounded. A small remnant of the Scots, under John Thomson, the leader of the men of Carrick, succeeded, with the assistance of their Irish allies, in making good their retreat to Carrickfergus, and from thence reached Scotland.* Notwithstanding the generous conduct of King Robert after the battle of Bannockburn, the victors treated the body of Edward Bruce with revolting indignity. It was quartered, and exposed in four different places in Ireland as a public spectacle. Bermingham carried over the head, as an acceptable present to the English king, and received, as the reward of his services, large grants of money and land, with the title of Earl of Lowth.† Thus terminated an expedition, which, if it had been as wisely prosecuted as it was auspiciously begun, might have changed the relations and history of the three kingdoms.

Defeat and death of Edward Bruce, 5th October, 1318.

The death of Edward Bruce without lawful male issue, and that of Marjory, the king's daughter, who had left an infant son, rendered some new regulations necessary regarding the succession to the crown of Scotland. Accordingly, in a meeting of the Scottish parliament, held at Scone in the beginning of December, 1318, an Act of Settlement was passed, in which the prelates, earls, barons, and others of the community, after solemnly renewing their oath of allegiance to Bruce, ordained, that should the king die without a lawful male heir, Robert, the son of the Princess Marjory, should succeed to the throne: that, in the event of Robert Stewart, or any other heir of the king's body, being a minor at the period of the king's death, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and, failing him, Sir James Douglas, should be appointed tutor to the heir and guardian of the kingdom, until it appeared to the majority of the community that Robert Stewart, or the other heir of the king, was capable to administer the government in person. It was farther enacted, that as in times past certain doubts had arisen, though without sufficient cause, regarding the rule of succession, the male nearest to the king at his death, descending in the direct line; or, failing him, the nearest female in the same direct line; or, failing the whole direct line, the nearest male in the col-

Settlement of the succession to the throne.

* Barbour, pp. 339, 340.
† Chron. Lanercost, p. 236.
‡ Rymer Foed. vol. iii. pp. 707—711.
§ Walsingham, p. 111.

* Barbour, pp. 362—368.
† Rymer Foed. vol. iii. p. 767.

lateral line, respect being always had to the right of blood by which the deceased king reigned—should succeed to the throne.

These enactments having been unanimously adopted, Randolph and Douglas declared their acceptance of the offices thus conditionally assigned to them, and, laying their hands on the holy gospels and the relics of the saints, took a solemn oath faithfully to discharge their duty, and to observe, and cause to be observed, the laws and customs of Scotland. After this, the bishops, abbots, priors, and the rest of the clergy, and the earls, barons, knights, and freeholders, and the other members of the community, took the same solemn oath in the same manner, and affixed their seals to the instrument of succession.

Laws enacted by the Scottish parliament.

Besides determining the succession to the crown, this parliament passed various important ordinances regarding the civil, military, and ecclesiastical interests of the kingdom. All men were required to array themselves for war. Every layman possessed of land, who had ten pounds' worth of moveable property (equal to a hundred and fifty pounds' worth in modern times), was commanded to provide himself with an acton and a basnet—that is, a stuffed leathern jacket, and a steel helmet, together with gloves of plate, and a sword and spear. Those who were not provided with these pieces of defensive armour were ordered to have an iron-jack, or back and breast-plate of iron, a knapiskay, or iron head-piece, with gloves of plate; and every man possessing the value of a cow, was enjoined to be provided with a bow and a sheaf of twenty-four arrows, or with a spear. In case of disobedience, the recusant was to forfeit his moveable property—half to the king, and half to his overlord, or superior. All sheriffs and lords were enjoined to make inquest into the execution of this law. All persons while on the road to the royal army were required to subsist at their own charges, without in any way oppressing the country; those who came from places near the rendezvous were enjoined to bring carriages and provisions along with them; those who came from remote parts were to bring money, and if refused a supply of provisions after the offer of reasonable compensation, permission was given to take what was necessary, but under the eye of the bailie or magistrate of the district. To supply the enemy with weapons, or to give them any assistance whatever, was declared to be a capital offence. Ecclesiastics were prohibited from remitting money to the papal court for the purchase of bulls, and all holders of fiefs in Scotland, but resident in England, were prohibited from drawing money out of the kingdom. Among the statutes of the same parliament is found one relating to theft-bute, or ransom of theft. Any person who paid this ransom was held as a convicted thief, and was liable to be banished accordingly, without farther proof, and the receiver of the composition was to be severely fined, or, if unable to discharge his fine, was to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. The statute concludes with a qualifying clause, "saving the liberties of those lords who had such conceded to them by the kings of Scotland, before our lord the king who now reigns." The persons thus excepted were, in all probability, the nobles residing on the borders, whose cattle were constantly exposed to the incursions of freebooters, and, when stolen, could only be regained by the payment of a ransom.*

While the Scottish parliament was issuing these wise and salutary ordinances, the Pope, at the instigation of the English king, continued to fulminate against Bruce and his adherents. Messengers were despatched from Scotland to obtain a reversal or mitigation of these severe measures, and the restoration of friendly relations between the Scottish nation and the holy see; but, by the influence of the English ambassadors, the attempts altogether failed.† In another quarter, the ungenerous efforts of the English monarch to injure Scotland, received a dignified check. The Scots had for a long period carried on an advantageous trade with Flanders, procuring, in return for the produce of their own country, arms, provisions, and military stores. This commercial intercourse Edward endeavoured to interrupt, by soliciting the Count of Flanders, the Duke of Brabant, and the magistrates of the different towns in the Netherlands, to prohibit the Scots from in future entering their ports and markets, representing them as excommunicated persons, with whom the faithful ought to have no friendly dealings. The reply of the Count of Flanders to this proposal was marked by a wisdom and liberality which entitle it to honourable mention. "His country," he said, "was common to all men of every region, and the right of entry to it was free to every person; and in permitting the Scots to enter his ports, and his own people to trade with Scotland, it was by no means his wish or intention to countenance or encourage that nation in error, but merely not to interfere with the free exercise of merchandize, on which the existence and prosperity of his own subjects so necessarily depended." With the exception of the Duke of Brabant and the city of Mechlin, the states and towns in the Netherlands returned similar replies.‡

Bruce makes a fruitless attempt to conciliate the papal see.

Trade with Flanders.

Availing himself of an apparent reconciliation with the Lancastrian party, Edward resolved to make a vigorous effort for the recovery of Berwick. He summoned his military vassals to assemble at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the 24th of July, 1319.§ A numerous levy of infantry was ordered to join the royal army, from the various counties of England and Wales; and, in addition to the land force, a powerful fleet was appointed to

Preparations by Edward for the siege of Berwick.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xiii.; Ker's Life of Bruce, vol. ii. chap. xx. Regiam Majestatem.
† Rymer Foed. vol. iii. p. 752.
‡ Rymer Foed. vol. iii. pp. 759, 770.
§ Rymer Foed. vol. iii. p. 374.

occupy the mouth of the Tweed, to prevent the introduction of supplies or reinforcements to the garrison, to transport provisions, machines, and necessary stores, and to co-operate with the army in the varied operations of the siege. These extensive preparations were not completed till early in September, when Edward marched from Newcastle; and having crossed the Tweed without opposition, entirely surrounded Berwick from the river to the sea, securing his camp by strong lines of circumvallation, while his fleet occupied the estuary of the Tweed.* After landing the provisions, military stores, and machines, it was resolved, at a council of war, to attempt the capture of the town by storm; its low walls affording facilities to a sudden and well-conducted escalade.

Assault upon the town—

On the morning of St. Mary's Eve, 7th September, the English army was drawn up in separate divisions, placed at regular distances, and provided with scaling ladders, scaffolds, and defences, with hoes and pickaxes for mining. Meanwhile, the Scots, under their gallant leader, Walter, the High Steward of Scotland, were preparing bravely to defend the town. Steward arranged his men in companies to meet the advancing parties of the English, and, attended by a considerable body of reserve composed chiefly of his own relations, he passed along the ramparts, encouraging the troops to behave manfully, and ready to bring assistance where it seemed most to be required. At the sound of the trumpet, the English marched to the assault; and, after filling the ditches and applying their ladders to the wall, strove bravely to reach the top, but were everywhere repulsed by the garrison, their ladders thrown down and many of them wounded and slain. In the afternoon, the English fleet, which had to wait the rise of the tide, sailed up to the walls on the river side. One vessel, filled with armed men, and constructed specially for the purpose of assault, was warped up by means of boats as near as possible to the rampart. To the bow of her boat, which was hoisted mast-high, was fitted a species of drawbridge, which was intended to be dropped upon the wall, and to afford a passage from the ship into the town. As this formidable vessel approached, the Scots from the battlements assailed her with close and deadly discharges from their springalds, crossbows, and other engines, so that the sailors were unable to bring her sufficiently near, and the drawbridge, when let down, fell short of the wall. At length she grounded on a bank, and a party of Scots sallied from the town at ebb-tide and set her on fire. On the failure of this double attempt, a retreat was sounded, and the assailants drew off to their camp.

—its failure.

A second unsuccessful attack—

During the five following days no assault took place, but both parties were actively engaged in preparations for the coming strife. The English constructed a machine called a Sow, framed of large beams of timber, with a strong roof, sloping like the back of the animal from which it took its name, and capable of containing a considerable number of men, furnished with all the necessary implements for undermining the foundation of the wall. Moveable scaffolds were also built high enough to overtop the walls of the town, and to enable the assailants to fight the Scots upon equal terms. To aid the efforts of the land army, a number of ships were fitted up similar in construction to that vessel which had been destroyed by the Scots, but rendered more effective by filling the top castles with armed men and archers, intended to drive the defenders from the walls, while the assailants beneath, dragged the ship close to the walls and lowered the drawbridges. These formidable preparations had been anxiously watched by the gallant Steward. With the advice, and under the directions of Crab, the Flemish engineer, he constructed two powerful projectile engines of vast strength, called cranes, and intended to discharge stones of great weight, with immense force. Springalds were also provided, for projecting thick heavy darts winged with copper, together with strong iron chains with grappling hooks attached to them, and large bundles of highly combustible faggots, mixed with flax and tow saturated with pitch. As on the former occasion, the Steward divided his men into companies, assigning to each the defence of a portion of the wall, while, at the head of the reserve, he resolved to watch the various points of attack, and to supply reinforcements where these might be needed. On the morning of the 13th September, the English marched forward to the sound of trumpet, and soon succeeded in filling up the ditches, and fixing their ladders; but they were assailed by the garrison, not only with the ordinary hand weapons, but with discharges of large stones and other missiles, and were beaten back on every quarter. The conflict raged till noon, when, finding every effort unavailing to take the town by an escalade, Edward gave orders that the Sow should be brought forward for the purpose of undermining the walls. As this huge machine advanced, one of the cranes formerly mentioned, was wheeled up to that part of the wall directly opposite; its management being committed to the care of a skilful English engineer, captured in the late assault, and who was threatened with instant death if he did not use all his endeavours to destroy the Sow.

Destruction of "the Sow."

At the first discharge, a great stone launched against it flew beyond the mark, on which the English endeavoured to hurry on the machine to the foot of the wall. The second discharge was attended with no better success, as the stone fell short. A third time the engineer bent the machine, straining it to its utmost effort, but now with an aim so true that the stone descended with overwhelming force on the top of the Sow, shivering the strong roof into pieces, and destroying many of the soldiers and

* Barbour, pp. 342—358. His account of the siege is remarkably minute and interesting. See also Hailes' Annals, vol. ii. pp. 109—112.

miners concealed within. The rest fled in terror from the shattered fabric, pursued by the derisive shouts of the Scots, who cried out from the walls, that the English Sow had farrowed her pigs. Crab immediately cast over his grappling-hooks and chains, and secured the machine, and, having thrown burning faggots on its broken timbers, speedily reduced it to ashes. Meanwhile, the naval squadron, at flood tide, moved up to attack the lower wall along the Tweed. As the vessels advanced, the engineer to whom the defence of that portion of the wall was entrusted, discharged against the foremost, a large stone, killing and wounding a great number of her men, upon which the remaining ships were so much intimidated that they withdrew from the assault. Undismayed by the destruction of the Sow, the English land-force continued to press their attacks with unabated vigour, in the hope of wearing out the strength of the besieged. But the Scots, animated by the presence of their brave leader, —who was everywhere present, assisting to remove the wounded, cheering on the men, and supplying reinforcements,—succeeded in beating them back at every point. The escort of Steward became at last so reduced that one man only remained with him, when an alarm was given that the English had broken down the barrier close to St. Mary's-gate, which they were endeavouring to fire. Steward hastened to the scene of danger, and having drawn a considerable reinforcement from the garrison of the castle, ordered the gate to be thrown open, and sallying out upon the enemy, repulsed them with great slaughter. The Scots retired into the town, after having extinguished the flames and secured the gate. The assault terminated only on the approach of night, when the English force, foiled in all their attempts, returned to their quarters, wearied and greatly disheartened. Both parties appear to have fought with emulous valour; and it is mentioned, as an evidence of the fierce determination displayed throughout the struggle, that the women and boys belonging to the garrison were continually employed, while the strife was raging, in gathering up, and conveying to their friends, the stones and other missiles discharged by the English.

Invasion of England by Bruce.

While Edward was engaged before Berwick, Bruce anxiously endeavoured to raise the siege, and collected a large army for that purpose. The numbers of the enemy and the strength of their entrenchments induced him, however, prudently to decline an immediate encounter; but he resolved to make a powerful diversion in favour of the beleaguered town, by invading England, thus compelling Edward to abandon his enterprise in order to defend his own dominions. Randolph and Douglas accordingly crossed the borders with a well-appointed force of fifteen thousand men.* The Scots, it is said, had concerted a plan for obtaining possession of the person of the queen, who was at that time residing near York, and thereby dictating the terms of an honourable and advantageous peace.* Foiled in this attempt by the escape of the queen, who learned their purpose from a Scottish prisoner who fell into the hands of the English, they wasted Yorkshire, destroying Ripon and carrying devastation as far as Mitton. To resist this terrible inroad, the Archbishop of York, in the absence of the regular army, hastily collected a large but ill-assorted and undisciplined force,—composed of archers, yeomen, priests, clerks, monks, and friars,—and advanced on the head quarters of the Scots, then established at Mitton.† On the approach of this motley host, the Scottish leaders called in their detachments, and while the English were defiling across a bridge over the river Swale, charged them furiously, under cover of the smoke of some stacks of hay which they had set on fire for the purpose. The tumultuary force of the archbishop was broken and put to flight in an instant, and pursued for a considerable distance, with great slaughter. Four thousand men are said to have fallen, and among these were three hundred priests, distinguished by the white surplices which covered their armour. Many were drowned in attempting to re-cross the river Swale,‡ and those who escaped were saved only by the darkness of night. In allusion to the clerical leaders of the defeated army and the slaughter of the priests, this rout was named by the Scots, in the savage pleasantry of the times, "The Chapter of Mitton."§

"The Chapter of Mitton."

When the news of the Scottish invasion and the defeat of Mitton reached the camp before Berwick, the English barons whose estates lay in the north of England, headed by the Earl of Lancaster, withdrew from Berwick to defend their own domains, and Edward, thus deprived of nearly a third of his army, was compelled reluctantly to raise the siege.‖ Determined, however, to punish the Scots, he marched southward, hoping to intercept them as they returned to their own country. But Randolph and Douglas having received accurate intelligence of the movements of the English army, prudently eluded an encounter, and returned safely into Scotland by the western marches, loaded with booty, and carrying with them many prisoners. It appears, from an authentic document, that no fewer than eighty-four towns and villages were burnt and pillaged by the Scots in this expedition.¶ On the departure of the English from Berwick, Bruce hastened to his gallant son-in-law, and the brave men who had so nobly defended this important fortress, and added to the military renown of the Scottish nation. After bestowing on them

The siege of Berwick raised.

* Walsingham, pp. 111, 112.

* "Certe si capta fuisset tunc Regina, credo quod pacem emisset sibi Scotia."—M. Malmesbury, p. 192.

† Barbour, p. 349.

‡ Walsingham, p. 112.

§ Barbour, p. 351.

‖ Barbour, pp. 358, 359.

¶ Rymer Foed. vol. iii. pp. 801, 802.

the highest encomiums, he provided for the future safety of the town by increasing the height of the walls, and otherwise strengthening the fortifications, some of which had suffered during the late siege.

Negotiations for a peace.

Foiled in his attempts to reduce Berwick, and unable to protect his subjects from the fierce incursions of the Scots, Edward and his parliament now became desirous of peace with Scotland. For this purpose commissioners were nominated by both parties; and a truce was ultimately agreed upon for two years, commencing with Christmas 1319; and in the mean time the commissioners were authorised to continue their negotiations for a lasting peace.

The Pope renews his spiritual censures against Bruce and his adherents.

It appears somewhat strange that Edward's old ally the Pope should have selected this moment to renew the thunders of his excommunication against the Scottish king and his adherents; and, apparently enraged at the contempt with which his former censures had been treated, the holy father commanded the Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of London and Carlisle, to repeat the ceremony on every Sabbath and festival day throughout the year.* This ill-timed and unfair exercise of authority on the part of his holiness seems to have excited great indignation among the people of Scotland, and in a parliament held at Aberbrothock, on the 6th of April, 1320, the barons and freeholders of the realm, with the consent of the king, and in the name of the whole community of Scotland, addressed a spirited memorial to the Pope in vindication of themselves and their sovereign from the misrepresentations of their enemies. After alluding to the fables then currently believed respecting the origin of the Scottish nation, their long line of a hundred and thirteen kings, their conversion to Christianity by the apostle Andrew, and the favour which former pontiffs had shown to their forefathers as the flock of the brother of St. Peter, they go on to denounce the unjust interference of Edward the First with the affairs of Scotland, and describe, in forcible terms, the calamities which the ambition of that unprincipled monarch had brought upon their country. "Under such free protection," say they, "did we live, until Edward, king of England, and father of the present monarch, covering his hostile designs under the specious disguise of friendship and alliance, made an invasion of our country at the moment when it was without a king, and attacked an honest and unsuspicious people, then but little experienced in war. The insults which this prince has heaped upon us, the slaughters and devastations which he has committed, his imprisonments of prelates, his burning of monasteries, his spoliations and murder of priests, and the other enormities of which he has been guilty, can be rightly described, or even conceived, by none but an eye-witness. From these innumerable evils have we been freed, under the help of that God who woundeth and who maketh whole, by our most valiant prince and king, Lord Robert, who, like a second Maccabæus, or Joshua, hath cheerfully endured all labour and weariness, and exposed himself to every species of danger and privation, that he might rescue from the hands of the enemy his ancient people and rightful inheritance; Him, Divine Providence, and the right of succession according to those laws and customs which we will maintain to the death, as well as the common consent of us all, have made our prince and king. To him are we bound, both by his own merit and by the law of the land, and to him, as the saviour of our people, and the guardian of our liberty, are we unanimously determined to adhere. But if he should desist from what he has begun, and should show an inclination to subject us or our kingdom to the king of England, or to his people, then we declare, that we will use our utmost effort to expel him from the throne, as our enemy, and the subverter of his own and of our right, and we will choose another king to rule over us, who will be able to defend us; for as long as a hundred Scotsmen are left alive, we will never be subject to the dominion of England. It is not for glory, riches, or honour, that we fight, but for that liberty which no good man will consent to lose but with his life.

Spirited memorial of the Scottish barons.

"Wherefore, most reverend Father, we humbly pray, and from our hearts beseech your Holiness to consider, that you are the vicegerent of Him with whom there is no respect of persons, Jews or Greeks, Scots or English; and turning your paternal regard upon the tribulations brought upon us and the church of God by the English, to admonish the King of England that he should be content with what he possesses, seeing that England of old was enough for seven or more kings, and not to disturb our peace in this small country, lying on the utmost boundaries of the habitable earth, and whose inhabitants desire nothing but what is their own."

After declaring that they are willing to do everything for peace, which is consistent with the freedom of their constitution and government, and exhorting the Pope to procure the peace of Christendom, in order that the Holy Land might be recovered from the hands of the infidels, and expressing their readiness to undertake that holy expedition if Edward would permit them to depart in peace, they go on to say: "If your Holiness do not sincerely believe these things, giving too implicit faith to the tales of the English, and on this ground shall not cease to favour them in their designs for our destruction, be well assured that the Almighty will impute to you that loss of life, that destruction of human souls, and all those various calamities which our inextinguishable hatred against the English, and their warfare against us, must necessarily produce. Confident that we now are, and shall ever, as in duty bound, remain obedient sons to you, as God's vicegerent, we commit the defence of

* Rymer Foed. vol. iii. pp. 797, 810.

our cause to that God, as the great King and Judge, placing our confidence in Him, and in the firm hope that he will endow us with strength, and confound our enemies; and may the Almighty long preserve your Holiness in health."

To this memorable and interesting document were appended the names and seals of eight earls and thirty-one barons, among whom we find the High Steward and the other great officers of the crown.*

Detection of a conspiracy against King Robert.

The attachment of the nation, thus strongly manifested, to the person and government of Bruce, did not exempt him from treasonable attempts to deprive him of his crown. David de Brechin, the king's nephew, with five other knights and three esquires, secretly combined to put the king to death, and elevate to the throne William de Soulis, hereditary Butler of Scotland, whose grandfather, Nicholas de Soulis, had been a competitor for the crown as grandson of Marjory, daughter of Alexander II., and wife of Alan Durward.† The records of the Tower furnish evidence that both Soulis and Brechin had long been in the pay of the English monarch; and there is every reason to believe that his emissaries originated and fostered the conspiracy against the life of Bruce. The Countess of Strathern, who had been made privy to the plot, was induced, either by remorse or fear, to reveal it, and the conspirators were instantly arrested, and afterwards tried before the Scottish parliament (August, 1320). Sir David de Brechin, Sir William Malherbe, Sir John Logie, and an esquire named Richard Brown, suffered death, while Sir William de Soulis and the Countess of Strathern were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Notwithstanding the popularity of Bruce, and the undoubted proofs of the guilt of De Brechin, the fate of the latter was generally regretted. His youth and high birth, and valiant exploits in the Holy Land, where he had served with signal distinction, seem to have blinded the people to the guilt of his treason against his uncle, and the liberties of his country. He had always been the secret or avowed partisan of England. In 1308, he assisted Comyn, Earl of Buchan, in his attacks upon the king while marching through Aberdeenshire: in 1312, we find him a pensioner of Edward, and Governor of Dundee, in the English interest: in 1315, he was a prisoner of war, but though generously pardoned by Bruce, he stood coldly aloof from the brilliant movements which followed; viewing with dislike the success of his relative, or secretly plotting his overthrow. His doom, therefore, was most deserved; but, either in consequence of his personal qualities, or from the leniency with which, in that age, conspiracies against the government and flagrant breaches of allegiance were generally regarded, his death excited public sympathy, and the parliament by which he and his accomplices were condemned, was long remembered in Scotland by the name of the Black Parliament. Even among the nobles, the treason of De Brechin found its apologists. Sir Ingram de Umfraville was so much dissatisfied with the punishment inflicted on the conspirators, that he solicited and obtained leave from Bruce to dispose of his estates, and, retiring into England, transferred his services to Edward, declaring that "he could not remain in a land where so noble a knight was put to a pitiful and shameful death for such a slight cause."* "It is difficult to conceive," as Sir Walter Scott observes, "how far Sir Ingram de Umfraville imagined the immunities of a noble knight to extend. This was the fourth time he himself had changed sides. He had borne arms under Wallace, and under the subsequent Scottish regency; he had become English, and was one of the knights appointed to keep Edward's rein at the battle of Bannockburn. That victory re-converted Sir Ingram to the Scottish allegiance, which he finally renounced out of pity and tenderness for the fate of Sir David de Brechin, and, perhaps, some lurking anxiety concerning what might be ultimately reserved for himself, when traitors were receiving payment at the hands of the executioner."†

The Pope recommends a peace.

The bold manifesto of Aberbrothock, and the remonstrances of Sir Adam de Gordon and Sir Edward Mambuisson, whom Bruce shortly after sent as ambassadors to the papal court, induced the Roman pontiff to suspend, for some time, the publication of the sentence of excommunication and interdict, and to address an admonitory epistle to Edward, recommending the conclusion of a peace with Scotland. With this request the English monarch deemed it politic to affect compliance, and he accordingly granted authority to the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Carlisle, and others, to treat with the commissioners of Bruce.‡ The meeting, which took place at Carlisle, was attended by two nuncios from the Pope, and by two envoys from the King of France, who requested to be allowed to act as a mediator on the occasion. These negotiations for peace, however, led to no satisfactory result. On the part of Edward they were evidently insincere; for on the same day on which he transmitted a safe conduct to the Scottish commissioners, he issued a commission to five persons, among whom was David, Earl of Athole, giving them authority to receive into his favour all Scotsmen, of every rank, who should be willing to reconcile themselves to the English government.§

Insincerity of Edward.

From these attempts to excite treason among the subjects of Bruce, Edward was compelled for a time to desist, in consequence of the critical position of his own kingdom. His new favourite, Hugh le Despenser, who, on the death of Gaveston,

* See Anderson's Diplomata Scotiæ, Plate LI., for a facsimile of this celebrated memorial.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. i.; Barbour, p. 380.

* Barbour, pp. 382, 383.

† Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 144.

‡ Rymer Fœd. vol. iii. p. 791.

§ Ibid. p. 865.

had succeeded to his place in Edward's confidence, abused, like his predecessor, the trust of the facile monarch, and, by his profligate, insolent, and rapacious conduct, had rendered himself the object of universal dislike. The dissensions between the English barons and Edward, which had continued for many years to disturb and enfeeble the kingdom, grew at last to a head, and the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford, and their adherents, entered into a treaty of alliance with the Scots, and concocted an invasion of England, to be conducted by King Robert in person. Owing to various causes, however, the Scottish forces did not appear in time, and the secret of the treasonable alliance between the disaffected barons and the Scots having meanwhile transpired, Edward promptly took the field at the head of a powerful force, and totally disconcerted their projected union. The Earl of Lancaster, finding himself unable to maintain his ground against the royal army, retreated to the north, probably in the hope of receiving assistance from the Scots; but he was intercepted at Boroughbridge by Sir Andrew Harcla, Warden of the Western Marches, and Sir Simon Ward, Sheriff of Yorkshire, and, after a fierce engagement, (16th March, 1321,) his army was totally routed. The Earl of Hereford, and many others of the disaffected barons, were slain. The Earl of Lancaster took refuge in a sanctuary; but surrendered himself next day, and was soon after executed for treason.*

Rebellion of the Earl of Lancaster—

—his defeat and execution.

Elated by the extinction of the Lancastrian faction, and the transient gleam of success with which his arms had been favoured, Edward resolved to put an end to the war by the immediate invasion of Scotland, and, in a tone of premature triumph wrote to the Pope, requesting him "to give himself no farther trouble about a peace with the Scots, as he had determined to establish a peace by force of arms."†

Edward's preparations for the invasion of Scotland.

In order to carry out this resolution, he proceeded to summon the attendance of his military vassals; and the parliament, which assembled at York about the beginning of April, issued orders for the muster of a great army; every village and hamlet in England was required to furnish one foot soldier, properly armed, and the larger towns and cities proportional numbers, to serve against the Scots for forty days, at the expense of the inhabitants; large subsidies were also granted by the nobles and the clergy, the cities, towns, and burghs, to defray the charge of the intended expedition; and a fleet was appointed to attend the army with a supply of provisions, while a considerable squadron, under Sir Robert Leyburn, was ordered to act against the west coast and islands of Scotland.‡

During these extensive preparations, which were protracted through a period of four months, the Scots twice invaded the northern provinces of England. The first expedition advanced through Cumberland and Westmoreland into Lancashire; and, after plundering and wasting the country at pleasure, returned home loaded with spoil. A second, and more formidable invasion, immediately followed. Bruce himself, at the head of a chosen body of troops, entered England by way of Cumberland, and marched into Lancashire, where he was joined by the second division of the army, under Randolph and Douglas, who had penetrated by the middle march. The united force ravaged Lancashire and the other northern counties without opposition, and succeeded in collecting an immense booty, consisting of gold and silver, ecclesiastical plate and ornaments, herds of sheep and oxen, and household furniture of all kinds, which they carried off in waggons at their pleasure, and, after destroying the growing crops, and everything that could not be removed, they returned to Scotland, having occupied twenty-four days in this destructive foray.*

Destructive inroads of the Scots.

Edward having at length completed his preparations, invaded Scotland at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men. Bruce, politic as well as brave, and no longer bound to risk the safety of his kingdom on the fate of a battle with a greatly superior force, prudently resolved to avoid a general engagement, and adopted a course which speedily compelled his enemy to make an inglorious retreat. By his orders, all the cattle and provisions, and the valuable effects of every kind, throughout the districts of the Merse, Tiviotdale, and the Lothians, were removed to places of safety. The inhabitants concealed themselves in the fastnesses of the country, while Bruce himself encamped with his army at Culross, on the north side of the Frith of Forth, ready to take advantage of any favourable opportunity for annoying the enemy.† As the English advanced into Scotland, they found themselves traversing a silent desert. The instructions of Bruce, regarding the removal of the cattle, had been so fully obeyed, that a party of soldiers, sent out to procure provisions for the hungry troops, succeeded in bringing to the camp only one lame bull, which had been left by the Scots at Tranent. "Is this all that you have got?" asked the Earl of Warrene: "By my faith, I never saw so dear a beast!"‡ On reaching Edinburgh, Edward halted for three days, in expectation of the arrival of his fleet with the necessary supplies. But the vessels were detained by contrary winds, and before they could make their appearance many of his soldiers had perished from famine; and, in order to save his army from destruction, he found it necessary to return to England without having

Edward invades Scotland, August, 1322.

Prudent policy of Bruce.

* Rymer Foed. vol. iii. pp. 938, 939.
† Ibid. p. 944.
‡ Ibid. pp. 952, 955, 962.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. iv.
† Barbour, p. 370.
‡ Ibid. p. 371; Fordun, book xiii. chap. iv.

seen an enemy, or gained a single advantage which could lessen the disgrace of his retreat. On their march homewards, his soldiers plundered the Abbeys of Holyrood and Melrose, and burned the Monastery of Dryburgh, rifling the sanctuaries of their most sacred furniture, killing the Prior of Melrose, and mortally wounding a number of the monks. On regaining their own country, they indulged so intemperately, after the privations they had endured, that sixteen thousand of them were cut off by a disease which an English historian calls a bursting of the bowels, while great numbers had their constitutions ruined for life.*

Excesses of the English on their retreat.

The retreat of the English army had been grievously harassed by Randolph and Douglas, who, at the head of a chosen body of men, hung on their rear, cutting off the stragglers; and, at Melrose, they put to the sword an advanced party of three hundred strong.† Bruce himself, on learning the success of his scheme, crossed the Frith of Forth with a large army, and pushed rapidly into England, determined to punish his enemy for the late aggression. The strong castle of Norham, to which he laid siege, resisted his utmost efforts; but, having received intelligence that Edward lay encamped with the remains of his army at Biland Abbey, near Malton, in Yorkshire, he resolved, by a forced march, to surprise him in his quarters.

Reprisals of the Scots.

The Scots found their enemies drawn up, in a position of great strength, on the summit of a rugged and steep hill, accessible only by one narrow pass. Douglas, with a chosen body of men, undertook to force this pass, and—accompanied by Randolph, who, with four squires, quitted his own division to serve under his friend as a volunteer—he charged boldly up the hill at the head of his troops. But they met with a desperate resistance from Sir Thomas Ughtred and Sir Ralph Cobham, while their rear and flanks suffered severely from the stones and other missiles which were hurled on them by the English, who covered the summits of the neighbouring rocks. The military experience of Bruce suggested an expedient which speedily determined the victory in his favour. A party of men from Argyle and the Isles were ordered to climb the rocks, at some distance from the scene of action, and to attack the flank and rear of the enemy, posted on the summit. The Highlanders, accustomed to mountain warfare, quickly reached the ridge of the hill, and drove the English from the heights, with great slaughter,‡ while Douglas and Randolph forced the pass and made way for the main body of the Scottish army. The English fled in all directions, abandoning their camp-baggage and treasure to the enemy. Edward with difficulty escaped to York, closely pursued by the Steward of Scotland, who chivalrously displayed his banner before the town for a whole day. The privy seal of England was again lost in the confusion of the flight, and several prisoners of note were taken, among whom were John of Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, and Henry de Sully, Grand Butler of France. Sully and other French knights were courteously received by Bruce, and dismissed without ransom, and enriched with presents;* but Richmond, in consequence, it is said, of the opprobrious terms in which he had spoken of Bruce,† was committed to prison, and only liberated, after long captivity, if we may credit the account of Barbour, on the payment of twenty thousand pounds,—a sum equivalent to three hundred thousand pounds of our modern money. The Scots, after tarrying for one night at Biland to divide the spoil, marched into Yorkshire, and carried their devastations to the banks of the Humber. In retaliation of the severities inflicted on Melrose and Dryburgh, they spoiled the religious houses of the district, or compelled them to purchase exemption, by the payment of large sums of money. About the middle of October the Scottish army at length returned to their own country with a large and valuable booty, and great numbers of captives, both of low and high degree, and driving before them immense herds of cattle, belonging to the plundered provinces.

Defeat of Edward at Biland.

The difficulties and anxieties of the English monarch were greatly aggravated by repeated acts of treachery on the part of his nobility. About this period he discovered that his northern barons had, without his knowledge, entered into negotiations with the Scots, and that Hartela,—who, for his services in the overthrow of the Lancastrian faction, had been created Earl of Carlisle,—was at the head of this new and extensive confederacy. It appeared, on investigation, that Hartela had held a secret interview with King Robert, and had come under a solemn engagement to maintain him

Treachery of the Earl of Carlisle.

* Knighton, p. 2542. † Barbour, p. 372.
‡ Barbour, p. 376.

* "The Frankys knychts men takyn had,
Were brought right there before the king,
And he made them fair welcoming;
And said, 'I wot right weill that ye
For your great worship and bounty,
Come for to see the fighting here,
For since ye in the country were,
Your strength, your worship, and your might,
Would nocht let you eschew the fight;
And since that cause led you theretill,
And neither wrath nor evil will,
As friends ye shall received be,
Where all time welcome here ye be.'
They kneeled and thankyt him greatly,
And he gart treat them courteously;
And lang while with him, them had he,
And did them honour and bounty;
And when they yearned to their land,
To the king of France in presand,
He sent them quit, but ransom free,
And great gifts to them gave he."
Barbour, pp. 378, 379.

† Ibid. Edward gave him licence to sell part of his lands, and ordered his tenants to contribute toward the payment of "the large and intolerable ransom" which was demanded for his liberation. Foed. vol. iv. pp. 15, 16.

and his heirs in the right and possession of the entire kingdom of Scotland. On the discovery of the plot he was arrested and brought to trial, and, having been found guilty, he suffered the death of a traitor, after being degraded from his rank and honours, and having his gilt spurs hacked off his heels.*

A thirteen years' truce agreed to.

The successive disasters which he had suffered, together with the divided state of his kingdom and the treachery of many of his nobles, made the English monarch anxious for a cessation of hostilities; and soon after, a thirteen years' truce was concluded by the mediation of Henry de Sully, Grand Butler of France, who had been taken prisoner by the Scots at the battle of Biland Abbey.† But Edward's conduct was marked by dissimulation and bad faith, and he endeavoured, in various ways, both to excite disturbances in Scotland and to inflame the mind of the Pope against the Scottish king.‡ To counteract these insidious designs, King Robert despatched to Rome his nephew, Randolph, who conducted this difficult negotiation with such address, that the pontiff was induced to address a bull to Bruce with the title of King. In a curious and characteristic narrative of this negotiation, which the Pope transmitted to Edward, he apologises for this step, by alleging, that Bruce's claims could not be strengthened, nor that of the King of England impaired by it; that he was earnestly desirous of reconciliation and peace; and that Edward well knew that the papal bull, issued for the attainment of these salutary ends, would never be received in Scotland if it were addressed to Bruce under any other appellation than that of King. "I therefore exhort you," he adds, "in your royal wisdom, that you would be pleased patiently to suffer me to address the said Robert under the title of royal dignity."§ Edward, however, was by no means satisfied with this apology, and he remonstrated against the concession which the Pope had made, as at once dishonourable to the church, and highly prejudicial to the claims of the English crown; complaining, with great show of reason, that the Scottish nation would naturally conclude that the Pope intended to acknowledge the right where he had given the title; and reminding his holiness, that it was an avowed maxim of papal policy, that no alteration in the condition of the parties, should be made during the continuance of the truce.‖

Embassy of Randolph to the papal court.

Randolph, whose conduct in this delicate negotiation, as Lord Hailes remarks, presents him in the character of a consummate politician, previous to his return repaired to the court of France, and renewed the ancient alliance between that kingdom and Scotland.¶ Meanwhile, the commissioners appointed to negotiate a lasting peace between England and Scotland, held frequent conferences, for the purpose of considering the terms proposed; but, after many tedious discussions, the treaty was ultimately broken off, because, as Edward alleged, the Scottish commissioners insisted upon conditions degrading to the English crown, and absolutely refused to submit the disputed articles to be argued in the presence and under the mediation of the Pope.*

Treaty of peace broken off.

While negotiations were pending with the papal court, a son was born to King Robert, at Dunfermline,† who afterwards succeeded his father under the title of David II. Another auspicious event occurred shortly after,—the marriage of Christian Bruce, the king's sister, and widow of the brave Sir Christopher Seton, to the famous Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, the companion of Wallace, and afterwards regent of the kingdom.‡ Scotland was now enjoying the blessings of peace and good government, and its prosperity was steadily increasing, when the national happiness was overclouded by the death of the king's son-in-law, the valiant Steward. Barbour, who has feelingly commemorated his many virtues and high promise of renown, states, that when his impending dissolution became evident, after devout confession and repentance, he received the sacraments of the church in due form, and expired like a good Christian. His gallant behaviour in the memorable battle of Bannockburn, when a mere youth, and his successful defence of Berwick against a powerful army of the English, led by their king in person, had gained him a high reputation among the Scottish warriors of that period. His untimely death caused deep and universal lamentation.§

Birth of David II., 5th March, 1323.

Death of the Steward, 9th April, 1326.

About this period, Randolph, who had been sent ambassador to the court of France, concluded, at Corbeil, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, in which it was agreed to make common cause in all future wars between England and either of the contracting parties; but with this reservation, that King Robert should be free from the effects of this engagement so long as the truce with England lasted.‖

Treaty with France.

In consequence of the recent changes in the royal family, a parliament was held at Cambuskenneth (July, 1326), in which oaths of fealty were taken to the infant Prince David, and failing him and

Oath of fealty taken to Prince David.

* Kerr's Hist. of Bruce, vol. ii. p. 289.

† Hailes' Annals, vol. ii. p. 134; Rymer Foed. vol. iii. p. 1003.

‡ Hailes' Annals, vol. ii. pp. 136, 137.

§ Ibid. pp. 138—142; Rymer Foed. vol. iv. p. 29.

‖ Ibid. p. 46.

¶ Fordun, vol. ii. p. 279.

* Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 333.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. v. ‡ Ibid. chap. xii.

§ Then men might hear men greet (weep) and cry;
And many a knight and many a lady,
Making apart right evil cheer,
So did they all that ever they were:
All men him moaned commonaly,
For of his eild (age) he was worthy.
When they long while their dule had made,
The corpse to Paisley have they had,
And there with great solemnity,
And with great dule erdyit (entombed) was he.
Barbour, p. 386.

‖ Kerr's Hist. of Bruce, vol. ii. p. 342.

his heirs, to Robert Stewart, son of the deceased Walter Stewart and Marjory, the daughter of the king by his first queen.* The same parliament granted to the king a tenth of all the rents of the lay-lands in the kingdom, to be levied according to the valuation which was followed during the reign of Alexander III. It is worthy of notice, that, on this occasion, the representatives of the royal burghs appear, for the first time, to have been recognized as forming a third estate in the national parliament;—a sure sign of the increasing importance of the cities and towns.†

Deposition of Edward II., A.D. 1327.

In the year 1327 a revolution took place in the government of England, through the agency of the Queen Isabella and her minion Mortimer; the weak and unfortunate Edward II. was deposed, and soon after murdered, and his son, Edward III., then a youth of fourteen, was called to the throne. The council of regency, who carried on the government during the minority of the king, while professing the most pacific intentions, acted towards Bruce in an insidious and hostile manner; and he, provoked by their repeated instances of bad faith, resolved to take advantage of the favourable opportunity afforded by the internal disturbances of England, either to renew the war, or to obtain an advantageous and permanent peace. The English government was still determined not to recognize the independence of Scotland, or the title of Bruce to the crown. The negotiations for the conclusion of a peace between the two kingdoms was therefore broken off, and preparations were made on both sides for the prosecution of the war. Edward III. issued a proclamation, declaring that he had received certain information that the King of the Scots had commanded a formidable army to assemble on the borders, before the 29th of May, and summoning the whole military array of the kingdom to meet him at Newcastle by that day, to repel the threatened invasion. A reinforcement was sent to the garrison of Carlisle, the key of the western borders; and a naval force was also ordered to be in readiness to be employed against the Scots. Soon after this, King Robert sent a formal defiance to the young English monarch, and the herald was commanded to declare the truce at an end, and to intimate that the Scots were about to lay England waste with fire and sword.‡

Truce with England broken off.

Bruce himself, though only fifty-three years of age, had now become very infirm, and about this time was attacked by an inveterate disease,—then termed the leprosy,—which prevented him from taking the field in person;§ but the command of the invading army was intrusted to the famous leaders, Randolph and Douglas, whose experience, and combined courage and prudence, rendered them peculiarly fitted for such an enterprise. The Scottish forces, according to Froissart, consisted of three thousand men-at-arms, knights, and squires, well armed, and mounted upon good war-horses, and twenty thousand light-armed cavalry, mounted on ponies, or hardy little hackneys, which could subsist upon the coarsest food, and support every fatigue. This picturesque old chronicler has given a most graphic description of the Scottish equipments, and mode of warfare in this campaign. "These Scottishmen," says he, "are brave, and exceeding hardy, through their constant wearing of arms and experience in war. When they invade England, they often march twenty, or even twenty-four miles, in a single day and night. All are on horseback, except only the rabble of followers, who are afoot. The knights and squires are well mounted on large coursers, or war-horses, but the commons and country people have only small hackneys, or ponies. They use no carriages to attend their army, and consequently carry no provision of bread and wine along with them. Such is their sobriety, that they content themselves for a long time with flesh, half sodden, without bread, and with water unmixed with wine. They have no occasion for pots or kettles, as they contrive to dress their victuals after a manner peculiar to themselves, knowing that they shall always find abundance of cattle, in their enemy's country. When they have slain and skinned the cattle, they make a kind of kettles of the raw hides, with the hair on, which they suspend on four stakes over fires, with the hairy side outmost, and in these they boil part of the flesh in water, and they roast the remainder by means of wooden spits, hung upon wooden spit-racks, and disposed around the fires. Besides, they make for themselves a species of shoes, or brogues, of the same raw hides, with the hair still on them. Each person carries, between his saddle and the crupper, a flat plate of iron, and a little bag of oatmeal trussed behind him. When,—by eating flesh cooked as before described, and without salt,—they find their stomachs weakened and uncomfortable, they put this plate upon the fire, and, heating it, bake thereon their oatmeal cakes, wherewith to strengthen their stomachs. Faring in this hardy manner, it is not wonderful that the Scots should be able to make longer marches than any other troops, being altogether unincumbered with baggage and provisions."*

Character of the Scottish troops.

Invasion of England by Randolph and Douglas.

The rendezvous of the English army ultimately took place at York. It consisted of sixty-two thousand men, of whom eight thousand were knights and squires, excellently mounted, and armed, both man and horse, in steel; fifteen thousand were lighter armed cavalry. To these were added fifteen thousand infantry, and twenty-four thousand archers. In this magnificent host were included

Numbers and character of the English army.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xii.
† Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 345.
‡ Froissart, vol. i. chap. xvi.; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 146.
§ Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 357; Froissart, vol. i. chap. xxiv.

* Froissart, vol. i. chap. xvii.

five hundred men-at-arms, who had been brought from Hainault at a great expense.* But a furious quarrel, which took place at York, between these foreign auxiliaries and the English archers, caused a good deal of bloodshed, and appears to have produced considerable embarrassment during the whole expedition.† Before Edward could put his army in motion, he received information that the Scots, under Randolph and Douglas, had broken into England by the western border, and were laying waste the whole country with fire and sword. Orders were instantly given that the troops should arrange themselves, under their respective banners, and set out for the purpose of chastising the invaders. They reached Durham on the fourth day, and, as they were then in the hourly expectation of falling in with the enemy, they marched in order of battle,—the infantry being divided into three columns, each having two wings of five hundred heavy-armed cavalry. They could learn no tidings of the Scots, however, until they entered Northumberland, where they perceived melancholy proofs of their presence, in the smoke and flames of the villages and hamlets, which the invaders had burned in their progress.‡ From morning, "even till the vesper hour," the English army marched on in search of the Scots, tracing their progress by these "melancholy beacons," without being able to obtain even a glimpse of their nimble foes, who appear to have withdrawn towards the west, among "the savage deserts and bad mountains and valleys"—as Froissart calls them—of Westmoreland and Cumberland. At length, after a fruitless and fatiguing pursuit of three days, through a country which had been rendered a blackened and smoking desert, the English, in despair of overtaking the fleet invaders, marched back to the Tyne, in the hope of being able to cut off the retreat of the Scots into their own country. The cavalry reached that river towards nightfall, and crossed it, with great difficulty, at a place called Haidon, above Hexham.§ They remained all night under arms, lying on the bare ground, each man beside his horse, with the reins in his hand, ready to mount at a moment's warning. They had neither forage for their horses nor food for themselves, except a single loaf, which each trooper had carried upon his horse crupper, and which the rain and the sweat from the horse had rendered almost uneatable. The rain descended in torrents, and swelled the river to such a height, that the infantry and light troops, who reached the bank on the following day, found it impossible to cross. The soldiers were reduced to extreme distress from the scarcity of provisions and forage, and the total want of shelter, and they endeavoured to protect themselves from the weather by huts constructed of the boughs of trees, whilst the horses obtained a scanty subsistence by cropping the green leaves. After remaining on the bank of the Tyne for eight days, during which time they suffered such hardships and privations that symptoms of mutiny began to appear among the soldiers, they re-crossed the river and set out again in quest of the Scottish army. In this perplexing situation Edward issued a proclamation, offering knighthood and a grant of land of a hundred pounds yearly rental, to any person who should bring him certain information of the place where he might find the enemy.* Sixteen knights and squires immediately rode off, in different directions, in quest of the Scottish army, and on the 31st of July one of them, Thomas de Rokeby, came into the camp at Blanchland, on the river Derwent, and claimed the reward which the king had offered. He had been taken prisoner by the Scots, who were encamped only a few miles off, and had been brought before their leaders, who professed to be equally ignorant of the position of the English army,—though this may well be doubted,—and had dismissed him with orders to inform his countrymen where they were to be found. On reaching the place, however, which they did next day about mid-day, they found the Scots strongly posted on the slope of a steep hill, at the foot of which ran the rapid river Wear, full of huge stones and swollen by the late rains.† As this position was considered to be impregnable, the English king sent a herald to the Scottish leaders, with the proposal that they should either draw back their forces and allow him to cross the river, and to draw up his army in order of battle on the other side, or, if they preferred it, that they should cross the river, and try their fortune with him on the plain, where he would afford them full opportunity to form their battle. But Randolph and Douglas only laughed at this bravado. "The king and barons of England," said they, "know that we are in their kingdom, which we have burned and ravaged everywhere on our march. If displeased therewith, let them come and chastise us if they choose, for here we mean to remain as long as we please."‡ The two armies continued facing each other for several days, the English vainly endeavouring to induce the Scots to leave their strong position. Every night the soldiers lay upon their arms on the bare ground, holding their horses by the reins, and destitute of forage or fuel; while, on the other hand, the Scots, after stationing their watches, retired to their huts, and, lighting up a prodigious number of fires, from dark till dawn kept "horning with their horns, and making such

Ravages of the Scottish forces.

Privations of the English army.

The position of the Scots.

* Froissart, vol. i. chap. xvi.; Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. pp. 360, 361.

† Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 375.

‡ Froissart, vol. i. chap. xvii.

§ Froissart says, that they learned from the country-folk that their encampment was fourteen leagues from Newcastle, and eleven from Carlisle: Haidon is about twenty-five English miles from the former, and thirty from the latter.—See Froissart, vol. i. chap. xix.

* Rymer Foed. vol. iv. p. 312.

† Froissart, vol. i. chap. xix.

‡ Ibid. Barbour says, that in the course of this day two novelties were seen by the Scots,—crested helmets, which they greatly admired, and war-cracks (cannon), which they had never heard before.—p. 392.

a noise, as if all the great devils from hell had been there." During the day frequent skirmishes took place, in which a number on both sides were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The English had learnt, from some of their prisoners, that the Scottish army had neither bread nor wine, nor any provisions except cattle, and it was their intention, —according to Froissart,—"to hold the Scots there, in manner as besieged, thinking to have famished them." For three days and nights the English army remained on the bank of the river, opposite the Scottish encampment, in the expectation that the scarcity of provisions would compel the invaders to quit their impregnable position. But on the fourth morning the camp of the Scots was found deserted and empty. They had secretly decamped during the night, and had taken up a new position, on the Wear, even stronger than the former, and masked by a wood called Stanhope Park, which enabled them to conceal their operations. The English also moved their encampment, and took up a position on a hill opposite the Scots, so that the two armies continued to confront each other as before. On the second night after their arrival, a daring attack of Douglas had nearly proved fatal to the young king.* About midnight, with a chosen body of four hundred horse, he passed the river by a ford at a considerable distance above the English position, and gained, unperceived, the rear of their camp, which appears to have been carelessly guarded. On approaching the outposts, he assumed the manner of an English officer going his rounds, and called out, "Ha, St. George! is there no watch here?" He was thus enabled, without detection, to penetrate into the camp,† and even to reach the royal quarters, when he and his men made a furious assault upon the enemy, shouting out, "A Douglas! A Douglas! English thieves, ye shall all die!" and, in a brief space, slew three hundred men. Douglas himself forced his way to the royal tent, cut the tent-ropes, and would have carried off the young king, but for the brave resistance of the chaplain, and others of the household, who fell in their master's defence, and thus gave him time to escape.

Daring exploit of Douglas.

Being thus disappointed in his attempt on the king's person, Douglas cut his way through the gathering crowds of his enemies, and, with very inconsiderable loss, returned in safety to the Scottish camp. On being asked by Randolph what speed they had made, he replied, "We have drawn blood." "Had we all gone together," said the earl, "we should have discomfited them every one." "That might well have been," replied Douglas, "but the risk would have been too great." Randolph then recommended that they should hazard a battle in the open field; but Douglas insisted that it would be most imprudent for them to encounter an enemy so much superior in numbers, and daily increasing, well supplied with provisions, and fighting on their own soil. "We will deal with them," said he, "as the fox did with the fisherman." "How was that?" replied the earl. "A fisherman," said Douglas, "had made a hut by the side of a river, that he might follow his occupation of fishing. One night he had gone out to look after his nets, leaving a small fire in his hut, and when he returned he saw by the light of the fire a fox devouring one of the salmon he had taken. 'Robber!' said the fisherman, drawing his sword, and placing himself in the doorway of the cabin, 'you shall not escape.' The fox in great perplexity looked for some hole to get out at, but saw none, whereupon he pulled down with his teeth a mantle which was lying on the bed, and dragged it across the fire. The fisherman ran to snatch his mantle from the fire, the fox flew out at the door, leaving the poor man lamenting the loss of his 'gude salmaund,' and the destruction of his mantle, while the fox got scaithless away. We are the fox," continued Douglas, "and yon host the fisherman that bars the way; but we shall disappoint them and make good our retreat in a manner they little expect."*

He then proceeded to explain the plan which he had formed to cover the retreat of the Scottish army, which was approved of by Randolph. The English forces, which were three times the number of the Scots, guarded the passage of the river Wear in front, and rendered it impossible for them to move in that direction. In the rear of the Scottish camp, however, there was an extensive morass, impassable for heavy-armed cavalry, but capable of being crossed without much difficulty by the hardy little hackneys of the Scots; and through this they resolved to effect their retreat, having previously prepared a number of hurdles, made of wands or boughs matted together, for the purpose of facilitating their passage over the softer places of the bog. On the evening which they had selected for their departure, they lighted up large fires throughout their encampment, and kept up a great noise of horns and shouting, as if they were feasting and carousing. But soon after nightfall they broke up their camp, and marched off, leaving their fires burning. On reaching the morass they dismounted, and throwing down the hurdles which they had prepared

Skilful retreat of the Scots into their own country.

* Froissart, vol i. chap. xix.; Barbour, p. 397.

† Barbour relates the following incident, which occurred as they made their way through the camp:—

"An Englishman that lay beekand[1]
Him by the fire said to his feer,[2]
'I wit not what may tide us here,
But right a great grewing[3] me takes,
I dread sae for the Black Douglas.'
And he that heard him said, 'Perfay[4]
You shall have cause, if that I may.'
With that, with all his company,
He rushed in on them hardily,
And the palzions[5] down he bare."
Barbour, p. 396.

[1] Basking. [2] Comrade. [3] Shuddering. [4] By my faith. [5] Pavilions; tents.

* This conversation, which wears a striking air of verisimilitude, is minutely detailed by Barbour, pp. 399, 400.

for this purpose, they passed over the water runs and broken parts of the bog in safety, carefully removing these temporary bridges, so as to prevent the enemy from pursuing them.* They had advanced several miles on their way homewards before the English were aware that they had quitted their position. The day before this night-march, a Scottish knight had been taken prisoner by the English, and, being strictly interrogated, he informed them that the Scottish soldiers had received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march in the evening, under the banner of Douglas. Fully expecting from this information that another night attack was about to be made on their camp, the English army drew up on foot, in order of battle, and lay all night under arms. Early in the morning two Scottish trumpeters, who had fallen into the hands of the scouts, were brought into the camp, and reported that the Scottish army had decamped before midnight, and were already advanced several miles on their way to Scotland. The English leaders, however, suspected some stratagem, and kept their men under arms till broad daylight, when some scouts, who had been sent across the river, returned with the information that the camp was entirely evacuated. On examining the deserted camp, there were found in it above five hundred slaughtered cattle, and more than three hundred caldrons or kettles, made of their skins, suspended on stakes, and full of meat and water ready for boiling, with about a thousand spit-racks with meat on them ready for roasting, and ten thousand pairs of old shoes, or brogues, made of raw hides, with the hair still upon them. There was no living thing found in the camp, except five English prisoners, stript naked and tied to trees,† whom the Scots had left, with an insulting message to the English king, that "if he were displeased with what they had done, he might come and revenge himself in Scotland." Edward was so deeply mortified at the disastrous termination of this campaign, that he burst into tears when he heard that his enemies had escaped. It was felt that any attempt to overtake the Scots would have been utterly hopeless. Unmolested by the enemy, they pursued their march with all expedition, and regained their own country in safety, laden with the plunder which they had collected during their successful inroad. The English army, on the other hand, suffered severely from the privations and fatigues to which they had been subjected during this brief but unfortunate campaign. The foreign cavalry, especially, were reduced to a state of great wretchedness, and on reaching York the greater part of their horses died, or became unserviceable.* The remains of this splendid force soon after returned to their own country, and the rest of the English army was disbanded.

It had now become apparent to the English king and his advisers, that all attempts to obtain ascendancy over the Scottish people must prove abortive; and the disastrous issue of the recent expedition, the impoverishment of the public exchequer, by the long war with Scotland, and the desolated condition of their country, made them desirous of a lasting peace. It became evident, too, that nothing less than a definite and permanent treaty would put a stop to the devastating inroads of the Scots; for, only a few weeks after the return of Randolph and Douglas to their own country, King Robert in person invaded England by the eastern marches, at the head of an army, which, according to Barbour, included every person in Scotland able to bear arms. One division of the army, under Bruce himself, sat down before Norham; a second, under Randolph and Douglas, laid siege to Alnwick Castle; while a third detachment was commanded to lay waste the open country of Northumberland.† But hostilities were speedily interrupted by the arrival in the Scottish camp of commissioners with powers "to treat of peace and concord with the magnates, nobles, and others of Scotland," and to make a proposal to the Scottish king of a marriage between David, his only son, and Joanna, the sister of the King of England. These overtures were readily listened to by Robert, who, on his part, labouring under "a heavy malady," and seeing that his only son was still an infant, was equally anxious to terminate the war by an honourable peace; and, in the meantime, a truce was agreed upon during the continuance of the negotiations. Bruce required, as a preliminary basis of any treaty between the kingdoms, that the independence of Scotland should be recognized; and this important concession was finally made in a parliament held at York, on the 1st of March, 1328, in which it was agreed, that the English monarch should renounce, fully and for ever, all claims of dominion and superiority over Scotland. It was declared by him, in the instrument of renunciation, that, "Whereas we, and others of our predecessors, Kings of England, have endeavoured to obtain a right of dominion and superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, and have thereby been the cause of long and grievous wars between the two kingdoms; we, therefore, considering the numerous

Renewed invasion of England by the Scots.

The English make overtures for a peace.

Renunciation of all claims of superiority on the part of England.

* Barbour, p. 402; Froissart, vol. i. chap. xix.

† Froissart says, that three of these prisoners had "their legs all broken,"—*les jambes toutes rompues.* Kerr, in his Life of Bruce (vol. ii. p. 423), contends, that the language of Froissart implies nothing more than that the legs of these unfortunate men were chafed and hurt by the ligatures; and he argues, that if their legs had been broken by the Scots, to prevent their escape, or from wanton cruelty, there was no need of tying them, in that disabled condition; and, in further confirmation of this view, Froissart adds, that the prisoners were untied, and allowed to go away.

* Fordun, vol. iv. p. 304.

† Barbour says, that Bruce, quitting the portion of his army which blockaded Norham, joined the third division, and amused himself by hunting from park to park, as if all the country had been his own.—p. 405.

slaughters, sins, and bloodshed, the destruction of churches, and other evils brought upon the inhabitants of both kingdoms by such wars, and the many advantages which would accrue to the subjects of both realms, if, by the establishment of a firm and perpetual peace, they were secured against all rebellious designs, have, by the assent of the prelates, barons, and commons of our kingdom, in parliament assembled, granted, and hereby do grant, for us, and our heirs and successors whatsoever, that the kingdom of Scotland shall remain for ever to the magnificent Prince and Lord, Robert, by the grace of God the illustrious King of Scots, our ally and dear friend, and to his heirs and successors, free, entire, and unmolested, separated from the kingdom of England by its respective marches, as in the time of Alexander, King of Scotland, of good memory, lately deceased, without any subjection, servitude, claim, or demand whatsoever. And we hereby renounce and convey to the said King of Scotland, his heirs and successors, whatsoever right we, or our ancestors in times past, have laid claim to in any way over the kingdom of Scotland. And by these same presents we renounce and declare void, for ourselves and our heirs and successors, all obligations, agreements, or treaties whatsoever, touching the subjection of the kingdom of Scotland and the inhabitants thereof, entered into between our predecessors and any of the kings thereof, or their subjects, whether clergy or laity.

"And if there shall anywhere be found any letters, charters, muniments, or public instruments, which shall have been framed touching the said obligations, agreements, or compacts, we declare that they shall be null and void, and of no effect whatsoever. And, in order to the faithful observation thereof in all time coming, we have given full power and special authority to our faithful and well-beloved cousin, Henry de Percy, and to William le Zouche, of Ashby, to take oath upon our soul for the performance of the same.

"In testimony whereof, we have given these our letters patent, at York, on the 1st of March, and in the second year of our reign. By the king himself, and his council in parliament." *

This important preliminary having been satisfactorily adjusted, negotiations for a permanent peace proceeded amicably and with great dispatch. The treaty was finally concluded at Edinburgh, on the 17th of March, 1327, and verified on the part of the English Government, in a parliament held at Northampton, on the 4th of May, 1328. It was stipulated, that there should be a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; for the confirmation of which, it was agreed that a marriage should take place between David, eldest son and heir of the King of Scotland, and Joanna, sister to the King of England. In the event of Joanna's death before marriage, the King of England engaged to provide a suitable match for David from his nearest in blood; and in the event of David's death previous to the marriage, the King of England, his heirs and successors, are to have the right to marry the next heir to the throne of Scotland, either to Joanna, if allowed by the laws of the church, or to some other princess of the blood-royal of England. The two kings, with their heirs and successors, pledged themselves to be good friends and faithful allies, and to assist each other. Saving to the King of the Scots the alliance between him and the King of France, and, in the event of a war in Ireland, against the King of England, or in Man, or the other Scottish islands, against the King of the Scots, the two monarchs mutually engaged not to assist the rebels. All writings, obligations, instruments, or other muniments relative to the subjection of the people or lands of Scotland to the King of England, and which are annulled by the letters patent of the King of England, as well as all other instruments and charters respecting the freedom of Scotland, as soon as they were found, were to be delivered up to the King of the Scots; and the King of England engaged faithfully to give his assistance in order that the processes of excommunication in the Court of Rome and elsewhere, against the King of the Scots, his kingdom and subjects, should be recalled and annulled.* It was agreed, moreover, on the part of the king, the prelates, and the nobles of Scotland, that the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling should be paid by them, within three years, at three separate terms; and that, in the event of failure, they should submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the Papal Chamber. And, finally, it was stipulated, that the laws of the marches were to be faithfully observed on both sides. It appears, from a writ under the privy seal to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, that, though not mentioned in the treaty, it was also agreed that the famous Stone of Destiny, on which the Kings of Scotland were wont to sit at their coronation, should be restored to the Scots.† But when this trophy was about to be taken from Westminster Abbey, where it had been deposited by Edward I., the mob of London rose in a riotous manner and prevented its removal.‡ The treaty was indeed in the highest degree unpopular in England. The peace was termed by the English histo-

Terms of the treaty.

Unpopularity of the treaty in England.

* There is a copy of this important deed in Rymer, vol. iv. p. 337; another in Fordun, book xiii. chap. xii.; and a third in a public instrument of Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, copied by him 17th March, 1415.—See Hailes, vol. ii. p. 157.

* That these negotiations for a complete reconciliation between Bruce and the papal see were ultimately successful, appears from the fact, that a bull was addressed by Pope John XXII. to Robert, King of Scots, authorizing the coronation and holy unction of him and his heirs and successors, Kings of Scotland, by the Bishop of St. Andrews for the time being. This deed is dated 13th June, 1329,—six days after the decease of King Robert. It is deposited in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.—Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 472.

† Hailes, vol. ii. p. 158; Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 526 (Appendix). The original duplicate of the treaty is now preserved among the archives in the Register House, in Edinburgh.

‡ Chron. of Lanercost, p. 261.

rians ignominious, and the marriage a base alliance; and the national pride was deeply wounded by the renunciation of the claim of superiority over Scotland, after such a vast amount of blood and treasure had been lavished in the vain attempt to make it good. The treaty, however, was not merely just in itself, but was rendered necessary by the circumstances in which the English nation was at that time placed,—the exhaustion of the public exchequer, and the divided and weakened state of the country, under the sway of a youth of sixteen. Motives of private interest may, indeed, have influenced the Queen Mother and Mortimer in concluding a peace; but though glorious to the Scottish king and people, the terms were in no degree derogatory to the honour of England. "It is fortunate for a nation," says Lord Hailes, "when the selfish views of its rulers chance to coincide with the public interest. They who censure pacific measures are generally those persons who are exempted by their condition from encountering the toils and dangers of war, or from contributing to the intolerable exactions which are necessarily occasioned by its expense. No peace is ever adequate to the sanguine expectations of the vulgar, and, through some strange fatality, their expectations are no less sanguine after a long series of disasters, than after the most signal and uninterrupted success." *

Marriage of Prince David and the Princess Joanna.

One of the leading articles of the treaty of Northampton was, that a marriage should take place between David, the heir to the Scottish throne, then only five years of age, and the Princess Joanna, then in her eleventh year. In spite of the tender age of the bride and bridegroom, this part of the treaty was carried into almost immediate effect. The Queen Dowager, attended by a splendid retinue, carried her daughter to Berwick, where she was received by her young bridegroom, accompanied by Randolph and Douglas, whom the king, detained by illness, had sent as his representatives, and there the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence, on the 22nd of July, 1328.† With the princess, whom the Scots surnamed "Joanna-make-peace," was delivered up, in terms of the treaty, the Ragman Roll, containing the names of all those Scotsmen who had paid homage to Edward I., as well as other important charters and muniments which that monarch had carried out of Scotland. Thus, after a sanguinary war of thirty-two years' duration, Scotland was raised from a state of almost hopeless prostration to peace and prosperity, and was at length recognized as a free and independent kingdom. This great consummation was not long survived by him to whom, under God, the result was chiefly due. The king, whose constitution had been broken by the fatigues and hardships of his early wars, began to droop soon after he saw the liberty of his country permanently established, and was attacked by "a heavy malady," which in these days was termed a leprosy. He spent the two last years of his life in peace and retirement at Cardross, on the eastern shore of the Frith of Clyde, near Dunbarton. He devoted himself to ship-building, architecture, and gardening, improving and enlarging his rural palace, and planting fruit trees. He delighted in hawking, and especially in sailing on the beautiful estuary of the Clyde. It appears from the accounts of his chamberlain, that he kept a lion for his diversion, and also maintained a court-jester, or fool, and that he entertained his nobility with great hospitality, and was a liberal benefactor to the poor.* On the auspicious marriage of his son he quitted his seclusion to welcome his youthful daughter-in-law at Edinburgh; but finding his illness gaining ground, he immediately returned to Cardross to die. Shortly before his death, an interesting and affecting scene occurred, which has been minutely narrated both by Froissart and Barbour.

Death of King Robert—

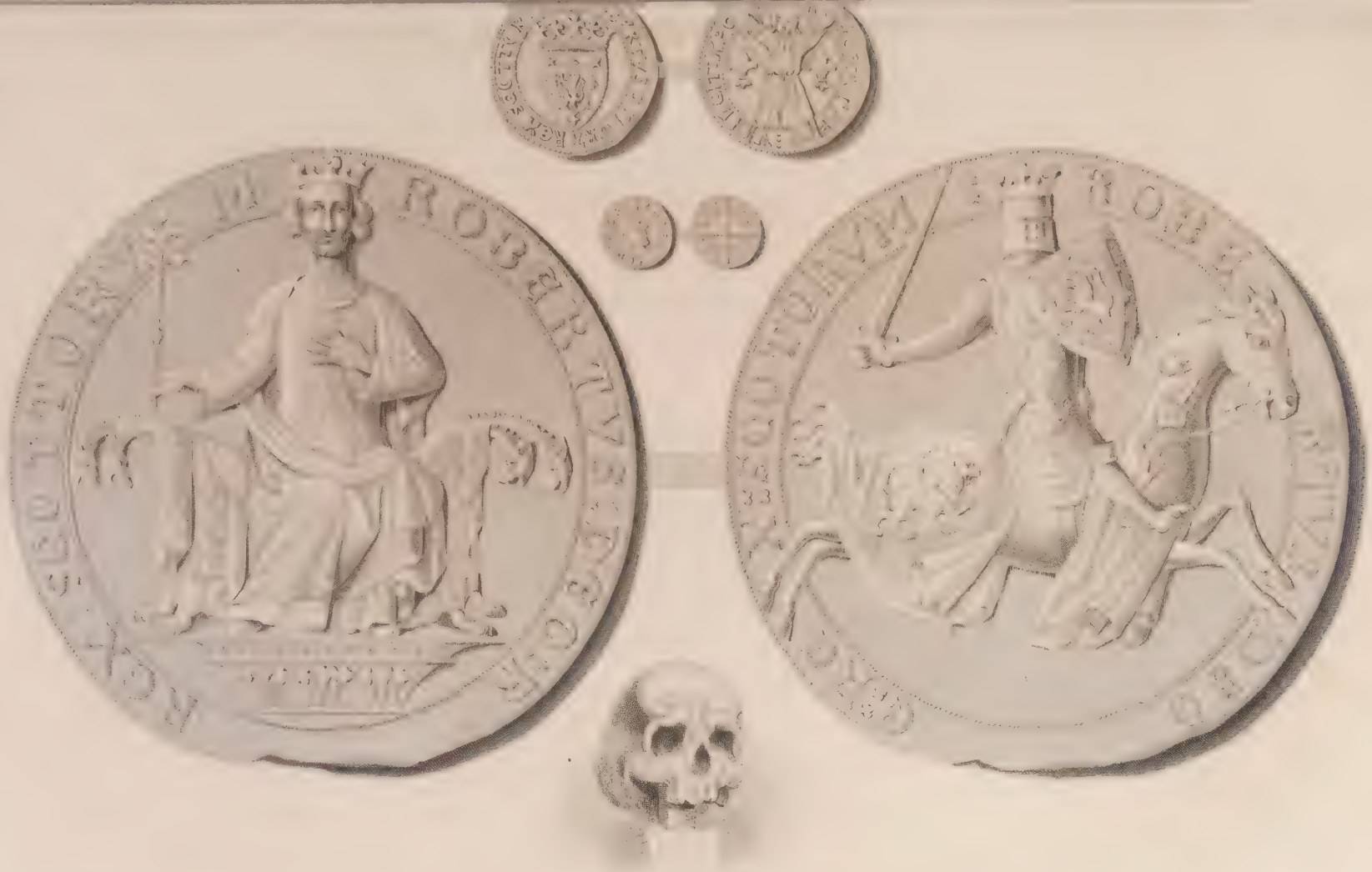
"It happened," says the former, "that King Robert of Scotland was right sore aged, and feeble; for he was grievously oppressed with the great sickness, so that there was no way with him but death; and when he felt that his end drew near, he sent for such barons and lords of his realm as he most trusted, and very affectionately entreated and commanded them, on their fealty, that they should faithfully keep his kingdom for David his son; and when this prince came of age, that they should obey him, and place the crown on his head. After which, he called to him the brave and gentle knight, Sir James Douglas, and said, before the rest of the courtiers—'Sir James, my dear friend, none knows better than you how great labour and suffering I have undergone in my day, for the maintenance of the rights of this kingdom; and when I was hardest beset I made a vow, which it now grieves me deeply that I have not accomplished. I vowed to God, that if I should live to see an end of my wars, and be enabled to govern this realm in peace and security, I would then set out in person, and carry on war against the enemies of my Lord and Saviour, to the best of my power. Never has my heart ceased to bend to this point; but our Lord has not consented thereto; for I have had my hands full in my days, and now, at the last, I am seized with this grievous sickness, so that, as you all see, I have nothing to do but to die. And since my body cannot go thither, and accomplish that which my heart hath so much desired, I have resolved to send my heart there in place of my body, to fulfil my vow; and now, since in all my realm I know not any knight more hardy than yourself, or more thoroughly furnished with all knightly qualities for the accomplishment of the vow, in place of myself, therefore I entreat thee,

—his request on his death-bed.

* Annals, vol. ii. pp. 161, 162.

† Barbour, p. 407; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xiv.; Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 468.

* Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. pp. 472, 473; Chamberlain's Accounts, vol. i. pp. 29, 38, 39, 40 41, 46.


ROBERTVS DEI GRATIA REX SCOTTORVM ET DOMINVS HIBERNIE
ROBERTVS DEI GRATIA REX SCOTTORVM ET DOMINVS HIBERNIE

my dear and tried friend, that for the love you bear to me, you will undertake this voyage, and acquit my soul of its debt to my Saviour; for I hold this opinion of your truth and nobleness, that whatever you undertake, I am persuaded you will successfully accomplish; and thus I shall die in peace, provided that you do all that I shall tell you. I will, then, that as soon as I am dead, you take the heart out of my body, and cause it to be embalmed, and take as much out of my treasure as seems to you sufficient for the expenses of your journey, both for you and your companions; and that you carry my heart along with you, and deposit it in the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, since this poor body cannot go thither. And it is my command, that you do use that royal state and maintenance in your journey, both for yourself and your companions, that into whatever lands or cities you may come, all may know that you have in charge to bear beyond seas the heart of King Robert of Scotland.'

"At these words, all who stood by began to weep; and when Sir James himself was able to reply, he said, 'Ah! most gentle and noble king, a thousand times do I thank you for the great honour you have done me, in making me the depository and bearer of so great and precious a treasure. Most faithfully and willingly, to the best of my power, shall I obey your commands; albeit, I would have you believe, that I think myself but little worthy to achieve so high an enterprise.' 'Ah! gentle knight,' said the king, 'I heartily thank you, provided you promise to do my bidding on the word of a true and loyal knight.' 'Assuredly, my liege, I do promise so,' replied Douglas, 'by the faith which I owe to God, and to the order of knighthood.' 'Now, praise be to God,' said the king, 'for I shall die in peace, since I am assured that the best and most valiant knight of my kingdom has promised to achieve for me that which I myself could never accomplish.' And not long after, this noble king departed this life."*

According to Barbour, the king summoned the lords and prelates of the realm into his presence, before whom he executed his testament, in which he bequeathed large sums of money to the members of various religious fraternities, that they might pray for the salvation of his soul. He then addressed the assembled nobles, expressing his thankfulness that God had given him space to repent † of his sins, and mentioning his vow to go upon an expedition for his soul's safety against the enemies of God. As he now found this impossible, through the near approach of death, he expressed his desire that his heart should be sent thither, and requested them to choose one of their own body, "honest, wise, and wight," who should carry his heart to war against the foes of God. The lords sorrowfully withdrew to another room, and chose "the worthy lord of Douglas" to fulfil the king's wish. When this was made known to Robert, he expressed his cordial approbation of their choice, which had fallen, he said, on the person he most earnestly wished to undertake the intended pilgrimage.*

King Robert's testament—

It was, probably, at the same interview, that the king delivered to his nobles what has been affectionately termed, "The Good King Robert's Testament," containing his last counsels to his people, respecting the best mode of resisting the aggressions of their powerful neighbours. He recommended the Scots always to fight on foot; to put their trust in the mountains, morasses, and woods of their country, instead of walls; to employ, for arms, the bow, the spear, and the battle-axe; to drive their cattle into the fastnesses and narrow glens; to lay waste the plain country by fire; to keep the enemy in a state of perpetual alarm, by loud noises through the night, so that through hunger, and weariness, and continual apprehension, they will retreat with as great affright as if they were defeated in battle. † These sagacious injunctions,—the concentrated wisdom and experience of "The Good King Robert,"—were admirably adapted to the state of the country and the condition of the people; and almost all the subsequent defeats of the Scots may be traced to their neglect of these counsels.

The venerable biographer of Bruce describes, in affecting language, the "great lamentation" which all classes of the Scottish people made over the untimely decease of their sovereign,— strong-bearded men weeping full sore, and wringing their hands, "regretting his worthy bounty, his wit, his strength, his bravery," and, above all, his kindness and courtesy; the dread in which, during his life, they were held by their neighbours, and the high renown they had obtained in foreign countries, through his valour and exploits. "And sekyrly," adds Barbour,—

> "wonder was nane,
> For better governour than he
> Mycht in na countre fundyn be."

There are, indeed, few names in the page of history to compare with Bruce, either as a leader of partizan-war, or as a statesman and a king. His personal qualities peculiarly fitted him for the task to which he was appointed. He was nearly six feet high, broad-shouldered, open-chested, and well proportioned, and possessed of great bodily strength, combined with lightness and activity. He had thick curled hair, a low forehead, and strong and prominent cheek bones. The expression of his countenance was open and cheerful, and his manners, though dignified, were affable and engaging. He was singularly gentle, courteous, and unselfish in his behaviour towards his followers; and

* Froissart, vol. i. chap. xxiv.

† "I thank God that has me sent
Space in this life me to repent;
For through me and my warring
Of blude has been rycht great spilling,
Where mony sackless men were slain."
Barbour, p. 410.

* Barbour, p. 411.

† Ridpath's Border History, p. 290; Fordun, book xii. chap. x.—See Appendix, Note X.

there are few scenes in history more beautiful than the picture which Barbour gives of his efforts to comfort his faithful adherents in their weary wanderings after the defeat at Methven, forgetting his own sufferings in the attempt to alleviate theirs.* His generous treatment of his English prisoners, in spite of the cruel injuries which he had received at the hands of their king and country, reflected equal honour on his sagacity and humanity; and his manly spirit of chivalry caused him to respect the claims even of the humblest and weakest. Adversity tamed the natural impetuosity of his temper, and taught him the lessons of patient endurance, moderation, and perseverance. His personal prowess and military talents were of the highest order, and were always directed by an excellent judgment and strong good sense; he excelled in all the exercises of chivalry; and, even his enemies did not hesitate to admit, that he was one of the three best knights in Europe, during that martial age. He had the sagacity, not only to discover and to train the great abilities of Randolph and Douglas, and the rest of that noble band whose names and exploits are still familiar in the mouths of the Scottish people as household words, but also to turn to account, for the first time, the love of freedom and independence which pervaded the common people, and to form, out of the burghers of the towns, and the yeomen of the low country, that impenetrable phalanx of spearmen, which put to flight the mailed chivalry of England. The sagacity and popular feeling of Bruce were shown, not only in arming the commons, and thus assisting to break down the barriers between them and their old lords and superiors, but also in the encouragement and protection which he afforded to the free burghs. He was, as we have seen, the first sovereign who introduced their representatives into parliament, and thus contributed powerfully to raise into importance the middle class of the community, among whom the spirit of patriotism burned with intense ardour, and who, unlike the great barons and belted knights, were willing to peril the loss of all things, and to fight against all odds, in the high and holy cause of their country's freedom. The war-cry of independence united all classes, with the exception, at first, of the higher nobility, in stubborn opposition to that grinding tyranny by which all were afflicted. Peasant, burgher, and knight, priest and layman, were involved in one common ruin, and all, with one accord, buckled on their armour, and fought for their hearths and altars against the common foe. The various tribes inhabiting Scotland,—Scots, Picts, Saxons, and Strathclyde Britons, hitherto divided from each other by language and manners, were now, for the first time, furnished with a principle of union, round which they could rally, and felt the glow of one common feeling, which commanded universal sympathy. Their petty distinctions and domestic differences were all melted down by the fire of liberty, and the necessity of strenuous resistance to oppression; "and the state, which, consisting of a variety of half-independent tribes, resembled an ill-constructed faggot, was now consolidated into one strong and inseparable stem, and deserved the name of a kingdom."* It is thus that Divine Providence has brought great and permanent good out of temporary evil. And to the miseries inflicted on Scotland, during the war of independence, may be distinctly traced that indomitable spirit of resistance to oppression which has marked the whole subsequent history of the Scottish people, and that enduring steadiness of purpose and intense love of their country, which are still their national characteristics.

King Robert died on the 7th of June, 1329, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. By his first wife, Isabella, daughter of Donald, tenth Earl of Mar, he had one daughter, Marjory, who married Walter, the hereditary High Steward of Scotland. Their son, Robert Stewart, afterwards ascended the throne, under the title of Robert the Second. King Robert's second wife was Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster: she died 7th of November, 1327, during the negotiations for the treaty of Northampton. By her he had one son, David, who succeeded his father, and two daughters, Margaret and Matilda, the former of whom married William, Earl of Sutherland, the latter, a private gentleman, whom Fordun names Thomas Isaac.†

—his burial, and discovery of his tomb.

Immediately after the king's death, his heart was taken out and embalmed, and delivered to Sir James Douglas. The body was then conveyed to Dunfermline, where it was buried, with great solemnity, in the choir of the Abbey Church, before the high altar;‡ and over the spot was erected a richly-gilt marble tomb or cenotaph, which was fabricated at Paris. Centuries passed on—the church fell into ruins—the gilded marble tomb had entirely disappeared, and the spot where the ashes of the great restorer of Scottish independence reposed, was forgotten or unknown; when, on the

* See ante, p. 117:—

"He preachyt them on this manner,
And fained to make better cheer
Than he had matter to by far"

Barbour, p. 50.

* Sir Walter Scott's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 169.

† Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 164, 165.

‡ "And when they lang thus sorrowed had,
They have had him to Dunfermline,
And him solemnly yirded syne,
In a fair tomb into the Quire.
Bishops and prelates that were there,
Assoilzied him when the service
Was done, as they best could devise.
And syne, upon the other day,
Sorry and wo they went their way;
And he debowelled was eleanly,
And also balmed syne full richly;
And the worthy Lord of Douglas,
His heart, as it forespoken was,
Received as in great daynte,
With fair and great solemnitie."

Barbour, p. 413.

Fordun, book xii. chap. xiv. See also, Notes to Jamieson's edition of Barbour, pp. 489—491.

17th of February, 1818, some workmen, clearing out the ground for the foundation of a new church, reached a low burial vault, within which they found the decayed fragments of a coffin, containing a skeleton wrapt in lead. This was unrolled; and around the head was found a circlet of lead, worked into the likeness of a crown, and even some fragments of a rich cloth of gold, which had formed the shroud. On a close examination of the skeleton, it was discovered that the breast-bone had been sawn asunder, for the purpose of taking out the heart.* These discoveries afforded conclusive evidence that this was the grave of Robert Bruce, and that there lay the hallowed relics, which, after the lapse of nearly five hundred years, accident had revealed to the veneration of his grateful and admiring countrymen. The precious remains were deposited in a new coffin, and re-interred, with much state and solemn ceremony, beneath the pulpit of the new church.

Expedition of Douglas—

Soon after the death of King Robert, Sir James Douglas prepared to execute the last commands of his beloved master. According to Barbour, he had the heart of his sovereign inclosed in a silver case, curiously enamelled, which he constantly wore suspended from his neck by a silver chain;† and, having settled all his affairs and made his will, he set sail from Scotland, attended by a numerous and splendid retinue, and anchored off Sluys, in Flanders, at this time the great emporium of the Netherlands. He expected to find there companions in his pilgrimage; and, while lying off this port, which he did for twelve days, he kept open table on board his ship, and entertained his visitors with almost royal magnificence. Froissart says, that he had in his train a knight bearing a banner, and seven other noble Scottish knights, and was served at table by twenty-six esquires, all "comely young men of good family; and he kept court in a royal manner, with the sound of trumpets and cymbals. All the vessels for his table were of gold and silver, and whatever persons of good estate went to pay their respects to him, were entertained with two sorts of wine and two kinds of spice." While at Sluys, he learned that Alphonso, the young king of Leon and Castile, was carrying on war with Osmyn, the Moorish king of Granada. As this was reckoned a holy warfare, and it seemed, in some measure, to correspond with the purpose of his own expedition, Douglas resolved, before proceeding to Jerusalem, to visit Spain, and to avail himself of the opportunity to exert his prowess against the enemies of the Christian faith. Shortly after his arrival at Seville, a battle was fought near Theba, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Andalusia, in which the command of the vanguard was assigned to the Scottish hero. The Moorish cavalry were overthrown and took to flight, and Douglas and his companions, pursuing the fugitives too eagerly, were separated from the main body of the Spanish army. The Moors, perceiving the small number of their pursuers, rallied and surrounded them. Douglas, who had only ten men with him, cut his way through the enemy, and might have made good his retreat, had he not turned again to rescue Sir William St. Clair, of Roslin, whom he saw surrounded by the Moors, and in great jeopardy. "Yon worthy knight will be slain," he exclaimed, "unless he have instant help;" and, putting spurs to his horse, he galloped back to his assistance. But in attempting to save his friend, he was surrounded and overwhelmed by the vastly superior numbers of the enemy, who were twenty to one. When he found himself inextricably involved, he took from his neck the casket which contained the heart of Bruce, and throwing it before him, he exclaimed, "Now pass thou onward as thou wert wont, and Douglas will follow thee or die." He then rushed forward to the place where it fell, and was there slain, along with Sir William Sinclair and Sir Robert and Sir Walter Logan. On the following day, the body of the hero of seventy battles* was found on the field beside the casket, and by his few surviving friends sorrowfully conveyed to Scotland. The heart of King Robert was buried in Melrose Abbey by the Earl of Moray, and the remains of his brave companion in arms were interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors, in the parish church of Douglas.†

—his death.

The portrait of Douglas has been drawn by the friendly hand of Barbour, in very graphic and pleasing terms. He was pleasant and affable in his manners—his countenance had a modest and gentle expression in time of peace, but he had a very different aspect in the day of battle. His personal appearance, as described by eye-witnesses to Barbour, was prepossessing. He was tall, strong, and well made, though lean, broad-shouldered, and large-boned, and of a swarthy complexion, with black hair. He lisped a little in his speech; but, says the metrical historian, "that set him right wonder weel."‡ Notwithstanding the numerous engagements in which he had fought, his face had escaped without a wound. There was a knight of great renown at the court of King Alphonso, whose face was all over marked with the scars of wounds received in battle, and who, on meeting with Douglas, expressed his astonishment that a knight of such fame, and who had seen so much hard service, should have no marks of wounds on his countenance.§ "I thank God," modestly replied Douglas, "that I had always hands to protect my face." He was universally beloved by his contemporaries for his kindness and generous courtesy, as well as admired for his bravery and

* Notes to Jamieson's edition of Barbour, pp. 492, 493; Transactions of the Antiquarian Society, vol. ii. part ii. p. 485.

† Barbour, p. 414. "The Bloody Heart" has been the cognizance of the house of Douglas from the time of the Good Sir James.

* Fordun says, that Douglas was thirteen times defeated in battle, and fifty-seven times victorious.—Book xiii. chap. xxi.

† Barbour, pp. 414—419, 422.

‡ Ibid. p. 15. § Ibid. pp. 415, 416.

chivalrous exploits, and he is still affectionately remembered among his countrymen by the name of the "Good Sir James." *

CHAPTER IX.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY DURING THE SCOTO-SAXON PERIOD.

THE Saxon colonization of North Britain produced as great a change in the ecclesiastical as in the civil institutions of the country. The great aim of the Saxon queen of Malcolm Canmore, was to assimilate the Scottish church to that of England; and her three sons, Edgar, Alexander, and David, who in succession occupied the throne, though differing widely in many other respects, concurred in carrying out the ecclesiastical schemes of their pious mother. They preferred English priests to the bishoprics which they founded, erected monasteries and filled them with English monks, merged the Culdee fraternities into the new order of canons regular, and thus effected a total revolution in the ancient Scottish ecclesiastical system. The monarchs of the Scoto-Saxon line were all liberal patrons of the church; and the period which intervened between the marriage of the Princess Margaret, and the death of her youngest son David, witnessed the establishment or restoration of nearly all the Scottish sees, and the erection of the principal monasteries, with their chapels and other dependencies.† Queen Margaret herself founded the Benedictine Abbey of Dunfermline, which she dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and enriched with many costly gifts. Her son Edgar, in honour of St. Cuthbert, established a priory of Benedictines at Coldingham, in the Merse. Alexander, his successor, was a most munificent benefactor to the church. He increased the revenues of the Abbey of Dunfermline, which the piety of his mother had endowed. He founded the monasteries of Scone and of Loch Tay, and peopled them with canons regular from England. He made a liberal grant of lands to the Church of St. Andrews, and established there a priory in honour of the apostle of Scotland. And he erected on Inchcolm,—one of the islets of the Frith of Forth,—a religious house, which he dedicated to St. Columba, in token of his gratitude for his deliverance from shipwreck* through the intercession of that saint. The munificence of David to the church, far surpassed that of any of his predecessors or successors, and was highly commended by his contemporaries. Believing that religion was the only agent which could humanize and improve the semi-barbarian races over whom he reigned, this pious and sagacious monarch endowed the church with new privileges, enriched it with extensive grants of land, founded various bishoprics, enlarged the revenues of others, which his predecessors had formed, and built and richly endowed many religious houses in all parts of the country, to serve as fountains of religion, learning, and civilization. The sees of Dunblane, Brechin, Moray, Ross, and Caithness, and the splendid abbeys of Holyrood, near Edinburgh; of Melrose, Jedburgh, and Kelso, in Roxburghshire; of Dryburgh, in Berwickshire;† of Newbottle, in Mid Lothian; of Cambuskenneth, in Stirlingshire;

* A very ancient sword, in the possession of Lord Douglas, bears, among a great deal of flourishing, two hands pointing to a heart which is placed betwixt them, and the date 1329, being the year in which Bruce charged the Good Sir James Douglas to carry his heart to the Holy Land. The following lines (the first couplet of which is quoted by Godscroft as a popular saying in his time) are inscribed around the emblem:—

"So mony guid as of ye Dovglas beinge,
Of ane surname was ne'er in Scotland seine.

"I will ye charge, efter yat I depart,
To holy grawe and thair bury my hart;
Let it remain ever, BOTHE TYME AND HOWR,
To ye last day I sie my Saviour.

"I do protest, in tyme of all my ringe,
Ye like subject had never ony keing."

This curious and valuable relic was nearly lost during the civil war of 1745-6, being carried away from Douglas Castle by some of those in arms for Prince Charles. But, great interest having been made by the Duke of Douglas, among the chief partisans of the Stewarts, it was at length restored. It resembles a Highland claymore, of the usual size, is of an excellent temper, and admirably poised.—*Marmion*, Canto v. St. xv. (note.)

† The interesting little chapel of St. Margaret, in the Castle of Edinburgh, is supposed to have been erected about the same early period.—See Memorials of Edinburgh, by Dr. Wilson, vol. i. p. 128. Barbour (p. 211) states, that the queen caused a picture to be painted on the walls of this chapel, representing a castle, with a ladder applied to the wall and a man climbing up, with this inscription,—in French,—*Gardys vouys de Fransais*. He adds, that this picture, which remained in the chapel to his time, was generally regarded as a prediction that the castle would be taken by the French, but that he interpreted it as prophetic of the capture of the fortress through the agency of William Frank, or Francis.—See ante, p. 131.

* According to Fordun, "Alexander, about the year 1123, while crossing the Frith of Forth, at the Queen's Ferry, was overtaken by a terrible tempest, blowing from the south-west, which obliged the sailors to make for the island of Inchcolm (then called Æmona), which they reached with the greatest difficulty. Here they found a poor hermit, who lived a religious life according to the rules of St. Columba, and performed service in a small chapel, supporting himself by the milk of one cow and the shell-fish he could pick up on the shore; nevertheless, on these small means he entertained the king and his retinue for three days, the time which they were confined here by the wind. During the storm, and whilst at sea and in the greatest danger, the king made a vow, that if St. Columba would bring him safe to that island, he would there found a monastery to his honour, which should be an asylum and relief to navigators." The monastery founded by Alexander, in virtue of this vow, was for canons regular of St. Augustine, and was richly endowed by its royal patron. The ancient name of the island is a Latinized form of a Gaelic word, signifying "the isle of the Druids," which shows that, like many other similar institutions, the monastery of Inchcolm must have been planted on a place of heathen worship. Walter Bowmaker, abbot of this place, who died in 1449, was one of the continuators of Fordun's Scoti-Chronicon.

† The Chronicle of Melrose states, that Dryburgh was founded by Hugh de Moreville, Constable of Scotland; but David, in a charter making large grants to the monks, speaks of the church as founded by himself. Perhaps, as Lord Hailes suggests, David only laid the foundation stone.

of Kinloss; in Moray, and many other similar establishments owe their origin to David's liberality and zeal. Canons regular, Cistertian, Benedictine, and Præmonstratensian monks, all shared his bounty; and the powerful orders of the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, were introduced by him into Scotland.*

A similar policy was followed by his grandson, Malcolm, who confirmed the right, and enforced the payment of tithes; conferred extensive possessions on the church, and established religious houses at Cupar Angus, Manuel, near Linlithgow, and various other places. The hospital at Soltra, which he founded, from its situation and revenues became one of the most considerable establishments of the kind in North Britain. The splendid abbey of Aberbrothock owes its origin to William the Lion,† who greatly augmented both the possessions and the privileges of the clergy. His successor, Alexander II., was a liberal patron of the Dominican friars, whom he introduced into Scotland about the year 1230, and for whom he erected no fewer than eight monasteries. During the reign of Alexander III., the revenue of the church appears to have reached its greatest height. Besides the extensive estates conferred on the various religious houses throughout the country, and the oblations, and other ecclesiastical dues, to which the parochial clergy were entitled, tithes were exacted by them of almost everything which the land or water produced. The enumeration of the diversified revenues of the Monastery of Dunfermline may serve to show the immense wealth of the great monastic establishments at this period, and, at the same time, cast a curious light on the habits of the age. Among the gifts from the various sovereigns, and chiefly from David I., were "the tenths of all the huntings between Lammermuir and Tay,—of all David's wild moors of Fife and Fothriff,—of all the salt and iron brought to Dunfermline for the king's use,—of all the money-rents of Stirling,—of all the gold that might come to him from Fife and Fothriff,—of all the cane (a species of rent) payable to him, brought to Dunfermline from Fife, Fothriff, and Clackmannan, in grain, cheese, malt, swine, cows, and even of eels, of his lordships, in corn, animals, fishery, and money, and also the cane of a ship whenever it may have plied in his kingdom."

The munificent example of their sovereigns was followed by the powerful barons of the kingdom, especially those of Saxon and Norman origin, who vied with each other in the establishment of religious houses of various kinds, on their extensive estates. The monasteries of Tongland, Withern, Saulseat, Dundrennan, and St. Mary's Isle, owed their origin, about the middle of the twelfth century, to the liberality of Fergus, the powerful lord of Galloway. Hugh Moreville, the Constable of Scotland, founded a monastery at Kilwinning, in 1140, for monks of Tyrone. A convent of Cistertian nuns was established by Cospatric, Earl of Dunbar, at Coldstream, on the Tweed. Turgot de Rossedal founded a house for canons regular, at Canonby, upon the Esk, in Dumfriesshire; and similar establishments were instituted at Restennot, in Forfarshire; at Pittenweem, in Fife; at Blantyre, in Clydesdale, and in many other parts of the country. During the reign of Malcolm IV., Walter, the son of Alan, Steward of Scotland, established a monastery of Cluniac monks at Paisley. A convent for nuns of the Cistertian order was founded at Eccles, in 1154, by Cospatric, Earl of Dunbar. And Uchtred, the son of Fergus, the lord of Galloway, instituted at Lincluden, a convent of black nuns, of the order of St. Benedict. In 1178, a convent of Cistertian nuns was established at Haddington, by Ada, the mother of William the Lion; and at St. Bothans, in Lammermuir, by the Countess of Dunbar. In the same year, David, Earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William, founded a monastery at Lindores, in Fife, for Tyronensian monks; and, in the following year, a colony of the same monks was planted at Fyvie, in Aberdeenshire, by Fergus, Earl of Buchan. Roland, the lord of Galloway, founded, in 1190, a monastery for Cistertian monks, at Glenluce; and a similar institution was established at Saddel, in Cantire. A monastery for canons regular was erected at Inchaffray, in 1200, by Gilbert, Earl of Strathern; and Gilchrist, Earl of Mar, built a

* The canons regular were settled at Holyrood (A.D. 1128), Cambuskenneth, Jedburgh, and in the Isle of May; the Cistertian monks from Rievaulx, in England, were established at Melrose, A.D. 1136, at Newbottle in 1140, at Kinloss in 1150, and at Mauchline, in Ayrshire. In 1113, during the reign of his brother Alexander, David brought a colony of Benedictine monks from Tyrone, in France, and settled them at Selkirk; and in 1128 he translated them to Kelso. He also founded, in 1140, a monastery for the same monks, at Lesmahago. Dryburgh Abbey, for monks of the Præmonstratensian order, was founded in 1150. The principal residence of the Knights Templars was at Temple, in Mid Lothian; and of the Knights of St. John, at Torphichen, in West Lothian. Besides all these, David founded a convent of Cistertian nuns at Berwick, with two cells depending on it,—the one at Tre-fountain, in Lammermuir, the other at Gulane, in East Lothian.

† William bestowed on this abbey the church of Abernethy, an ancient seat of the Culdees, while Orme of Abernethy, who is also styled Abbot of Abernethy, grants the half of the tithes of the property of himself and his heirs, the other half of which belongs to the Culdees of Abernethy. In reference to this curious fact, that an abbot makes disposal for his heirs, the editor of the Cartulary of Aberbrothock says: "These charter evidences help out the obscure indications, in older chroniclers, of a race of church nobles, hereditary heads of religious houses, and taking rank among the highest of lay magnates. When we read that the ancient dynasty of our kings (before the wars of the Succession) sprang from the marriage of Bethoc, a daughter of Malcolm II., with Crinan, Abbot of the Columbite family of Dunkeld,—that Ethelred, a son of Malcolm Canmore, Abbot of Dunkeld, was also Earl of Fife,—our best historians have evaded the embarrassment by questioning the authority of the chronicler; and it has not hitherto been suspected that there were proofs of another house of Culdees even surviving St. David's church-revolution, having its hereditary abbot, and styling himself, and acting as, Lord of the Abbey territory."

The Abbot of Aberbrothock possessed a peculiar privilege, the origin of which is in some measure associated with the Culdees,—the custody of the Brecbennach, or consecrated banner of St. Columba. The lands of Forglen,—the church of which was was dedicated to Adomnan, the biographer of Columba,—were gifted for the maintenance of the banner.—See Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland, by Billings and Burn.

priory for monks of the same order, at Monymusk, where they supplanted an ancient house of the Culdees. Malcolm, Earl of Fife, established a convent of Cistertian nuns at North Berwick, in 1216; a monastery of Cistertian monks at Culross, in 1217; and of Dominican, or Black Friars, at Cupar, Fife. A colony of monks of the same order was planted at Deer, in 1218, by William Comyn, Earl of Buchan; and at Balmerinach, in Fife, in 1229, by Ermengarde, the widow of King William. Alexander II. introduced the monks of Vallis Caulium, and established them at Pluscarden, in Moray, in 1230; and, in the same year, the monastery of Beauly was founded for them by John Bissett. A convent of Red Friars was established at Dunbar, in 1218; at Houston, in Renfrewshire, in 1226; and at Scotland-well, near Lochleven, in 1233. In 1244, Duncan, Earl of Carrick, founded a monastery of Cluniac monks at Crossraguel, in Ayrshire. During the reign of Alexander II., a monastery of Præmonstratensian monks was established at Fern, in Ross-shire, by Ferchard, Earl of Ross; colonies of Gilbertine monks, and of Benedictine nuns, were settled at Dalmulin, in Ayrshire; and convents of Franciscan friars were erected at Berwick, Roxburgh, and various other places. Alexander III. founded a monastery at Peebles, for the Red Friars, in 1257; and, during his reign, they were established also at Failefurd, in Ayrshire, and at Dornoch, in Sutherland. In 1262, the Carmelites were settled at Tulilum, near Perth, and, in the following year, at Dunbar.

New Abbey, in Kirkcudbrightshire, was erected, in 1275, for monks of the Cistertian order, by Devorguil, daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, and wife of John Baliol.* By the munificence of this noble lady, the Franciscan friars also were established at Dumfries and Dundee, and the Dominican friars, at Wigton, in 1267. The same order was planted in Glasgow, by the Bishop, in 1270; and at St. Andrews, by Bishop Wisheart, in 1274. Altogether there were at this period, in various parts of the country, not less than twenty-eight monasteries belonging to the canons regular of St. Augustine; thirteen to the Cistertian or Bernardine monks; and fifteen to the Dominican or Black Friars. The Red Friars, an order originally instituted for the redemption of Christian slaves from the Turks, possessed nine monasteries; and besides these, there were, as we have seen, numerous and liberally-endowed religious houses, connected with almost all the other orders of regular and secular churchmen which then existed in Europe.*

An interesting illustration of the manner in which the colonization and civilization of Scotland was promoted by the establishment of these religious houses throughout the country, is furnished by a charter preserved in the treasury at Durham, and belonging, at latest, to the commencement of the twelfth century. This charter was granted by a baron styled Thor the Long, who was probably of Norwegian blood, and established himself on the banks of the Tweed, by invitation of King Edgar. It relates to the foundation of the church of Edenham, or Ednam, on the north bank of the Tweed,—the birthplace, five centuries later, of the Poet of the Seasons, and may very happily serve to illustrate the process by which the waste places of the country were peopled, and the inhabitants humanized and improved. "To all the sons of holy Mother Church, Thor the Long, greeting in the Lord: Be it known, that Aedgar, my Lord King of Scots, gave to me Aednaham, a desert: that with his help and my own money, I peopled it, and have built a church in honour of St. Cuthbert; which church, with a plough-gate of land, I have given to God, and to St. Cuthbert and his monks, to be possessed by them for ever." †

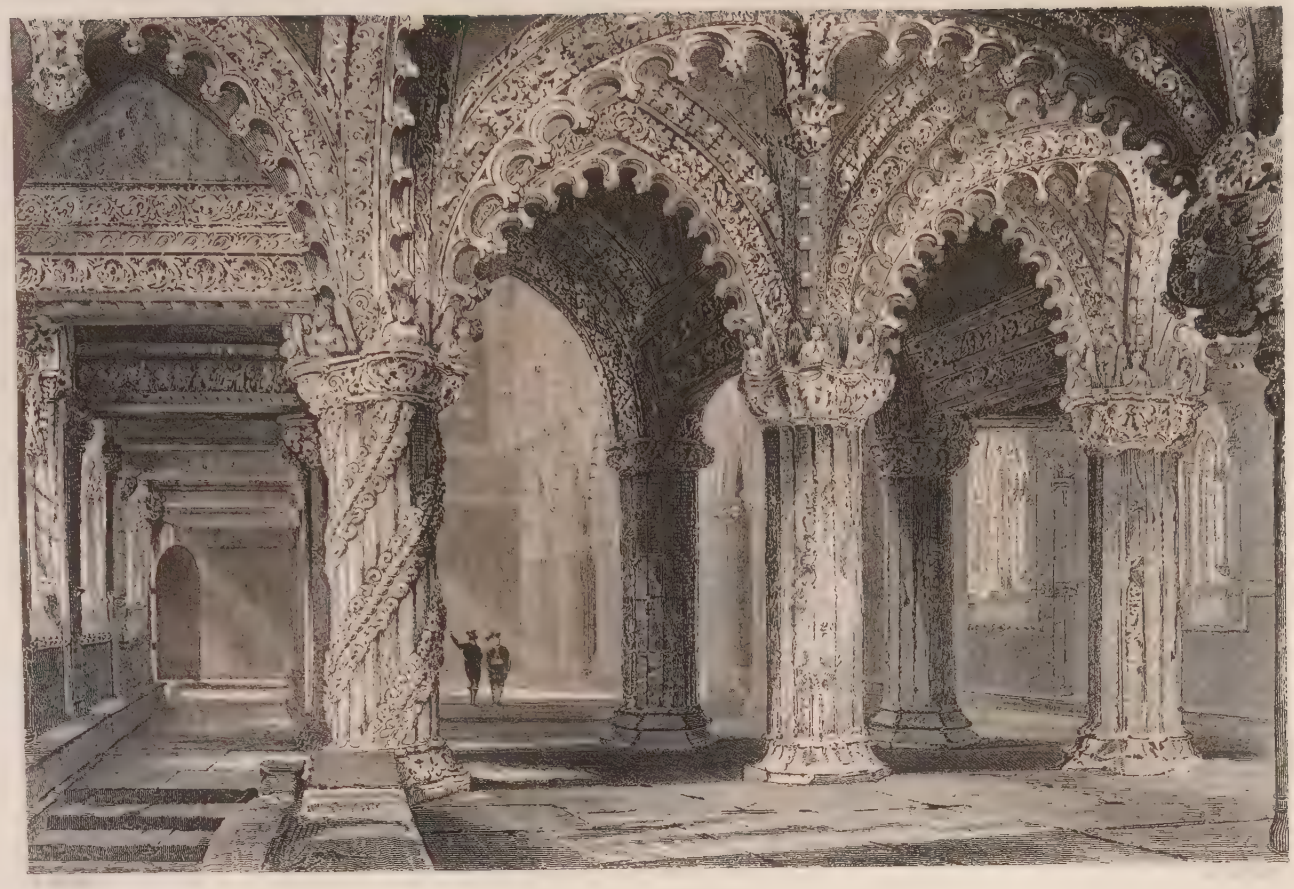
The influence of these endowments on the improvement of the country, and the condition of the people, must have been most beneficial. The clergy not merely held a monopoly of the learning of those times, but they were almost the sole proficients, both in the useful and in the ornamental arts. They were the great agricultural improvers of the age. They were the first to introduce the judicious practice of granting leases to their tenants. Their ample domains were, therefore, better cultivated and more fertile than the estates of the temporal barons. Their tenants, husbandmen, and villeyns, were more active and prosperous, and, from the pacific character of their landlords, were permitted to devote their attention more exclusively to their own proper occupations, than the vassals either of the crown or of the nobility.

It is important to notice also, that the clergy were at this period, for the most part, both the faithful auxiliaries of the crown, in opposing the lawless schemes of the nobility, and the strenuous defenders of the liberties of the nation, against foreign aggression. Throughout the war of independence, the clergy of all ranks were among the most active and zealous supporters of the patriotic cause. The Bishop of Moray is said by the English to have preached to the people of his diocese, "that it was no less meritorious to rise in arms to support the cause of Bruce than to engage in a crusade against the Saracens." And not a few of his brethren put on the cuirass with their

* This abbey afterwards received the name of the Abbey of the *Douce Cœur*, *Dulce Cor*, or Sweet Heart, from the following circumstance, mentioned by Wyntown:—When John Baliol died, his wife had his heart embalmed and placed in a casket of ivory, chased with silver, which always lay beside her during her meals. As death approached, she directed the relic, which had thus been her silent daily companion in life, to be laid on her bosom when she was buried in the abbey she had founded. It is from this pleasing incident that this beautiful and secluded foundation on the Nith—now in ruins—has retained, for nearly five hundred years, the name by which it is still designated. Devorguil was the granddaughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, and transmitted her claim to the Scottish crown to her unfortunate son, John Baliol.

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. book iv. chap iii., and notes; Spottiswoode's History, book ii.

† Anderson's Diplom. Scotiæ, plate lxix.; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 738.



cassocks, and manfully took the field against the enemies of their country.

Contest respecting the independence of the Scottish Church.

At an early period the Scottish clergy were called to assert the independence of their national church against the claims of spiritual supremacy, put forth by the English metropolitan sees of York and Canterbury. These claims were pertinaciously urged during the reign of Alexander I., on the appointment of Turgot to the office of Bishop of St. Andrews (A.D. 1109). The two English archbishops insisted that the Scottish primate should receive consecration at their hands, but they carried on a fierce dispute respecting the right of performing the ceremony, while the king and the Scottish clergy disputed the jurisdiction of both. An immediate decision of the controversy was evaded by an agreement between the English and Scottish kings, that Turgot should be consecrated by the Archbishop of York, "saving the authority of either church."*

On the death of Turgot, in 1115, the dispute was renewed. Alexander first of all wrote a confidential letter to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, soliciting his advice and assistance in the selection of a fit successor to Turgot, and deprecating the pretended rights claimed by the Archbishop of York. The English primate appears to have been too much occupied at that time with other disputes, to listen to the overtures of the Scottish monarch, and the see of St. Andrews was allowed to remain vacant for several years. At length, in 1120, Alexander wrote to Anselm, who had succeeded to the archbishopric of Canterbury, requesting him "to set at liberty" Eadmer, one of the monks of that church, that he might be appointed to the vacant diocese.† Eadmer accordingly received permission, both from the archbishop and the English king, to accept of the offered preferment, and on his arrival in Scotland was elected to the bishopric, as he has himself told us, by the clergy and people of the country, with the approbation of the king. On the following day, Alexander held a secret conference with the new bishop, and expressed the strongest aversion to his receiving consecration from the Archbishop of York. On Eadmer replying that the church of Canterbury had, by ancient right, a pre-eminence over all Britain, and that he intended to receive consecration from that metropolitan see, Alexander started up with much emotion, and left the room.

After the lapse of a month, during which the monk who had presided in the bishopric since the demise of Turgot, had by the royal command resumed his functions, Eadmer was again sent for. A compromise was ultimately agreed to. Eadmer consented to accept the ring from the king, to take the pastoral staff from the altar, as if receiving it from the lord, and to assume the charge of his diocese, in the meantime, without consecration. The new bishop, however, finding his authority weakened, and the countenance of the monarch withdrawn from him, resolved to repair to Canterbury for advice. This Alexander violently opposed. "I received you altogether free from Canterbury," he said; "while I live I will not permit the Bishop of St. Andrews to be subject to that see." "For your whole kingdom," answered Eadmer, "I would not renounce the dignity of a monk of Canterbury." "Then," replied the king, passionately, "I have done nothing in seeking a bishop out of Canterbury." Eadmer, finding that after this interview the king still continued hostile to him, requested permission to visit Canterbury to obtain the counsel and blessing of the archbishop. But Alexander peremptorily refused to comply with his request.

In this critical conjuncture, the perplexed and harassed bishop received a curious letter of advice from an English friend, named Nicolas, who urged upon him with especial earnestness the duty of keeping a plentiful and hospitable table, as the best course he could take for softening the barbarity of the Scots, promoting sound doctrine, and establishing ecclesiastical discipline. As to the pretensions of the see of York, Nicolas treated them with great contempt. Scotland, he observed, had frequently furnished bishops to York, but York had never furnished bishops to Scotland before the days of Turgot. The Bishop of St. Andrews is the chief bishop of the Scots; he who is chief must be above other bishops, and therefore is in effect an archbishop himself. If the Archbishop of York had any pre-eminence over the chief bishop of the Scots, he would of consequence be not only metropolitan, but also primate of another kingdom; yet we nowhere read of such pretensions. "It is no concern of yours," he adds, "to find a sufficient number of suffragans for the Archbishop of York; let him find them himself wherever he can." Nicolas, who seems to have been a sort of agent or solicitor in ecclesiastical causes, then goes on to advise Eadmer to terminate the dispute by obtaining consecration from the Pope himself,—exhorted him boldly to execute the business of his church and nation, and never to permit the diminution of their freedom and dignity while he was their bishop; and, probably with a view to his own interests as much as to those of the bishop, he requests Eadmer to inform the king that he was himself willing to undertake the defence of the freedom and independence of the Scottish Church at the papal court. He concluded his letter with a singular request. "I entreat you," he says, "to let me have as many of the finest pearls as you can procure. In particular, I desire four of the largest sort. If you cannot procure them otherwise, ask them in a present from the king, who I know has a most abundant store."

Alexander ultimately carried his point. Eadmer, in order to obtain permission to leave the country, was obliged to resign his bishopric, and to engage not to reclaim it during the life of Alexander, unless by the advice of the Pope, the

Pretensions of the English prelates successfully resisted.

* Simeon of Durham, p. 207.

† A full account of this important transaction is given by Eadmer himself, which, Lord Hailes remarks, he has in a great measure authenticated by original documents.—See Annals, vol. i. pp. 57—70.

Convent of Canterbury, and the King of England. Soon after his return to England, however, Eadmer wrote a long letter to Alexander, requesting permission to return and resume his office. "I mean not," he said, "in any particular to derogate from the freedom and independence of the kingdom of Scotland. Should you continue in your former sentiments, I will desist from my opposition; for, with respect to the King of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the sacerdotal benediction, I had notions which, as I have since learned, were erroneous. They will not separate me from the service of God and your favour. In those things I will act according to your inclinations, if you will only permit me to enjoy the other rights belonging to the see of St. Andrews." The Archbishop of Canterbury also addressed Alexander, but in a more lofty style, demanding the recal of Eadmer, as being the bishop canonically elected, and assuring the king, that while Eadmer lived, the church of St. Andrews could have no other bishop. Alexander, however, remained inflexible, and refused to listen either to the petition of Eadmer, or to the peremptory demands of the archbishop. Robert, Prior of Scone, was elected to fill the vacant see in January, 1124. Thurstan, Archbishop of York, again insisted upon his right of consecration; "but the Scots," says Simeon of Durham, "with foolish prating asserted that his claim had no foundation, either as right or usage."*

After the lapse of four years, Robert was consecrated by Thurstan, without any profession of obedience, reserving the rights of both parties. The successors of Robert were either consecrated by the papal legate, or by the Scottish bishops, and the question was finally decided by Pope Alexander III. in favour of the Scottish metropolitan. The determined efforts of the king, and clergy of Scotland, to maintain the independence of their national church, were thus crowned with complete success. Even when King William and his nobles shamefully surrendered the independence of the kingdom, as the price of the king's release from captivity, the Bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld had the firmness and address to procure the insertion of a clause in the treaty, which reserved the rights of the Scottish church. And at a council, held soon after at Northampton, in the presence of the papal legate, the Scottish bishops asserted their independence, and successfully resisted the demand made by King Henry that they should yield obedience to the English Church.

Contest with the Pope—

A much more serious contention soon after arose with the popedom itself. On the death of Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews, in 1178, the chapter elected as his successor John, surnamed the Scot, a native of England, though, probably, of Scottish parentage. William had destined the vacant see for Hugh, his chaplain, and, indignant at this stretch of ecclesiastical authority, he exclaimed, when he heard of the election made by the chapter,—"By the arm of St. James, while I live, John Scot shall never be Bishop of St. Andrews." He immediately seized the revenues of the see, and, disregarding the appeal of John to Rome, caused Hugh to be consecrated, and put him in possession. The appeal of John, which he prosecuted in person, was favourably entertained by Pope Alexander III. He annulled the appointment of Hugh; and his legate Alexius, in an assembly of the Scottish clergy, pronounced judgment in favour of John, and consecrated him in the year 1180. William instantly banished the new bishop from the kingdom, and protected Hugh in the enjoyment of the revenues of the see.

The papal legate on this, had recourse to stronger measures, and laid the district of St. Andrews under an interdict. When this also proved ineffectual, the Pope himself took the case in hand, and commanded the Scottish clergy to instal John within eight days. "Should William," he added, "from his own will, or by the suggestion of the wicked, adopt other counsels, it is your part to obey God and the Church of Rome, rather than men." He also issued a mandate to the Scottish bishops, ordering them to excommunicate Hugh, the pretended Bishop of St. Andrews; and finally he granted legatine powers over Scotland, to the Archbishop of York, authorising that prelate and the Bishop of Durham to excommunicate the Scottish king, and to lay the whole kingdom under an interdict, if the king did not forthwith put John in peaceable possession of the see. Still William remained inflexible. "He seems," as Lord Hailes observes, "to have been proud of opposing to the uttermost that pontiff, before whom his conqueror, Henry, had bowed." The menaces of the Pope and his legates, the interdict laid on the see of St. Andrews, the excommunication of Richard de Moreville, Constable of Scotland, and others of William's counsellors, and finally, the mediation of Henry, all failed to move the resolution of the Scottish king. He offered to make John chancellor, and to give him any other bishopric which should become vacant; but he would make no other concession, and the Pope would listen to no compromise. When the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Durham, called upon the clergy of the diocese of St. Andrews to yield obedience to John, under pain of suspension, he banished all who complied with that summons. At length the two prelates actually pronounced sentence of excommunication against William, and laid the kingdom of Scotland under an interdict.*

* Page 251.

* The following description of the effects which followed the papal sentence of excommunication, may serve to show the courage which William displayed, in thus braving the thunders of the Vatican:—

"The execution of this sentence was calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate, with irresistible force, on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was, of a sudden, deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, the reliques, the images, the statues of the saints, were laid on the ground, and—as if the air itself were profaned, and might pollute them by its contact—the priests carefully covered them up, even from their

When matters were brought to this crisis, the pontiff, Alexander III., died, August, 1181, and William lost no time in despatching ambassadors to the new Pope, Lucius III., who readily agreed to reverse the sentence of excommunication, pronounced by his predecessor, and to recal the interdict.

This memorable contest was ended by the Pope himself nominating Hugh to the see of St. Andrews, and John to that of Dunkeld; and so, to use the words of Lord Hailes, "he made that his *deed* which was the king's *will*."* As a mark of entire reconciliation, Lucius sent the golden rose to William—a rare and highly-prized distinction. The privileges of the Scottish Church were still further confirmed and enlarged by his successor, Clement III., who, in 1188, pronounced a solemn decree, by which he declared, that in consequence of William's devoted and zealous attachment to the papal see, the Church of Scotland was adopted as the daughter of Rome, by special grace, and was to be subject to no other intermediate power whatever—that to the Pope alone, or his legate de latere, should belong the power of pronouncing any sentence of interdict and excommunication against Scotland—that no one but a Scottish subject, or a person specially deputed by the apostolic see out of the sacred college, should be capable of holding the office of legate—and that, in the event of any dispute arising regarding benefices, no appeal should be competent to any foreign tribunal except to the court of Rome.†

—its successful termination.

Emboldened by these important concessions, the Scottish clergy ventured to disregard even the papal sentence of excommunication, when pronounced without due cause. When Gualo, the Pope's legate, excommunicated the king and the people of Scotland, in consequence of the co-operation of Alexander II. with Prince Louis and the confederated barons against the weak and infamous John, so little was the sentence regarded by the Scottish king and his subjects, that the Roman court was fain to grant him absolution on very easy terms, presenting a striking contrast to the treatment of Prince Louis, who was not relieved from the sentence of excommunication till after he had done penance by walking barefooted to the legate's tent, in presence of the French and English armies. The conduct of Gualo, the papal legate, who had made a dishonourable traffic of special absolutions, and had extorted large sums from the Scottish clergy, as the price of their restoration to the exercise of their spiritual functions, was condemned by the Pope (Honorius IV.), who not only redressed this grievance, which was brought before him by appeal, but confirmed the privileges of the Scottish Church, owing to the alleged "respect and obedience which Alexander had paid to the papal see."*

A few years after this, in 1225, the Scottish clergy succeeded in obtaining a most important concession from the papal court. They represented to Honorius, that, from the want of a metropolitan, who might appoint a meeting, they could not hold a provincial council, and that many abuses had, in consequence, crept into the church; upon which he was induced to give them permission to assemble a general council on their own authority, without the mandate of a legate, or the summons of a metropolitan. There can be little doubt that this permission was meant to be only temporary; but, availing themselves of the ambiguity with which it was expressed, the clergy interpreted and treated it as of perpetual authority, and under its sanction continued to assemble frequent provincial councils for the correction of abuses and the maintenance of their rights and privileges, without any further application for the consent of the papal court. From this period, the general canon law issued from the Vatican, or by the general council of the Romish Church, had no authority in Scotland, until ratified by its own native councils—a circumstance, it has been justly said, whose importance cannot be exaggerated, since it affected the jurisprudence of the church in all subsequent ages. From this period, too, the visits of the papal legates, which had hitherto been impatiently submitted to, were steadily declined, their authority disclaimed, and their pecuniary exactions successfully resisted. Even the demand of the Pope himself, that the Scottish clergy should contribute a tenth of their benefices to the king of England, in aid of an intended crusade, was firmly refused. The papal legate, who had intimated his intention of visiting Scotland, in order to inquire into its ecclesiastical affairs, was not only peremptorily denied admittance into the country, and his summons to the Scottish clergy to attend his court at York, pertinaciously resisted, but they even disclaimed obedience to the canons which were enacted in the council which he held (A.D. 1268). Conscious of their own strength, they assembled a provincial council next year at Perth, presided over by one of their own bishops, in which they promulgated canons of their own, for the regulation of the eccle-

Privileges granted to the Scottish church.

own approach and veneration. The use of bells entirely ceased in all the churches; the bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid on the ground with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with shut doors, and none but the priests were admitted to that institution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except baptism to new-born infants, and the communion to the dying. The dead were not interred in consecrated ground: they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields, and their obsequies were not attended with prayers, or any hallowed ceremony. Marriage was celebrated in the churchyards; and, that every action in life might bear the marks of this dreadful situation, the people were prohibited the use of meat, as in Lent, or times of the highest penance; were debarred from all pleasures and entertainments, and even to salute each other, or so much as to shave their beards, and give any decent attention to their person and apparel. Every circumstance carried symptoms of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehension of Divine vengeance and indignation."—Hume's History of England, vol. i. chap. xi. p. 123 (Virtue's edition).

* Annals, vol. i. pp. 142—148; Fordun, book vi. chap. xxxvi.; Hoveden, pp. 598, 599.

† Hoveden, p. 651; Annals, vol. i. p. 154.

* Fordun, book ix. chap. xxxiii.; Foedera, vol. i. p. 227.

siastical affairs of the country. Among other enactments they appointed a council, to be annually held under the authority of the bull of Pope Honorius III., and declared that the office of Conservator Statutorum should be filled by each of the bishops in turn, whose duty it was, during the interval between the meetings of council, to enforce obedience to the canons, under pain of ecclesiastical censures. The canons enacted in this assembly continued in force till the era of the Reformation.*

CHAPTER X.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

THE constitution and government of Scotland, which under Malcolm Canmore had been essentially Celtic, before the close of the Scoto-Saxon dynasty had become as decidedly feudal, and exhibited all the marks by which the feudal system has been characterized. The king, under this form of government, was the commander-in-chief of the army, the great justiciary or administrator of justice, the lawgiver of his people, and the fountain of honour from whom all distinctions flowed. His authority, however, though great, was by no means absolute, and he required to consult his nobles and clergy in the administration of the affairs of his kingdom. Ample provision appears to have been made for the due maintenance of the royal dignity; and, making allowance for the circumstances of the country, the personal estate supported by the Scottish king was scarcely inferior to that kept up by the English sovereign. The royal revenue in these early times was drawn from a great variety of sources. The most important of these were the dues payable under the name of the *can*† on the products of agriculture, hunting, and fishing, and on the profits of domestic manufacture, and on foreign trade and shipping; the fees and fines, which arose in every feudal country, from the administration of justice, from the wardship and marriage of heirs, and from the escheat of estates to the crown; the temporary aids which the tenants and vassals of every feudal sovereign were bound to pay on such occasions, as the ransom of the king from captivity, the making of his son a knight, or the marriage of his daughters; the rent and produce of the royal manors, mills, and salt-works throughout the country; and lastly, the customs on the exports of wool and hides, which were first granted by parliament to William the Lion, and afterwards to King Robert Bruce.‡ We learn incidentally, that in 1239, the annual revenue of the king of Scotland from all these sources, amounted to twenty-one thousand marks,—somewhat more than two hundred thousand pounds; and various pecuniary transactions of William the Lion and his two immediate successors, show that the Scottish kings of that period lived in great splendour, and must have had large sums of money at their command.

State and revenue of the king.

Like other feudal monarchs, the King of Scotland was surrounded by his justiciar, chancellor, constable, marshal, and other great officers of state, who were selected from the most powerful nobles, and, next to the sovereign, held the highest rank in the kingdom. The office of justiciar, or great justice, was of Norman origin; and in England, after the Norman Conquest, the supreme judge was the principal officer under the Crown. This office does not appear, however, to have existed in Scotland during the early period of the Scoto-Saxon dynasty; the king himself at that time held the office of supreme judge, and frequently administered justice to his people in person* During the reigns of Alexander I., David I., and Malcolm IV., the general administration of justice seems to have been intrusted to two great judges; the one exercising his authority on the north, the other on the south of the Forth. Under these supreme justices there were a number of inferior judges,—denominated from the districts in which they officiated, the judge of Gowry, the judge of Strathern, the judge of Perth,—and exercising a subordinate authority the exact nature and limits of which it is impossible now to ascertain.† A new arrangement was made by William the Lion, who substituted for the supreme justices two great judges named justiciars; the one embracing within his jurisdiction Lothian or the country south of the two Forths; the other, Scotland proper, or the country beyond the Forth. Reference is made, during the reign of Alexander III., to a justiciarius of Galloway, and at a late period to a *justiciarius ex parte boreali aquæ de Forth*;‡ but nothing is known of their jurisdiction or authority. These arrangements were remodelled by Edward I., on the temporary subjection of Scotland after the execution of Wallace; and two justices were appointed in Lothian, two in the country lying between the Forth and the eastern end of the Grampian range called the Mounth, and two in the district extending from the Grampians to Caithness. On the expulsion of the English, the district of Lothian appears to have reverted to the jurisdiction of a single justiciar; but the institution of four supreme judges in the country beyond the Forth, as it had the sanction of ancient usage, was allowed to remain.§

Great officers of his court.

The king's justiciar.

Next in dignity to the justiciar was the chancellor of the kingdom; an officer who appears for the first time in Scottish history

The chancellor.

* Hailes' Annals, vol. i. p. 218; Historical Memorials of the Scottish Councils, p. 16.

† From this word is derived our modern *kane*, signifying payments in kind.

‡ Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 747.

* See ante, p. 65.

† Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 703 and note (*d*).

‡ Ibid. p. 727 and notes.

§ Ibid.

during the reign of Alexander I. The earliest chancellor of Scotland was Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, who died A.D. 1164, and from this period down to the coronation of Bruce, this important office was held almost exclusively by eminent dignitaries of the church. The chief duties of the chancellor at this time were the custody of the king's seal and the examination of all writs which received the royal signature; he was also the confidential adviser of the king, his constant attendant both in peace and war, and the witness to his charters, letters, and proclamations.*

The constable and mareschal.

The office of constable, which was exclusively military, appears in Scotland as early as the beginning of the twelfth century. To this great officer belonged the duty of leading the military power of the kingdom. The office was held under David I. and Malcolm IV. by Hugh de Moreville, and became hereditary in his family, till it was forfeited by John Cumyn, during the contest for the crown. It was then conferred by King Robert Bruce on Gilbert de Hay, and is still enjoyed by his descendant the Earl of Errol. The office of mareschal, which was also of a military character, existed in Scotland as early as the reign of David I., and soon became hereditary in the family of Keith. The exact distinction between the duties of the mareschal and the constable, it is impossible now to determine.

The high steward.

The office of seneschal or high steward belonged to the personal estate of the sovereign, and conferred on the holder supreme authority in the management of the royal household. In France and England, this officer was at an early period the highest in rank after the king, executing all the chief offices of the kingdom as the king's representative; and to two of the most illustrious dynasties of Europe, the Carlovingian and the Plantagenets, the high office of seneschal served as a stepping-stone to the throne. In Scotland this office was conferred for the first time by David I., on Walter, the son of Alan, whose descendants acquired the name of Steward from their office, and ascended successively the throne of Scotland in 1371, and of England in 1603.

Chamberlain, hostiarius and butler.

The chamberlain, whose office is as ancient as the reign of David I., discharged the duties of treasurer, and assumed the management of the royal revenue. The hostiarius, or keeper of the king's door, first appears among the officers of state during the reign of William the Lion. The office of royal butler was hereditary in the family of De Soulis; but on the forfeiture of Sir William de Soulis in 1320, the office was conferred on Sir Andrew Moray, under the title of panetarius, or master of the household. The office of pincerna, or cup-bearer, first appears in the reign of Edgar, and was held under Malcolm IV. by William de Haya, the ancestor of the noble family of the Hays. The power of these great officers of the crown was scarcely inferior to that of the monarch himself. Their vast estates, and numerous vassals, enabled them almost singly to compete with him, and a combination among these powerful and turbulent barons proved, in not a few cases, more than a match for the royal authority. They were, indeed, in almost every respect, kings in miniature. Each of these great nobles was encircled by his own seneschals, chamberlains, and other officers, and was on all occasions supported by a train of knights, squires, and inferior barons, who were ready to pay implicit obedience to his commands, even in opposition to those of the sovereign himself. Such a state of society, it is evident, must have been attended by many evils; and it is to the exorbitant power of these nobles, and to their selfish struggles for superiority, that the miseries which Scotland for many ages endured, are directly to be traced.

The state and power of the nobles.

We have seen that throughout the Scottish period, Scotland proper was divided into ten districts, which were governed by hereditary chiefs termed maormors. Gradually, however, as the Saxon, Norman, and other immigrants gained upon the ancient races of inhabitants, the Gaelic term maormor became obsolete, and was replaced by the Latin comes, and the Saxon earl, and the districts over which these chiefs ruled were designated earldoms. It does not appear, however, that there was during this period the creation of any earl, or the erection of any earldom; for peerages by creation were unknown in Scotland till the twelfth century. The provinces which were governed by maormors in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, are the same districts whose chiefs are termed comites or earls under Alexander I. Only three new earls were added to these Gaelic maormors during the Scoto-Saxon period—Cospatrick Earl of Dunbar, Duncan Earl of Carrick, and William Earl of Sutherland.*

Maormors and earls.

During the interregnum which followed the untimely death of the Maiden of Norway, an appeal was made to Edward I. against the Guardians of Scotland, by certain persons styling themselves the "Seven Earls" of that kingdom, alleging that by the immemorial laws and usages of Scotland, it is their right, in conjunction with the community of the realm, when the throne is *de jure* and *de facto* vacant, to appoint a king, and place him in his royal seat, and invest him with the honours of royalty; and complaining that the Bishop of St. Andrews and John Comyn, the Guardians of Scotland, were about to appoint John Baliol king on their own authority, and without regard to the rights of the Seven Earls and community of Scotland. A learned author* who is a great authority

The "Seven Earls."

* Tytler, vol. ii. p. 204.

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 701, 702.

† Documents and Records, illustrating the History of Scotland, &c. Edited by Sir Francis Palgrave. The same theory has been adopted by Mr. Skene, in his History of the Highlanders, and by an able writer in the North British Review, No. vi. p. 375.

on antiquarian and constitutional questions, contends for the truth and justness of this claim, and considers the Seven Earls to have been a constitutional body, distinct and severed from the rest of the estates of the kingdom—not possessing an electoral right to bestow the crown on any person whom they chose—but forming a judicial body which had authority when the throne was vacant to award it to the person who, by the usages and institutions of the monarchy, had the best right to it. In opposition to this novel and plausible theory, however, it has been shown that there is no other mention of such a constitutional body in any Scotch or English document of the eleventh or twelfth century, though the succession to the Scottish monarchy during a great part of that period was exceedingly irregular, and the deviations from the direct course of descent very numerous;—that on various occasions when the Scottish throne became vacant by the demise of a king, the formal recognition of his successor was made, not by the Seven Earls, but by the prelates and nobles, who, as in other Teutonic nations, were called upon to exercise that privilege;—that when William the Lion, despairing of issue male, attempted to alter the succession to the Scottish throne, and to settle the crown on his daughter Margaret, to the exclusion of David, Earl of Huntingdon, his brother, the proposal was resisted,—not by one of the privileged peers who it is alleged by immemorial custom had the adjudication of the Scottish crown, when it became vacant—but by Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, a baron of recent establishment, a Saxon by descent, and totally unconnected with ancient Albania and its institutions;—that when the Maid of Norway was recognized as presumptive heiress of the throne in the lifetime of her grandfather Alexander III., the deed was attested by all the earls of Scotland, thirteen in number, and by twenty-five barons, and the obligation it contains was placed, not under the safeguard of seven earls, but of eleven bishops;—that, on the sudden and unexpected death of Alexander III., the custody of Scotland, which had been unprovided for, was not assumed by this supposed electoral body, but was committed by the states of the kingdom to two bishops, two earls, and two barons, and on the death of the two earls, it continued, till the decease of Margaret, in the hands of the two bishops and two barons, without a single earl having been added to their number;—that the community of Scotland having been informed that Edward had procured a dispensation from the Pope for the marriage of his son Edward with their young queen the Maid of Norway, expressed their approbation of the alliance, by a letter addressed to him, not in the name of the seven dominant earls, but in the names of the four Guardians of Scotland, and of ten bishops, twelve earls, (the Earl of Fife being a minor) twenty-three abbots, eleven friars, and forty-eight barons;—and that when Robert Bruce was recognized as presumptive heir of the crown in the life time of Alexander II., the recognition was made, not by the seven earls alone (which would undoubtedly have been the case, if they had been a constitutional body invested with the privileges attributed to them), but by the bishops, nobles, and magnates of the kingdom. It has been further shown, that there is every reason to believe that the seven earls in whose name the appeal to the English monarch was preferred, were merely the Earl of Bruce's own party, who formed a majority of the Scottish earls, and against whose wishes and inclinations, two of the Guardians and their adherents were disposed to raise John Baliol to the throne. Looking to the subsequent proceedings in this competition for the Scottish crown, we find among the partisans of Bruce, five earls, viz.—the Earls of March, Mar, Menteith, Athol, and Lennox, and adding to them his own son, the Earl of Carrick, and the Earl of Fife (a child only five years old), who is expressly mentioned as one of the seven appellants—we have the mystic number completed, and the illusion of our modern theorists dispelled. Among the partisans of Baliol, we have four earls—the Earls of Angus, Buchan, Ross, and Strathern, none of whom can be supposed to have joined in the appeal against their own candidate. The Earls of Caithness and Sutherland appear to have taken no part in the competition. Now the six earls who espoused the cause of Bruce did not all possess the most ancient earldoms, to which, if to any, this immemorial right must have been attached; for among them were the Earls of March and Carrick, neither of whom derived his title from Scotland proper: while on the other hand, among the partisans of Baliol was the Earl of Strathern, and among the neutrals the Earl of Caithness, who held two of the most ancient earldoms in Scotland. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that in the words of the learned writer whose arguments we have stated,* no such constitutional body as the Seven Earls ever existed in Scotland; that in that kingdom, as in other Teutonic states, when the throne was vacant, it was filled up either peaceably by the ordinary course of succession, with consent of the states; or irregularly by force and violence, with more or less semblance of a legal confirmation from the same authority.

Sheriffdoms.

"The policy of sheriffdoms," says Chalmers, "was introduced gradually into Scotland, as the Scoto-Saxon people gained upon the Gaelic inhabitants, and as the modern law prevailed over the ruder institutions of our Celtic forefathers." The earliest appearance of the office of sheriff in Scottish history is during the reign of Alexander I.; but before the conclusion of the Scoto-Saxon period, extending from 1097 to 1306, the whole of Scotland, with the exception of Galloway, Argyle, and the western coast, had been progressively divided into sheriffdoms, which were governed according to the rules of the Anglo-Norman law. The appointment to these offices was originally in the crown, but they had even then become hereditary in certain families, and

* See Edinburgh Review, No. cxxxiii. pp. 46—52.

the great nobles seem to have appointed their sheriffs in imitation of the regal state. It appears that the term *schire* was then used in its Anglo-Saxon meaning, as merely importing a division, and was frequently given to districts of much smaller extent than the sheriffdoms of modern times; for mention is made in ancient charters of the shires of Aberbrothock, Denechyn, Kingoldrum, Dunfermline, Dolor, Newburn, Musselburgh, and various others of a similar kind, over which there does not appear to have been any sheriff appointed.*

Courts of regality.

About the middle of the twelfth century, the power of holding their own courts, and acting as supreme criminal judges among their own vassals, began to be enjoyed by the higher nobles and clergy of Scotland. The country was divided into "royalty" and "regality," the former being subjected to the jurisdiction of the king and his judges, while the regalities were placed under the jurisdiction of those ecclesiastics or nobles who had obtained such powers and privileges from the royal grant.† The clergy were the first who received from the crown, donations of lands with the rights of regality annexed to them, and as early as the reign of Alexander I. the bishops and abbots were empowered to hold their own courts, and were freed from the jurisdiction of all superior judges. The monks of the Abbey of Scone obtained from Alexander a charter, conferring upon them the right of holding their own court with plenary powers, and of giving judgment either by combat, by iron, or by water, together with all privileges pertaining to their court, including the right in all persons resident within their territory, of refusing to answer except in their own proper court.‡ The same privileges were granted by subsequent monarchs to the Bishop of St. Andrews, and to the Abbots of Holyrood, Dunfermline, Kelso, and Aberbrothock, and in all probability to all the other religious houses in the kingdom.§ In the year 1299, the Abbot of Aberbrothock repledged one of his men from the court of the king's justiciar, which was held at Aberdeen, by John Earl of Buchan, upon pleading the privilege of the regality of Aberbrothock;‖ and the higher barons soon began to covet, and to acquire the same powers of exclusive jurisdiction which had been conferred upon the clergy; and even their vassals appear to have enjoyed the same judicial rights and exemptions, so that in the course of time, not only every great noble, but even the petty baron, became the supreme criminal judge within his own estates, possessed the power of life and death over his own vassals, and could even, as we have seen, reclaim from the royal court any dependent or retainer who lived upon his lands.

Trial by an assize.

The trials of important causes by an assize or inquest, can be traced to the reign of William the Lion. In the year 1184, a dispute regarding the pasturage of the king's forest, which had arisen between the monks of Melrose and the men of Wedale, was decided in the presence of the king, his brother David, Earl of Huntingdon, and the prelates and nobles of the court, by an inquest consisting of Richard de Moreville, the constable, and twelve "good men." The learned Chalmers is of opinion, that even at this early age the jury did not require to be unanimous in their verdict, but that the opinion of the majority decided the case. The right of challenge seems to have been allowed very soon after the institution of trial by jury; for in the year 1309, when there was an inquest held before Robert de Keith, justiciary in the northern part of the country, for the purpose of settling a dispute between the Abbot of Lindores and the burgesses of Newburgh, one of the jury was objected to and set aside, because he was a servant of the abbot.*

Ecclesiastical censures in aid of the law.

It appears that ecclesiastical censures were frequently employed in aid of the law both in civil and criminal affairs, and to protect the property of the church. Thus, in the year 1258, the preceptor of Scone, as deputy of the prior of Coldingham the supreme judge, issued a precept, directing the excommunication of Sir Patrick Edgar, for retaining possession of a caracute of land at Home, which belonged to the monks of Kelso. A few years later, Pope Nicholas IV. addressed a bull to the Bishop of Dunblane, directing him to recover by ecclesiastical censures the debts which were due to the monks of Balmerinach. During the reign of Robert Bruce, the Abbot of Kelso ordered the monks of Lesmahago to excommunicate David Wier, who, with his accomplices, had broken into the sanctuary of that cell, and had sacrilegiously stolen from the dormitory of brother Nicholas Lamb, not only a sum of gold and silver, but divers jewels.† Even the great barons trembled before the sentence of excommunication, and were fain to withdraw from a contest with the men who wielded such formidable weapons. Thus, the Lord of Dundas, on the south side of the Frith of Forth, having asserted a right in his own person to certain rocks along the shore convenient for the landing of boats, interfered with the servants and boats of the Abbot of Dunfermline when attempting to use them. The abbot maintained that the rocks were the exclusive property of his monastery, and launched a sentence of excommunication against his opponent, who finding himself compelled to yield, "humbly supplicated the abbot, sitting along with some of his council on these rocks as being in possession of them, that he would absolve him from the sentence of excommunication, and he should abstain from molesting the men and boats in future." He was absolved accordingly.‡

* Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 715, 716, and notes.
† Ibid., vol. i. p. 750.
‡ Cartulary of Scone, p. 16, quoted in Caledonia, p. 751.
§ Ibid., note (*r*).
‖ Cart. of Aberbrothock, p. 19; Ibid., note (*t*).

* Cart. Lindores, p. 10. Caledonia, vol. i. p. 752.
† Cart. Kelso, pp. 294, 487. Cart. Balmerin. p. 67. Caledonia, p. 753, note (*e*).
‡ Historical and Descriptive Account of Dunfermline, by the Rev. P. Chalmers, p. 203. Concordantia cum I. de Dundas de Passagio, Registrum, p. 262.

It was fortunate indeed for the welfare of the country, that there was at this period some check upon the mastery of mere brute force, and that the superior information and influence of the clergy, served as a counterpoise to the exorbitant power of the rude and turbulent nobility. The church was the protector of the poor and oppressed, and the faithful auxiliary of the crown in the incessant struggles which the monarch was compelled to carry on against the ambitious and lawless schemes of the great feudal barons. In Scotland, as in other countries of Europe at this period, it was among the clergy alone that we find anything like proficiency in literature and in the arts; and in the ordinary studies of the age, the Scottish ecclesiastics were not far behind their brethren on the continent. Several of them, indeed, obtained a very high reputation in scholastic theology, and in the study of the civil and the canon laws. John Dun Scotus, the renowned schoolman, whose genius reflects no inconsiderable lustre on the nation to which he belonged, and who maintained a reputation almost unrivalled till the scholastic theology and scholastic philosophy were finally exploded, was a Scotsman born in Berwickshire, about the close of the reign of Alexander III. Richard, a friar of St. Victor, at Paris, and Adam, a canon regular of the Order of Premonstratenses, who flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century, and were the authors of several voluminous theological treatises, were also natives of Scotland. Mathematics, astronomy, and the sister art of astrology, seem to have been cultivated by the Scottish ecclesiastics of that period with some success. John Holybush, better known by his scholastic appellation Joannes de Sacrobosco, whose celebrated treatise upon the Sphere was held in high honour by the learned so late as the sixteenth century, was in all probability a Scotsman.* The famous Michael Scott, the mathematician and astronomer, who was the astrologer of the Emperor Frederick the Second, about the middle of the thirteenth century, and whose fame as a prophet and magician still lingers in the traditions of his native land, was Baron of Balwearie, in Fife.†

Character and condition of the clergy.

Their learning.

As no colleges or great seminaries of learning as yet existed in Scotland, the great body of the Scottish clergy received their education in the universities of Oxford and Paris; and so great was the resort of students to the French metropolis, that in the year 1325 the Scots college was established in that city for their instruction by David, Bishop of Moray. There were schools, however, as early as the reign of David I., to be found in the principal towns of Scotland, and probably also in many of the monasteries, in which, under the superintendence of the clergy, the aspirants to the sacred office were instructed in grammar and logic. We find, for example, in the cartulary of Kelso, that all the churches and schools in Roxburgh were bestowed by David I. on the monastery of Kelso, and that in 1241 the rector of the schools of Roxburgh was a witness to a charter of William, son of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar. The churches and schools of Perth and Stirling were confirmed to the monks of Dunfermline, by Richard, the Bishop of St. Andrews, from 1163 to 1173. Adam, master of the schools of Perth, appears as one of the commissaries of Innocent II., who were appointed to settle a dispute about the churches of Prestwick and Sanquhar. References are also made in the cartularies to the existence of schools in the towns of Ayr, South Berwick, and Aberdeen.* In St. Andrews there were schools under the charge of a rector so early as 1233, and there was also a lyceum attached to the cathedral church belonging to the monastery of that city. We learn from the cartulary of Kelso, that Matilda, the lady of Moll, in the year 1260 granted a certain rent to be paid to the abbot and monks of that monastery, on condition that they should board and educate her son with the best boys who were intrusted to their care; from which it is evident that a portion at least of the sons of the nobility were educated in the schools connected with the various religious houses throughout the country. Almost all the learning, however, that existed at that period, was possessed by the clergy. The great mass of the community were immersed in gross ignorance. The nobility seem to have considered the acquirement of knowledge as altogether unworthy of their rank, and there is good reason to believe that not a single Scottish baron of this age could sign his own name. In these circumstances we owe it to the clergy alone, that science and learning did not become altogether extinct. It is to the monastic annalists also, that we are indebted for the history of the events as well as for the most striking pictures of the manners of these times; and it should not be forgotten that Barbour, the metrical historian of Bruce, and the only writer of original genius which Scotland produced in this age, was an eminent ecclesiastic. The clergy not merely held a monopoly of the learning of those remote times, but were almost the sole proficients both in the useful and in the ornamental arts. They probably taught and practised the art of healing; they were the painters, the sculptors, the mechanics, as well as the historians and poets of the age; and it is to them that we are especially indebted for those magnificent baronial and ecclesiastical buildings whose mouldering remains still attest the munificence and taste of their founders.

Schools.

Ignorance of the nobles.

Cultivation of the arts by the clergy.

With regard to the condition of the lower classes of the community at this period, the free farmers or tenants who

Condition of the free farmers—

* Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 289—292.

† See Lay of the Last Minstrel, Canto ii. and Appendix Note O.

* Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 767, 768, and notes.

rented the lands of the Crown, and of the other great proprietors, enjoyed the right of settling in any part of the country, and seem to have been possessed of considerable wealth. It is supposed that it was this class who were liable to be called out on military service, and who constituted the great body of the Scottish infantry. A second class of cultivators of the soil were the bondsmen, or villagers, who were the absolute property of the lord of the soil, and were sold along with the land. This unhappy class, whose existence in Scotland can be traced to the reign of Malcolm Canmore, was composed partly of the original Celtic inhabitants of the country, partly of prisoners taken in war, and partly of those who, in times of famine and distress, had sold themselves into slavery to escape starvation.* When the southern districts of Scotland were overrun by the Saxon and Norman settlers, the original natives were reduced to slavery. They were designated *nativi*, which came in time to be synonymous with serfs. It appears to have been customary too, in those times, to retain in bondage the prisoners who were not ransomed, and we have already seen what numbers of the inhabitants of the northern counties of England were carried away captive by Malcolm Canmore during his frequent incursions, and reduced to a state of servitude.† The condition of these bondsmen must have been very wretched. They were bought and sold like cattle; they had no property of their own, and were entirely under the arbitrary control of their master or purchaser; they could not remove from the estate without his permission; and when oppression drove them, as it often did, to seek safety in flight, their master could "take them by the nose" and reclaim them to their former servitude. He could punish them at pleasure, and was responsible to no court or authority for his treatment of them. It appears that he was even under no legal obligation to assist them in difficulty, or to support them in want or old age. This at least was the case with those bondsmen who had been allowed to wander beyond their masters' estates. It is mentioned that on one occasion the slaves belonging to the Abbey of Dunfermline, demanded that if any of their race should be mulcted for manslaughter, the monastery should contribute twelve marks to the penalty; but the inquest to whom the inquiry was directed made answer that "they never heard of such a thing, in all the days of their life."‡ The Cartularies of the period abound with references to these serfs, and to the wretched condition in which they were placed. Edgar granted to the monks of St. Cuthbert "Paxton, with the men, the lands and the natives." King David I. bestowed upon the Abbey of Dunfermline, Ragewin, Gilepatrick, and Ulchill, his own serfs, for the glory of God and the use of that holy brotherhood; and the

—and of the bonds-men.

officers of the law are enjoined to search for some ungrateful bondsmen who had fled from oppression.* King William the Lion, in the year 1178, made a donation to the same monks, of Gilleander McSuthen and his children for ever;† and he issued a mandate firmly to seize hold of Cumlach and Cumbas, two Dunfermline slaves, who had fled. We find that David I., in 1144, granted to the Abbot of Kelso the church of Lesmahago, along with the lands of the same name, and their men; and to the monks of Scone, Cambusmichel "with the men, the lands, and waters."‡ Many similar donations were made by the great barons. Earl Waldave, who succeeded Cospatrick, in 1166, gave to the monks of Kelso, "Halden, and William his brother, and all their children and property;" § and in the year 1258, Malice, Earl of Strathern, gave to the monks of Inchaffray, for the safety of his own soul and the souls of his ancestors and successors, John surnamed Starnes, the son of Thomas and grandson of Thore, with his whole property and children which he had begotten or might beget for ever. He also bestowed upon the same monks another serf, Gilmory Gillendes, with all his property.‖ These donations were not confined to the monastic establishments, for we find among other grants of a similar kind, that David, Earl of Huntingdon bestowed upon Gartnach, Earl of Mar and his heirs, Gillechrist, the son of Gillehuygal, and two Gillechrists and Gillen and Gillemart, four sons of Het. And Richard de Moreville the constable of Scotland, granted to Henry de Sinclair and his heirs, Edmund the son of Bonde and Gillemichel, his brother, with their progeny, for three marks, on condition, however, that they should not be removed from De Moreville's estates.¶ The same authentic records show that these unhappy cultivators of the soil were sold along with the estate, and that if any of them ventured to quit it without the owner's permission, he could reclaim them precisely like any animal which had strayed from his domain. In the charters granted by Alexander II., there are frequent injunctions against the detention of these "natives and fugitive men." In the year 1222, the Prior and the Convent of St. Andrews, by an express charter, gave permission to a bondsman and his children to change his master and to carry his property along with him.** At a much later period (in 1340), we find from the Cartulary of Dunfermline, that an inquest was summoned for the purpose of determining the right of property to three bondsmen, Allan, the son of Constantine, with his two sons, who had removed

* They are described in the Cartularies under the names of nativi, servi, villani, captivi, homines fugitivi, cottarii, bondi, bondagii, husbandii, &c.

† See ante, pp. 39, 42.

‡ Chalmer's Hist. Account, p. 219. Registrum, p. 240.

* Cart. of Dunf. p. 13.

† Ibid.

‡ Monast. Scotiæ, p. 33, and Cart. Scone, quoted in Chalmer's Caledonia, vol. i. p. 720, note (*u*).

§ Cart. of Kelso, p. 127, Ibid.

‖ Cart. of Inchaffray, quoted in Hailes' Ann. vol. i. p. 372. Lord Hailes subjoins the following note by a correspondent. *Gilmory*, a servant of the Virgin Mary, probably so called in honour of her, as the gift was made on the day of the annunciation. His former name was *Gil-andeas*, that is *the Southern lad*, probably an English prisoner.

¶ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 721.

** MS. original charters in Advocates' Library, No. 27 quoted in Tytler, vol. ii. p. 213.

from the lands of the Abbot of this monastery without his permission, and had refused to return —under pretence that they were the villagers of Duncan, Earl of Fife,—when it was found that they were the property of the Abbot.* And in 1364, Alexander, the Bishop of Moray, reclaimed two of his *nativi* before the sheriff of Banff.† Not the least curious feature in these interesting muniments, is the careful record which they contain of the genealogies of this degraded class of the community. Their parentage, marriage, families, residence, and sometimes even the place of their death and burial, are minutely specified, evidently for the purpose of supplying a connected record of ownership. It is worthy of notice, that while the free-born vassals and tenants commonly took their names from their lands, the designations of the bondsmen are almost exclusively Celtic, and are of the rudest and most uncouth description, as the examples we have already given may serve to show.‡ As is the case in other countries of Europe where a similar system of serfdom has prevailed, no change in the circumstances of this unfortunate class of men could have the effect of emancipating them from their degraded condition. It would appear from a convention which took place between Andrew, Bishop of Moray, from 1222 to 1242, and Walter Comyn, that a serf might even enter the church and become a clerk, and yet remain as completely at the disposal of his master as before. In this remarkable deed it was agreed that the bishop and his successors in the see should have all the clerks and two laymen, whose names were Gillemalovock Macnakengello and Sythac Macmallon; these clerical and lay bondmen, the deed proceeds to say, are to belong to the bishop and his successors, with their cattle, possessions, and children, for ever, while the Lord Walter Comyn is to have all the remaining lay bondsmen of the lands of Logykenny and Inverdrummyn.§

The abolition of slavery in Scotland.

This state of slavery was abolished only by slow degrees; but it appears to have continued longer in England than in Scotland, as it was not till the year 1574, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that the complete manumission of the bondmen and bondwomen on the royal estates took place. In Scotland, according to Chalmers, "neither any canon of the church, any assize of the king, nor any act of parliament appears in favour of freedom. The national spirit put an end to the odious remains of slavery without any legislative declaration."* During the fourteenth century great numbers of bondmen were manumitted by the kings and the barons, and especially by the higher ecclesiastics and the religious houses; but it was not till the fifteenth century that the system of slavery was overthrown in Scotland. Some traces of the existence of serfdom, in a modified form, are to be found among the colliers in various parts of the country, down to a comparatively recent period.

Appearance of the country.

At the period of which we have been writing, the aspect of Scotland was very different from that which it now presents. The face of the country was covered by immense forests, chiefly of oak, through which roamed not only the deer, but the bear, the wolf, the wild boar, and the bison. Tracts, which in modern times present only bleak moors, covered with barren heath or desolate swamps and peat mosses, unadorned by a single tree, were in those early ages clothed with woods of oak, ash, and beech, which furnished useful timber and excellent pasturage. Huge trunks of black oak, the remains of these primeval forests, are frequently dug up at the present day, in almost every moss and moor in Scotland. We have seen that the patriots were accustomed, during the war of independence, to seek shelter from the hostile incursions of the English in these vast and impervious woods, and in the extensive morasses, where no enemy could follow them, and hence the invaders on various occasions, endeavoured to clear the country by cutting down and burning the forests. Barbour informs us that when the Earl of Arundel made an inroad into Scotland during the absence of King Robert in Ireland, he caused his men to bring hatchets with them, for the purpose of cutting down and clearing the forest of Jedburgh.† And Knighton relates that the Duke of Lancaster, who undertook an expedition into Scotland in the reign of Richard the Second, employed so large a number of men in clearing the country, that the stroke of eighty thousand hatchets might be heard in the forests, while the fire was blazing and consuming them at the same moment.‡ The timber of these immense woods was a source of considerable wealth to the proprietors, and frequent mention is made in the Cartularies of grants of wood both for building and for fuel, as well as of the privilege of pasturage and pannage in the forests.

* Cart. of Dunf. p. 592, Tytler, vol. ii. p. 212.

† Cart. of Moray, p. 240. Caledonia, vol. i. p. 722.

‡ Surnames began to be used in Scotland at the commencement of the twelfth century, and became general before the close of the thirteenth. The surnames adopted by the Celtic inhabitants, were either patronymics, as M'Donald, M'Dougal, or descriptive, as Duff (black) Roy (red). The Saxon, Norman, and Flemish settlers for the most part assumed their surnames from their lands, though a few are descriptive, and some are patronymics. Riddel and Corbet, are the two oldest surnames which can be traced in the cartularies of Scotland, Gervase Riddel and Robert Corbet, appear as witnesses in the *Inquisitio Davidis*, A.D. 1116. It was the universal practice at this period, for the married women to preserve their maiden names during their marriage, and even during their widowhood—Caledonia, vol. i. p. 771.

§ Ibid. p. 721 and note (*b*).

* Ibid. p. 723. According to the laws of the Burghs, however, every bondman, except the King's, who dwelt for a year and a day within a burgh, was entitled to his freedom.

† See ante, p. 144.

"He gathered folk about him then,
Till he had near ten thousand men,
And wood-axes gart with him take;
For he thought he his men would make
To hew Jedwort forest sa clene,
That na tree suld therein be sene."
Barbour, p. 323.

‡ Knighton apud Twysden, vol. ii. p. 267, &c., quoted in Tytler, vol. ii. p. 169.

We find that Edward I., during the temporary subjugation of the country, was in the habit of compensating his adherents for the losses they had suffered, and of repaying the services of those who submitted to his authority, by grants of oaks from the royal forests. Thus John Despanyding, the canon of Elgin, who was the host of Edward on his visit to that town, was rewarded by a present of twenty oaks out of the forest of Longmorgan to repair his church of Duffus. The Earl of Buchan received a grant of fifty oaks out of the forests of Buchan and Kintore, as a compensation for the injuries done to his estates during the war. Raufe le Chene received two hundred oaks out of the forests of Tarnaway and Longmorgan. The Abbot of Jedburgh obtained a grant of twenty oaks out of the forest of Plater in Forfarshire, to repair the church of Restennet, which had been destroyed in the war; and fifty oaks were granted out of the forest of Selkirk to the Abbot of Melrose, for a similar purpose.*

Grants from the royal forests.

At an earlier period the privilege of cutting timber, and of pasturage in the royal forests, occupies a conspicuous place in the Cartularies of the various religious houses throughout Scotland. We find that King David conferred upon the Abbot and convent of Dunfermline and their men, the right to cut his woods, either for building or burning. The same munificent patron of the church granted to the Abbot and convent of Holyrood, the right of taking from his forests in Stirling and Clackmannan, wood for building and other purposes, and also pannage for their swine. The monastery of Melrose obtained from him the free use both for wood and pasturage, of an extensive forest which then covered the district between the Leader and the Gala, and also of the forests of Selkirk and Traquair. The Abbey of Dryburgh received from him the lands of Cadysley, with free pasture, and the right of cutting wood in his forest. The same monarch conferred upon the monastery of Jedburgh, a similar privilege of pasturage and of woodbote, and on the monastery of Scone, the right of taking wood from all the royal forests throughout Scotland, and particularly from the forest between Scone and Cargil—a privilege which was confirmed by Malcolm IV. and by King Robert Bruce. The bishops of Moray and their men obtained from King William, the right of pasturage and of woodbote in the forests which then existed around the royal burghs of Elgin, Forres, and Inverness; and the same privileges were enjoyed by the burgesses in these burghs.† It would be easy to multiply examples of a similar kind; but these may suffice to show, to how great an extent the face of the country was at this period covered with wood. As might be expected in these circumstances, timber was largely employed for domestic purposes. Churches, towns, and bridges, and even castles and fortifications, were chiefly constructed of this material. It was also largely used as fuel, along with turf and peat, and perhaps, coal. But this mineral did not become a common article of fuel in Scotland till a much later period.*

Timber used for building and for fuel.

In the various ways which we have indicated, many districts of the country had by this time been partially cleared of wood, and brought under cultivation, and the woodlands afforded excellent pasturage for the horses, cows, sheep, and swine, with which they were amply stocked. In the vicinity of the great baronial residences of the nobility, a space of ground was cleared from wood, sufficient for the maintenance of their numerous vassals and retainers; and the country around the monasteries and religious houses and adjoining to the great towns, appears, even at this early period, to have been in a state of considerable cultivation. The lawless habits of these times and the consequent insecurity of the country, rendered it necessary for the cultivators of the soil to live in clusters of cottages, on the estates belonging to the nobles or to the church, rather than in detached dwellings; and to each of these villages or hamlets, there was annexed a district of land called a *Territorium*, which was cultivated in various proportions by the husbandmen and cottars. The former cultivated the larger divisions, which was termed *carucates*, *bovates*, or *oxgates*, and were either in part or in whole their own property, which they held by lease, and for which they paid rent, while each of the cottars possessed a cottage with a small piece of ground, for which he paid a trifling rent. Each of the husbandmen and cottars had a right of pasturage for a certain number of animals, in the pasture-land and woodland which was attached to these villages, and belonged to the villagers in common. Thus, for example, in the village of Bolden or Bowden, in Roxburghshire, which was the property of the monks of Kelso, about the close of the reign of Alexander III., there were twenty-eight husbandmen, thirty-six cottagers, a miller, and four brewers. Each husbandman possessed husband-land with common pasture, for which he paid a rent of half a mark, or six shillings and eight pence, besides various services which were due to his superiors. Each of the cottagers held nearly half an acre of arable land, with a right of common pasture; and their united rent amounted to fifty-five shillings, besides certain services in labour. To the village, there was attached a mill, which was rented at eight marks; and four brew-houses, which let for ten shillings each, with an obligation on the part of the brewers to sell their ale to the abbot at the rate of a lagen and a half for a penny. In the adjoining village of Midlem, there were twenty-nine husbandmen

Villages of the husbandmen and cottars.

* See Rolls of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 469, 471, 472, 473, quoted in Caledonia, vol. i. p. 792, note (*t*).

† Cart. of Dunfermline, Melrose, Scone, and Moray, and Monast. Scotiæ, pp. 29, 105. Ibid. note (*u*).

* A charter of James the Steward of Scotland, of date January, 1284, grants to William de Preston, the lands of Tranent, with certain *peateries* and *collieries*. And in the reign of William the Lion, Seyer de Quinci granted to the monks of Newbottle, a coal-pit and a quarry, between Whiteside and Pinkie, in Mid Lothian—Caledonia, vol. i. p. 793, note (*a*).

who possessed each a husband-land with common pasture, for which he paid a rent of six shillings and eight pence, besides various services and carriages; and eleven cottagers, each of whom rented a cottage with nearly an acre of arable land and common pasture, for seventeen pence. These villages, of course, varied greatly in size, according to the extent and fertility of the teritory which was annexed to them. Some of them possessed a church, others a mill, or both; but all of them contained malt-kilns and brew-houses for the supply of their common beverage.*

At this period the kings were the greatest landowners in the kingdom, and possessed extensive estates in almost every shire, which were cultivated by their own free tenants and their villeyns, under the superintendence of their own bailiffs; and as they consumed the produce of their manors, they were thus induced, as Chalmers remarks, frequently to shift their residence for that purpose. The immense quantities of agricultural produce drawn from the royal manors, may be estimated from the liberal grants which successive monarchs made to the various religious houses throughout the country. Thus, Alexander I. bestowed upon the monks of Scone, one half of the hides which belonged to his kitchen, one half of all the skins of sheep and of the fat, and one-tenth of the king's bread, on the north of Lammermuir; and to this grant his successor added the half of the skins and fat of all the beasts which were killed for the king's use on the north of the Tay. David I. granted to the church of St. John at Roxburgh, the tenth of the fat of the beasts slaughtered for him in Teviotdale; to the monastery of Holyrood, the half of the fat, tallow, and hides of his beasts killed in Edinburghshire, and all the skins of the sheep belonging to his castle of Linlithgow, which should die naturally; to the monastery of Dunfermline, the half of the hides and fat of all the beasts which should be killed for the feasts held in Stirling, and between the Forth and Tay; and to the monastery of Cambuskenneth, the half of the hides, tallow, and fat of all the king's beasts, which were killed at Stirling. Alexander II. bestowed the lands of Dollar on the monastery of Dunfermline, the lands of Blair on the monks of Scone, and a hundred shillings yearly from his farms of Roxburgh, on the monks of Kelso, in lieu of the agricultural produce which they were accustomed to receive from the royal kitchen.† Numerous other grants of a similar kind evince the liberality of the Scottish kings and the extent of the royal domains.

Next to the monarchs, the monks were the great farmers of these times; and in the extent of their possessions, and the number and variety of their rural establishments, were scarcely inferior to royalty itself. They were the principal agricultural improvers of the age. Possessing both the greatest amount of skill and of capital, they brought the waste lands under cultivation, cleared the woodlands, drained and inclosed their fields, and facilitated the access to the markets and seaports by the construction of roads and bridges. Their estates were situated for the most part in the richest and most fertile parts of the country; and as they were better cultivated, they were much more productive than the lands of the nobility. Their tenants and villeyns were more numerous and prosperous; and, from the pacific character of their landlords, were permitted to devote their attention more exclusively to their own peculiar pursuits than the tenants either of the crown or of the barons. The wise practice of granting leases appears to have been introduced by the religious houses. So early as the year 1170, Ingelram, the Bishop of Glasgow, leased to Richard Moreville the Constable, the whole territory of Gillemoriston for fifteen years, and received from him beforehand the sum of three hundred marks as a fine, or *grassum*. Leases appear to have been granted by the monks for much longer terms. Thus we find, for example, that the monks of Kelso granted to the men of Innerwick, in the year 1190, a thirty-three years' lease of certain woods and lands for the annual rent of twenty shillings, which was approved of by Alan, the son of Walter the Steward, to whom the men of Innerwick belonged. In 1326, Andrew de Strivelyn received from Simon, the Abbot of Scone, a lease for life of the lands of Girsmerland. The Abbot of Kelso granted to Henry Whitwell a lease for life of all the lands belonging to this monastery in the parish of Dumfries, for the yearly rent of twelve shillings; and to Adam de Culenhart a lease of the tithes of the parish of Kilosbern, for the yearly rent of fifty-three marks;* and many other instances of a similar kind might be adduced. It appears also from the Cartularies, that the tenants of the great religious houses enjoyed exemptions from many oppressive services, which were exacted from the tenants and vassals of the barons, and that their farms remained in the same family, and were transmitted from husband to widow, and from father to son, for several generations.

Leases introduced.

Oats, which formed the bread of the lower classes, and the malt from which their ale was brewed, seems to have been the principal kind of grain raised in Scotland at this early period. Wheat and barley were also grown to a considerable extent, as were peas and beans. From the number of malt-kilns and breweries, not only in the towns but in the villages and hamlets throughout the country, it is evident that the consumption of oat malt must have been very great, and that ale must have been a favourite beverage among all classes of the people. It appears from the Wardrobe accounts

Staple agricultural produce; oats, wheat, and barley.

* Cartulary of Kelso, pp. 477, 478, 479, quoted in Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 795, note (*i*).

† See Cart. of Scone, Glasgow, Dunferm Cambusken. and Kelso, quoted in Caledonia, vol. i. p. 789, note (*k*.)

* Cart. of Kelso and of Scone, Caledonia, vol. i. p. 794, note (*g*.)

of Edward I. in the years 1299 and 1300, that large quantities of oat malt were furnished to the different English garrisons in Scotland, at prices varying from twentypence to three shillings and sixpence per quarter. Barley malt cost four shillings and fourpence per quarter. In the same authentic record we find that William de Carlisle, one of the smaller landholders of Dumfries-shire, received from Edward I. twenty-four pounds for eighty acres of oats at Dornock, which were destroyed by the English cavalry on their return from Galloway, 31st August, 1300, and that a few days after, another body of cavalry destroyed an additional quantity of corn belonging to the same proprietor, and some belonging to his neighbour, the widow of Robert de la Fierte, in compensation for which the king allowed them two butts of wine.* It appears that the oats purchased in the south of Scotland for the English cavalry cost three shillings and sixpence a quarter.

Wheat was cultivated to a considerable extent, especially throughout the southern and eastern districts of the country, and wheaten bread was principally used at the tables of the upper and middle classes. The quantities of this grain which were ground in the mills show that the consumption must have been considerable. When Edward I. invaded Galloway, in the year 1300, he purchased large quantities of wheat, which he exported from Kirkcudbright to Whitehaven, and other ports in Cumberland. It was there ground, and the flour sent back to supply the English garrisons in Galloway and Ayr.† In these districts, at this period, wheat cost seven shillings, and flour from five and sixpence to eight shillings per quarter. In the Wardrobe account of Edward I., for the year 1299, it is stated, that unground peas for the use of the English garrisons were furnished at the rate of two shillings and ninepence, and beans for the horses, at four shillings and sixpence the quarter. Peas and beans were raised in small quantities. Flax was cultivated, and paid tithe to the clergy as early as the twelfth century,‡ as did also meadow hay; but artificial grasses appear to have been unknown at this period. In the agricultural operations of ploughing and harrowing, in the loading of hay and corn during the harvest, and in the carting of peat, oxen appear to have been principally employed, while the conveyance, to any great distance, of agricultural produce, was performed by horse labour. Thus we find, from the Cartulary of Kelso, that the tenants of this great religious house, in performing their usual services to the Abbot, were obliged to carry on each horse to Berwick, the usual place of export, three bolls of corn in summer, and two in winter, and to bring back in return, coals and salt.§ Immense herds of horses constituted an important part of the agricultural wealth of the great proprietors, who seem to have bestowed great care on this branch of rural economy. Besides the domestic studs, great numbers ran wild in the extensive forests; and from among these, the hardy little hackneys of the light-armed Scottish cavalry were principally obtained. The domestic mares and horses of a larger breed, employed in war, in the tournaments, in the chase, and in agricultural labours, were of great value, and were in considerable demand. Some idea may be formed of the extent to which the rearing of horses was carried on at this period, from the fact, that, in the inventory of the animals possessed in old times by the monks of Melrose, mention is made of no fewer than three hundred and twenty-five great mares and horses, fifty-four domestic mares, a hundred and four domestic horses, two hundred and seven stags, or young horses, thirty-nine three-year old colts, and a hundred and seventy two-year old colts.*

Rearing of horses—

At this period, the people appear to have consumed great quantities of animal food, and the pasture lands were stocked with extensive herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Wool formed the chief article of export, and was also largely employed in the manufacture of coarse home-spun cloth. The skins, both of the sheep and of the cattle, were exported in considerable quantities to England and Flanders. The latter were largely manufactured into shoes, leather jackets, and other articles of domestic wear. The dairy was evidently an object of considerable attention, and large quantities of cheese appear to have been manufactured. In the Cartularies, there are frequent notices of grants of cheese from the royal demesnes to the various religious houses. In the more cultivated districts, cows were kept in the proportion of ten to every plough; but, in the wilder districts, they were kept in much greater numbers. Large herds of swine fed on the beech-mast, and formed the staple animal food of the lower classes. Mention is made of goats in certain parts of the country, and the rearing of poultry was carefully attended to in the farm establishments, especially in those belonging to the monks, "the constant friends of national comfort and good cheer." In the reign of Malcom IV., the monks of Scone, at the Feast of All Saints, received from every ploughland which belonged to them, ten hens, along with other farm produce; and the Abbot of Kelso, at Christmas, received a hen, for which he paid a half-penny, from each house of every hamlet belonging to the abbey, and some of these hamlets contained from sixty to seventy households.†

—sheep and cattle—

—poultry.

The lakes and rivers of Scotland furnished for all classes, an inexhaustible supply of food; and, as early as the commencement of the twelfth century, both the sea

Fisheries.

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 796. † Ibid. p. 797.
‡ Cart. of Glasgow and of Moray, Ibid. p. 798.
§ Cart. of Kelso, p. 475, Ibid. p. 797, note (s). The cottars were, among other services, bound to weed the corn of their landlords, a custom which still survives in certain districts of the country, and to assist at the washing and shearing of their sheep.

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 798, note (x)
† Cart. of Scone, p. 10, and of Kelso; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 800.

and the river fisheries were objects of importance, and were pursued with great assiduity and skill. Salmon, herrings, haddocks, cod, ling, and almost every other species of fresh-water fish were caught in great quantities, and appear to have been regarded as a necessary of life. Frequent mention is made in the Cartularies, of grants of fishings by the kings and nobles, to the monastic houses, and of the various modes in which this branch of industry, of which they were the great improvers, was carried on. At a very early period there were *stell*, or stationary fishings, on the shores of the sea, and especially near the mouths of the rivers; and numerous grants were made of *retes*, or the right of fishing with a single net and a boat, within certain limits; and of *yairs*, which were machines constructed of wood and stones, and inserted in the stream of the river. Among the provisions which were furnished to the English garrisons during the years 1299 and 1300, there were large quantities of herrings and of stock-fish; and the English monarch, during his invasion of Scotland, carried with him his nets and fishers for the supply of the royal table. The proper season for fishing appears to have been very early regulated by law, for measures were adopted by King Robert Bruce to enforce the "auld statute" against fishing during prohibited times.*

Prices of provisions.

With regard to the prices of provisions at this period, it appears, from the Chamberlain's Rolls, in the reign of King Robert Bruce, that thirty-two bolls of wheat cost fifty-two shillings, or one shilling and sevenpence halfpenny per boll,† equal to one pound four shillings and fourpence halfpenny per boll, or six shillings and a penny per bushel of our present money. Six hundred and forty bolls of meal cost forty pounds, or one shilling and threepence per boll, equal to eighteen shillings and ninepence per boll. The average price of a quantity of barley and barley malt, purchased in 1329, for the royal establishment at Cardross, was one shilling and sixpence halfpenny per boll. Oats cost sixpence the boll. Seventy-six *marts*, or cattle for beef, cost thirty-two pounds, or about eight shillings and twopence each. Twenty cattle for pasture, (probably Highland kyloes,) cost five shillings each. In one instance, five sheep cost seven shillings and sixpence, or eighteenpence each. On another occasion, thirty sheep were bought for thirty shillings. A cow cost ten shillings; but, in 1261, forty cows were sold for ten pounds, the price of each being five shillings. Twenty-six salted salmon cost eighteen shillings. In one instance, fifty-six bolls of oats, when ground at the mill, were manufactured into sixteen bolls of white meal, thirteen bolls of ordinary meal, and nine and a fourth bolls of coarse meal, leaving a deficiency of seventeen and three-fourths bolls. In modern times, says Kerr, from good oats, there ought to be a boll of meal for every boll of oats, besides paying mill-dues; we may, therefore, conclude, either that the oats were very bad in 1329, or that the king's miller took a very heavy toll.* Six stones of chalk for whitewashing a new chamber at Cardross, cost three shillings; and seventy-two bushels of lime for a similar purpose, cost eight shillings. In the Wardrobe Accounts for the year 1300, we find that wheat cost from seven to eight shillings per quarter; wheat flour, six shillings; oats and oat-malt, three shillings and sixpence; barley-malt, four shillings and fourpence; peas, two shillings and ninepence; beans, five shillings; salt, from two shillings and sixpence to five shillings; beer, from eight to eighteen shillings the dolium or butt; carcases of oxen, from five to six shillings and eightpence, and fat hogs, from two shillings and twopence, to three shillings and ninepence each. But, in 1264, thirty-eight swine brought only eighteenpence each; and, in 1288, twelve swine sold as low as a shilling a head. Hens cost a penny each; and a tonegall of cheese, weighing six stones, sold for three shillings. The prices of clothes appear to have varied greatly, according to the quality of the materials. Nine prebendaries received from Alexander III. a grant of fifty shillings to provide themselves with vestments. In 1329, John Bysit, a poor monk of Haddington, and one of King Robert's pensioners, was allowed twenty shillings annually for his clothing; and, in 1364, a poor scholar received from David II. four pounds annually, to provide himself with food and clothing; whilst mention is made of a robe for the Clerk of the Rolls, which cost thirty shillings, and of another for Patrick de Monte-alto, which cost four pounds. In 1263, a hundred and seventy hogsheads of wine were bought for four hundred and thirty-nine pounds sixteen shillings and eightpence. In the following year, sixty-seven hogsheads and one pipe cost three hundred and seventy-three pounds sixteen shillings and eightpence; while, in 1300, forty hogsheads were bought for three pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence per hogshead; sixteen, for three pounds; five, for two pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence; four, for two pounds; and one, for one pound ten shillings.†

Rent and value of land.

With regard to the rent and value of land at this period, it is difficult to speak with certainty, in consequence of our want of definite information respecting the exact proportion which the ancient measures of land,—caracutæ, bovatæ, &c.—bear to the measures of land in the present day. In the reign of Alexander II., eight acres were purchased by the monks of Melrose for thirty-five marks. We learn, incidentally, that in 1281 land was valued at ten years' purchase; and that, in 1350, a perpetual annuity of eight marks sterling, or five pounds six shillings and eightpence, secured on land, was bought for one hundred and twenty marks, being exactly fifteen years' purchase. Four

* Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 783—785, and notes.

† The modern value of these sums has been estimated at fifteen to one. See Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 496.

* Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 497.

† For these details see the Chamberlain's Rolls, passim.

acres of land, at Selkirk, let for eight shillings. Three acres at Hope-Kailie, in Tweeddale, let for three shillings. For eighteen cottages, the monks of Kelso received an annual rent of twelve pennies each, and six days work at harvest and sheep-shearing; for another cottage, with six acres attached to it, and a malt-house, they received six shillings a year. Six cottages at Whitmere, with an acre of land and common of pasture attached to each, let from four shillings and sixpence to five shillings each. A cottage without land, at the same place, let for sixpence only.*

Wages of labour.

Reference has already been made to the wages of labour,† and, compared with the prices of provisions, it is evident that a fair remuneration was afforded to tradesmen and labourers. A carpenter received threepence a day, with his meat. A smith received twelve pounds, and a mason six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, for his yearly wages. The wages of barrowmen or labourers, in 1326, appear to have varied from fourteenpence to four shillings a week. The gardener of King Alexander III., at Forfar, had for his yearly wages five marks; the gardener at Menmouth only one mark. The keeper of the royal warren at Crail received, for his meat and wages during one year, sixteen shillings and eightpence, and for the following year either a mark, which was thirteen shillings and fourpence, or a chalder of oatmeal; and the king's cook and keeper of the royal larder was paid, for his arrears of three years wages, ten pounds.*

It is evident from these facts, that in Scotland, at this period, there was no want of the necessaries and even comforts of life, and that the lower classes of the community must, on the whole, have lived in comfortable circumstances. "Though the people of every rank," says Chalmers, "were but badly lodged, yet were they in general well fed. The lower classes certainly enjoyed a much larger proportion of animal food than they partake of at present. Cattle, swine, and poultry, were raised by them in great abundance, and were all consumed at home. Their bread was made of wheat and oats. The better ranks enjoyed wheaten bread, while the lower orders eat the bread of oats, and sometimes of barley and pease. The higher classes enjoyed the luxury of wine, but the principal beverage of the common people was beer, chiefly brewed from malt of oats. None of the malt was manufactured, in those simple times, into the less healthful beverage of spirits."†

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 800, and note (*i*).
† See ante, p. 105.

* Chamberlain's Accounts; Tytler, vol. ii. pp. 273—275.
† Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 803, 804.

CHAPTER XI.

DAVID II.

A.D. 1329—1346.

KING ROBERT BRUCE was succeeded by his son David, a boy only eight years old. The kingdom was thus already threatened with the evils of a long minority, which the fierce and turbulent spirit of the nobles, the unsettled state of the country, and the jealousy of the English king, were likely to aggravate. The reign of the young monarch began, however, amid circumstances highly auspicious. An honourable peace had been concluded with England, which, by the marriage of David with Joanna, promised to be permanent. Baliol, worn out by age, hopeless of success, and soothed by the donations of Robert Bruce, had renounced all claims to the Scottish crown. The foreign relations of the kingdom had been placed on a footing the most satisfactory, by an alliance with France and Norway, and a reconciliation with the Papal See. With his dying breath, Robert had nominated as regent, during the minority of his son, Randolph, Earl of Moray; and the parliament of Scotland had sanctioned the appointment. Randolph combined in himself all the qualities of an able ruler. Wise and sagacious in peace, his military talents were of the highest order. In the administration of justice he displayed a stern severity which overawed crime, and placed the meanest property under the protection of the law. By a singular arrangement, the sheriff of each county was held responsible for the thefts committed within his jurisdiction; so that if even the common plough-irons, left by the husbandman in the open fields, were carried away, the price of the stolen article was paid by the sheriff. One example may be given of his impartial administration. A priest had been murdered by a person who had fled to Rome, and there obtained absolution for his crime. Returning to Scotland, he was seized and brought before the regent. The deed was admitted by the criminal, but the pardon of the holy father was pleaded as exempting him from punishment. Randolph ordered him to instant execution, at the same time remarking: "The Pope might pardon you for killing a priest; but his remission cannot avail you for murdering a subject of the King of Scotland."*

Accession of David II.

Regency of Randolph.

The able administration of the regent, however, could not shield his country from the evils of foreign aggression and intestine treason. Edward III., in whom daring ambition was united with great perfidy, already contemplated the renewal of the struggle for the conquest of Scotland. The treaty of Northampton, and his alliance with David, forbad any direct attempt for this purpose; but cool, crafty, and unscrupulous, he resolved, in the first instance, to content himself with fomenting the disturbances of the Scots by raising up a new claimant to the throne, and to wait a favourable opportunity for the accomplishment of his designs. John Baliol, the competitor with Bruce for the Scottish crown, died in obscurity in France, leaving two sons. The eldest of these, Edward Baliol, on the death of Robert Bruce, deemed this a fitting time for the renewal of his claims to the throne. The king was a minor; Douglas, as we have seen, had left the kingdom, on his expedition to the Holy Land, so that his great military talents were now lost to his country; Randolph was advanced in years, while the powerful family of Comyn, to whom Baliol was related through his mother, and the barons, who had espoused their cause, viewed the family of Bruce with intense dislike. Crossing to England, Baliol found matters in a train most favourable to his enterprize. During the temporary success of Edward I., large estates in Scotland had been conferred by that monarch on many of his nobles, who had aided him in conquering the country. On the establishment of the independence of the kingdom, these estates reverted to their original possessors. Some of the Englsh nobles, however, laid claim to estates in Scotland, on the ground of lineal succession, which, they affirmed, no change in the government could affect. The treaty of Northampton distinctly recognized the rights of three of these, namely, Henry de Percy, Thomas, Lord Wake, and Henry de Beaumont. The estates of Percy were accordingly restored; but both Robert Bruce and Randolph successively evaded or delayed the claims of Wake and Beaumont. The caution of the king and regent was justified by the circumstance, that both of these barons were bitterly opposed to the treaty of Northampton, of whose provisions they sought to avail themselves,—were known to be hostile to the family of Bruce; and, through the extensive estates to which they laid claim, could, at any moment, precipitate on Scotland an invading army, to aid the efforts of discontent or treason. The disinherited barons, as they were called, determined to enforce their claims by an appeal to arms, and to make common cause with Baliol in the invasion of Scotland.* Accordingly, with four hundred men-at-arms, and about four thousand archers and soldiers of every description, they set sail from Ravenshire, near the mouth of the Humber, towards the end of July, 1332.

Dangers from the ambition of Edward Baliol.

Claims of the disinherited barons—

—in concert with Baliol, they prepare to invade Scotland.

The conduct of Edward III. at this period, was marked by his usual duplicity. To the person and interests of David, his brother-in-law, he professed the warmest attachment; reiterated his determination to respect the treaty of peace, and transmitted instructions to Henry de Percy, to guard the marches, and to secure and punish those

Perfidy and duplicity of Edward III.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xx.

* Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 170—178, and notes.

who might be arming in defiance of his prohibition.* On the other hand, Edward Baliol, of whose pretensions and movements he could not plead ignorance, was in England in consequence of his permission; the disinherited barons were allowed to collect their strength and invade Scotland by sea if not by land, and his instructions to Percy were transmitted after Baliol and the barons had embarked.

While the storm was thus gathering over Scotland, the young king and his consort, Joanna, were crowned at Scone, on the 24th of November, 1331.† The regent having received information respecting the movements of Baliol and his allies, speedily assembled an army to resist the invaders. He marched first to the frontier of East Lothian; but, having there heard of the naval armament, he retraced his steps to provide for the defence of the interior of the country. At this critical juncture, to the unspeakable grief of his countrymen, he died suddenly at Musselburgh, on the 20th of July, 1332. The Scottish historians affirm that he was poisoned by an English friar, an agent of the invading faction, during a feast held at the Wemyss in Fife, and there is every reason to believe that these statements are well founded.‡ The death of this great man, under circumstances of such peril, which he alone of the Scottish leaders was able to overcome, must be regarded as a national calamity. The parliament immediately assembled at Perth, for the election of his successor, and, after great contention among the nobility, Donald, Earl of Mar, nephew to Robert Bruce, was appointed to the regency.§ Feeble, vacillating, and destitute of military talent, Mar appears to have been utterly unfitted for a situation so arduous and important. His connexion with the royal family, to which he owed his appointment, did not secure the ability and courage necessary for the defence of the country at this crisis; as the disastrous events which followed, too clearly indicate. Meanwhile, the English fleet, after a prosperous voyage, appeared in the Firth of Forth, and cast anchor at Wester-Kinghorn, a small town on the shore of Fife. The troops were immediately disembarked. A brave, but unsuccessful resistance was made to the invaders by the Earl of Fife, at the head of some men hastily collected. His force was quickly routed, and the younger Seton slain.‖ Baliol and his associates now marched to Dunfermline, where they were strengthened by numbers of the discontented nobles; they then proceeded northward, and encamped at Forteviot, on the river Earn. His whole force did not exceed three thousand men. On the northern bank of the river lay the army of Mar, numbering upwards of thirty thousand soldiers, and including the principal nobility of Scotland; while the Earl of March, with an army nearly as numerous, was only eight miles distant on the enemy's left flank.* But Baliol had secret friends in the Scottish armies, and their disgraceful treachery, combined with the incapacity of the regent, rescued him from his perilous situation. Andrew Murray, of Tullybardine, a Scottish baron in the army of March, basely pointed out to the English a ford in the Earn, by which it could be crossed in safety;† and, setting out at midnight, they passed the river, and surprised the camp of the Scots, who were completely taken at unawares; for Mar had not only neglected to post sentinels, but had allowed his troops to abandon themselves to intemperance and riotous mirth. On the first alarm, young Randolph, Earl of Moray, hastily drew together three hundred men-at-arms, and supported by Murdoch, Earl of Menteith, Alexander Fraser, and Robert Bruce, a natural son of King Robert, he succeeded in checking the onset of the English. But Mar, and the rest of the army, rushed down in one confused mass, without order or discipline, and in an instant overwhelmed Randolph and his little band. Wedged together in inextricable confusion, the front ranks trodden down by the masses behind pressing on, the Scottish troops were slaughtered almost without resistance. Hundreds of them were suffocated by the weight of their armour, and perished without stroke of weapon. The rout soon became total. By nine in the morning the whole Scottish army was slain, put to flight, or taken captive. Such was the battle of Dupplin Moor, one of the most calamitous and disgraceful events in the annals of our country. The English historians ascribe this easy victory to a miraculous interference of the Almighty on their behalf; while the Scottish writers regard it as an infliction of divine vengeance on their countrymen, for their haughtiness and pride. In this disastrous action there fell many of the bravest of the Scottish nobility and knights, and not fewer than thirteen thousand of the common soldiers and camp followers. Among the slain were the Regent Mar, Robert, Earl of Carrick, a natural son of Edward Bruce, Alexander Fraser, Chamberlain of Scotland, Murdoch, Earl of Menteith, and young Randolph, son of the great Earl of Moray. The loss of the English was very inconsiderable.‡ It is satisfactory to know that Murray did not escape the punishment which his base treachery merited. He was made prisoner at Perth, about two months after, tried, condemned, and executed.

The position of Baliol, notwithstanding his victory, was still critical, for the army of March was greatly superior in numbers to the force under his com-

Death of Randolph.

Defeat of the Scots at Dupplin.

The Earl of Mar is appointed Regent.

Invasion of Scotland by Baliol.

Baliol fortifies Perth.

* Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 518, 529.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxi.

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 146; Barbour, p. 442; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xix. He was buried at Dunfermline.

§ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 147; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxii.

‖ Ibid.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxii.

† He fixed a stake in the river to direct them; Ibid. chap. xxv.; Murray was an ancestor of the Duke of Athol.

‡ Fordun, book xiii. chaps. xxiii. xxiv.; Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 152, 153; Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 273.

mand. He, therefore, took possession of Perth the day after the battle, and hastily fortified it with palisades, in the expectation of an attack from the Earl of March.* But the conduct of this noble was so irresolute and equivocal, as to afford strong grounds for the suspicion that he and the other barons of his party were in friendly correspondence with Baliol. As soon as intelligence reached him of the overthrow at Dupplin, he hastened to Perth, apparently with the intention of assaulting it; but, on reaching the high ground immediately above the town, he commanded his men to halt. On perceiving this, Beaumont exclaimed to his adherents, "Take courage, for that army, as I conjecture, will not hurt us, because I perceive, without doubt, our friends and well-wishers amongst them."† Events soon showed how accurate was this estimate of the feelings and intentions of March and his associates. The resolution to assault the town was abandoned, and preparations were made for a blockade,—a step from which the English garrison, abundantly supplied with provisions from the fleet lying at anchor in the Tay, had little to fear. At this moment, Crab, the Flemish mariner, who so eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Berwick, appeared with ten vessels in the Tay, and attacked the English fleet; but, though he at first made a prize of Henry de Beaumont's ship, he was in the end defeated, and compelled to seek refuge in Berwick.‡ Disheartened by this disaster, and glad of a decent pretext for abandoning the siege, March disbanded his army; and this event was followed at no long distance by his own accession, and that of a considerable number of the Scottish nobles, to the English interest. Baliol having put down all opposition to his claims, was crowned at Scone, on the 24th of September;§ and thus, by the events of a few weeks, the struggles of many years, crowned by the brilliant victory of Bannockburn, appeared to be rendered abortive. The spirit of the nation, however, was overawed, not broken. The first act of the newly made sovereign exhibited at once his own baseness, and the real, though disclaimed encouragement which he had received from the English monarch. Hastening southward to Roxburgh, he there surrendered the independence of Scotland, acknowledging Edward as his liege lord, giving up the town, castle, and territory of Berwick and other lands upon the marches, amounting to the value of two thousand pounds a year; engaging to assist the English monarch in all his wars with two hundred men-at-arms, maintained at his own expense, and binding his successors to perform the same service with a hundred men-at-arms, under the penalty of two hundred thousand pounds sterling; and if this enormous sum could not be paid, it was stipulated that the English monarch should take possession of the remainder of Scotland and the isles.* Baliol also offered to marry the Princess Joanna, affecting to consider her as only betrothed to David Bruce, and offered to provide for his unfortunate rival in whatever way Edward should recommend. In return, Edward pledged himself to maintain Baliol on the throne with the whole military strength of his kingdom. The disgust which this bargain excited among the Scots when its terms became known, aroused the patriotic spirit of the nobles and people, and alienated from Baliol many of those whom interest or fear had hitherto attached to his cause. Already, indeed, his feeble power was tottering to its fall. The town of Perth, which he had fortified and intrusted to the care of the Earl of Fife, was surprised by Sir Robert Keith and James and Simon Frazer, nephews of King Robert, who destroyed the fortifications, and took the governor and his family prisoners.† The office of regent was conferred upon the veteran Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, who had married Christian, the sister of the late king. Meanwhile, Baliol lay encamped in careless security at Annan; and the Earl of Moray, second son of the great Randolph, along with Sir Simon Fraser and Archibald Douglas, brother of the Good Sir James, having received intelligence of the new king's exposed situation, collected a body of horse at Moffat, and, rapidly traversing the country, broke in upon his encampment at midnight. After a brief resistance, his troops were routed and put to the sword. Henry Baliol, his brother, Walter Comyn, Sir John de Mowbray, and Sir Richard Kirby were slain. Alexander, Earl of Carrick, was taken prisoner; and Baliol himself, almost naked, and with scarcely a single attendant, with difficulty escaped into England.‡

Suspicious conduct of March.

Capture of Perth.

Baliol's expulsion from Scotland.

On receiving intelligence of the expulsion of Baliol, and of a subsequent inroad which the Scottish leaders made into the English border district, Edward had the effrontery to accuse the Scots of having violated the treaty of Northampton;§ and, in his correspondence with the Pope and the king of France, he grossly misrepresented the state of affairs in Scotland, and threw upon the Scottish nation the whole blame of the recommencement of hostilities.

Effrontery of Edward.

Baliol now renewed his allegiance to the English monarch, and having ceded part of the Scottish kingdom, and surrendered the independence of the rest, received in return promises of immediate aid in the attempt to win back his crown. Meanwhile, the Scots exasperated by the perfidy of Edward, and encouraged by the expulsion of his vassal king, resumed their destructive forays into England. Archibald Douglas, at the head of three thousand men, invaded Gillsland, and wasted with fire and sword for thirty miles the estates of Lord Dacres,

Baliol's coronation—

—he pays homage to Edward III.

* Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 188, 189.
† Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 156.
‡ Walsingham, p. 130.
§ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 157; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 190.

* Hailes, pp. 191, 192; Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 536 and 548.
† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxv.
‡ Ibid.; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 159.
§ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 552.

who had received and hospitably entertained Baliol after his flight from Annan. In revenge for this incursion, Sir Anthony Lucy, of Cockermouth, entered Scotland with eight hundred men, and ravaged the districts through which he passed. On their returning, the English force was met near Lochmaben, by Sir William Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale, when a brief but desperate encounter ensued, in which Lucy was severely wounded, and Douglas was totally defeated, with the loss of a hundred and sixty men-at-arms, including two knights.* A hundred knights were made prisoners along with Douglas himself, who was strictly confined in iron fetters by the orders of Edward, and was two years detained in captivity.† This event was followed by another equally disastrous. Baliol had returned to Scotland, and, accompanied by many of the English barons who were friendly to his cause, established his quarters in the castle of Roxburgh, waiting for the promised reinforcements of Edward to begin the siege of Berwick. Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, the regent, resolved to attack him before these succours arrived, and with a strong body of troops assailed and attempted to storm the castle of Roxburgh. In the conflict which ensued, a brave soldier, named Ralph Golding, having imprudently advanced before his companions, was thrown down and captured. Moray generously attempted to rescue him, but unsupported by his men, and overpowered by the English soldiers, speedily shared his fate. Disdaining to surrender to his assailants, he exclaimed: "I yield to the king of England, conduct me to him." Edward issued orders for his imprisonment at Durham, and, like his co-patriot Douglas, Moray remained for two years in strict confinement.‡ Deprived thus of their bravest leaders, at the moment when their services were most required, the Scots made choice of Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, surnamed Tyneman,§ and brother of the Good Sir James, as their regent,—a choice every way unfortunate, as succeeding events sufficiently proved. The English monarch, emboldened by these successes, resolved to carry on the war with vigour. He summoned his army to assemble at Newcastle, besought the prayers of the church for himself and his troops engaged in the defence of the kingdom, endeavoured to dissuade the Earl of Flanders and his subjects from in any way assisting the Scots, and sought to justify his proceedings to the king of France by alleging that the Scots, having invaded England in open violation of the terms of peace, deserved the heaviest chastisement which his arms could inflict.‖

Defeat and capture of the Knight of Liddesdale—

—and of Sir Andrew Moray, the regent.

Edward resolves to invade Scotland.

The capture of Berwick was the first object which engaged the attention of Edward, and having united his force with that of Baliol, he sat down before the town, which was strictly invested by land, while a large fleet supplied the assailants with provisions, and prevented relief to the besieged by sea. Sir William Seton was governor of the town, and the defence of the castle had been intrusted by the Scots to the Earl of March, notwithstanding the grave suspicions of treason to which his conduct after the battle of Dupplin exposed him. Edward at first attempted to carry the place by storm; but though the garrison was small, and ill prepared for an attack, and the assailants succeeded in filling up the ditches and planting their scaling ladders, they were repulsed with considerable loss, while a portion of their fleet was set on fire and destroyed.* The siege was, therefore, converted into a strict blockade, and the garrison were at last reduced to such distress, that they agreed to surrender if not relieved before a certain day, giving hostages in the mean time to Edward, among whom was the son of Seton, the governor. Before the day agreed on for the surrender of the town had arrived, the regent Douglas, at the head of a numerous army, crossed the Tweed, and advanced toward Berwick, by the south side of the river. In spite of the strenuous resistance of the besiegers, Douglas succeeded in throwing into the beleaguered town a party of soldiers under Sir William Keith; but as the English could not be induced to quit their vantage ground, or to engage in battle, he entered Northumberland, and by assaulting Bamborough Castle, where the young Queen Philippa was residing, endeavoured to produce a diversion in favour of the distressed garrison.‡ Edward, however, refused to be drawn from his position, even by the peril which menaced his queen, and the period stipulated for the succour of Berwick having now expired, he demanded that it should be immediately given up. The garrison, who, in the mean time, had chosen Sir William Keith as their governor, refused to comply, alleging that by the relief and reinforcement, which they had received, their former paction was rendered null and void.‡ Edward repeated his demand, affirming that as the Scots had been unable to compel him to raise the siege, they were bound to surrender, and threatening in the event of further refusal to put the hostages to death. The garrison still remaining firm, Thomas Seton, the son of the late governor, a brave and handsome young man, was hanged so near the walls that his unhappy father could witness his dying struggles.§ Horror-struck at this tragedy, and dreading that the rest of the hostages would all be put to death, the citizens surrounded Keith and the Earl of March, clamouring for an immedi-

Siege of Berwick.

Cruelty of Edward.

Capitulation of the garrison of Berwick.

* Walsingham, p. 132.
† Fordun, book xiii. chap, xxvii.
‡ Ibid.
‖ Rymer vol. iv. pp. 556, 557.
§ Ibid.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxvii.
† Ibid., chap. xxviii.
‡ Scala Chron., pp. 163, 164.
§ Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxvii.; Tyrrell, vol. iii. p. 379; Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 374—384, Appendix.

ate surrender, and refusing any longer to defend the town. Keith, who confidently expected immediate relief, yielded to their wishes, and a second treaty was formed with Edward, according to which the town and castle of Berwick was to be unconditionally given up before the hour of vespers on the 19th of July, unless the Scots in the meanwhile could reinforce the garrison with two hundred men-at-arms, or defeat the English in a pitched battle.* Having concluded this negotiation, Keith hastened to Douglas, who was then ravaging Northumberland, and representing the importance of Berwick, and the certainty of its loss, unless instantly relieved, urged him to hazard a battle. The importunities of the governor unfortunately prevailed with the regent, a brave man, but destitute of the higher qualities necessary to a successful leader, and in defiance of the dying recommendation of Bruce, that the fate of the kingdom should never, if possible, depend on the doubtful issue of a general engagement, the Scottish army crossed the Tweed on the 18th of July, and encamped at Dunse Park, a few miles to the north of Berwick. They found the English strongly posted on the crest of an eminence, called Halidon Hill, situated to the west of the town. They were

Battle of Halidon Hill.

divided into four great battles flanked with numerous bodies of archers, and were further strengthened by a morass, which intervened between their lines and the opposite hill on which the Scottish leaders halted and drew up their army. It was divided also into four bodies; the first was led by the Earl of Moray, the son of Randolph, but assisted, on account of his youth, by two veteran warriors, John and Simon Frazer; the second, by the young Stewart of Scotland, under the direction of his uncle, Sir James Stewart, of Rosyth; the third, by the regent himself; and the fourth, or reserve, by Hugh Earl of Ross.† The entire Scottish force is said to have numbered fifteen thousand men, including the pages and camp followers, who were more numerous in all likelihood than the actual combatants. As the position of the English army could not be assailed by cavalry, the Scottish nobles and men-at-arms committed their horses to the care of the pages, and with their wonted impetuosity rushed on foot to the charge. While descending the hill, they were exposed to the deadly discharges of the English archers, and suffered severely in consequence, but managed to reach the intervening morass, resolute and in good order. Here the disasters of the day began; for, impeded in their advance by the soft and spongy nature of the ground, they broke their ranks and struggled in confusion through the bog. Meanwhile the English archers, from the slope of the adjoining hill, poured on them, with certain aim and fatal effect, volleys of arrows, by which hundreds were every instant wounded or slain. The arrows, says an ancient writer, flew as thick as motes in the sunbeam.* Some of the Scots in the rear, on witnessing the carnage of their friends, wavered and fled; but the better part of the army extricated themselves at last from the marshy hollow, and, advancing up the hill, made a fierce attack upon the enemy. But, breathless and disordered by their ascent of the eminence, they were unable to sustain the conflict with fresh troops, posted in a most advantageous situation, and after a brief struggle they were driven down the hill with great slaughter. The Earl of Ross, in leading the reserve to attack the flank of the wing commanded by Baliol, was repulsed and slain; the regent himself received a mortal wound, and was taken prisoner; the Earls of Sutherland and Menteith shared his fate, and the Scottish army gave way on all sides, and was pursued for many miles with great slaughter. Few of the leaders and men-at-arms escaped, as the pages on witnessing the issue of the battle fled on the horses of their masters, whom they abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. Besides the nobles already mentioned, the aged Earl of Lennox, one of the earliest adherents of King Robert Bruce; the Earl of Carrick, son of Edward Bruce; the Earl of Athole, nephew of King Robert; James and Simon Fraser, John and James Stewart, uncles of the Steward of Scotland, John de Graham, Alexander de Lindesay, and other barons, together with fourteen thousand men, were left on this fatal field.† So great was the slaughter of the nobility, that, according to an English historian, it was the general voice that the Scottish wars were ended, for no man remained of that nation who had either influence to assemble, or skill to lead, an army. The disastrous battle of Halidon Hill was fought on the 20th of July, and it was followed by the immediate surrender of the town and castle of Berwick, and the almost entire submission of Scotland. The Earl of March and many other persons of rank swore fealty to Edward, and openly embraced the English interest. Five of the principal fortresses of the kingdom, however, still remained in the possession of the friends of Bruce. Malcolm Fleming secured the strong castle of Dumbarton, Lochleven was held by Alan de Vipont, Urquhart in Inverness by Thomas Lauder, and Kildrummie by Christian Bruce, the sister of the late king, and wife of Sir Andrew Moray, who still languished a prisoner in England. John Thomson, a man of obscure birth, but great bravery and skill, who led home the broken remains of the Scottish force after the defeat of Dundalk, garrisoned and resolutely defended the stronghold of Lochdoun in Carrick.‡ Alarmed for the safety of the young king and his consort, Fleming found means to convey them from Dumbarton Castle to France, where they were kindly received by Philip the Sixth.§

Defeat of the Scots.

Surrender of Berwick.

* Fordun, vol. iv. pp. 564—568.

† Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 202, 203, and Appendix.

* MS. Harleian, quoted in Tytler, vol. ii. p. 28.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxviii.; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 170; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 204.

‡ Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxviii.

§ Hailes, vol. ii. p. 207, and note.

The English monarch employed every means to secure his conquest. He compelled the homage of such of the Scottish nobles as were in his power, seized and forfeited the estates of the barons in the county of Berwick, who held their property by charter from Robert Bruce; and in order to secure the important town of Berwick in future to the English interest, his tenants and vassals were prohibited from granting sub-leases to any but Englishmen, while the Scottish monks, who had animated their countrymen during the former sieges, were removed to monasteries south of the Trent, and their places supplied by ecclesiastics more favourably disposed to the views of the English monarch. In Baliol, now again nominally king of Scotland, Edward found a ready tool for his grasping ambition. A mock parliament was held at Edinburgh on the 18th of February, composed exclusively of English nobles, or those friendly to the English supremacy. Among these, the estates of the Scottish barons who had fallen at Halidon Hill, or who still adhered to the cause of David Bruce, were liberally divided by Baliol, while at the same time he ceded to Edward the town, castle, and county of Berwick, the forests of Jedburgh, Selkirk, and Ettrick, the counties of Roxburgh, Peebles, Dumfries, and Edinburgh, the constabularies of Linlithgow and Haddington, with all the towns and castles, and completed the humiliation of his country by doing homage for the remainder.* The subserviency of Baliol, however, could not give stability to his power, which was doomed to be lost almost as quickly as it was gained. John de Mowbray died, leaving daughters, but no male issue, and his brother Alexander was preferred by Baliol to the estates as heir male. But the cause of the female heirs was warmly espoused by Henry de Beaumont, Richard Talbot, and the Earl of Athole, to whom Baliol was chiefly indebted for his elevation. On the denial of their suit, these haughty nobles retired in disgust from the court, and hastening to their own domains, prepared to extort by force, what they could not induce Baliol to grant from a regard to justice or gratitude.† Alarmed at the consequences of this powerful secession, Baliol immediately reversed his decision, and put the female heirs in possession of the disputed estates; but this course, while it failed to conciliate the offended nobles, exasperated De Mowbray, who speedily joined the party of David Bruce. At this juncture Sir Andrew Moray, who had been taken prisoner at Roxburgh, returned from England, after a two years' imprisonment. The friends of the exiled family, encouraged by his presence, and the dissensions among their enemies, rose in all directions, and united for the expulsion of Baliol and his adherents. Richard Talbot, while on his way to England with a body of soldiers, was attacked and made prisoner by Sir William Keith, of Galston.* Beaumont had retired to his castle of Dundarg, in Buchan, to which Moray, assisted by Mowbray, immediately laid siege. The fortress, situated on a precipitous rock overhanging the Moray frith, and connected with the main land by a narrow neck of land, resisted all attempts to take it by storm. Moray had recourse, therefore, to a rigid blockade, and having discovered and cut off the pipes which supplied the garrison with water, they were speedily compelled to surrender. Beaumont, on the payment of a large ransom, was permitted to return to England.† In the south and west of Scotland the movements of the royalists were equally daring and successful. The young Stewart escaped after the battle of Halidon Hill to Bute, where he was concealed by his vassals from the search of his enemies. On the first tidings of revolt he prepared to leave his hiding-place, and with the assistance of three retainers quitted Rothesay in a boat for Dumbarton, which he reached in safety, and was joyfully received by Malcolm Fleming, the governor of the castle. He immediately collected his vassals, and stormed the castle of Dunoon, in Cowal;‡ and the men of Bute, animated by the example of their chief, instantly rose upon the English governor and put him to death, and drove the enemy out of that district.§

Baliol dismembers the kingdom of Scotland.

Successes of the patriots.

The spirit of insurrection spread quickly into Annandale, where the patriots, on the news of Stewart's success, left their fastnesses, and, headed by Sir William Carruthers, joined the force of that young nobleman. The insurgents were next strengthened by the accession of Thomas Bruce and the men of Kyle; and soon after, Randolph, Earl of Moray—who had fled to France after the fatal battle of Halidon—returned to his own country, and lent the aid of his great talents and bravery to the national cause. So bold and skilful were the efforts of the patriots, that they were everywhere crowned with success, and in a short period the English were expelled from the whole south and west of Scotland. The necessities of the country demanded the appointment of a regency; and accordingly, by the choice of the Scottish nobles, the young Steward, and Randolph, Earl of Moray, were associated in the office. The Steward, in addition to his claims as the grandson of Robert Bruce, and nearest heir to the throne, had already displayed a wisdom and valour far beyond his years;‖ while Moray inherited the fame and chivalrous

The Steward and the Earl of Moray are chosen joint regents.

* Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 614, 616, and Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 263; Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 209—211.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxix.; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 175.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xl.; Walsingham, p. 134.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxix.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid, chap. xxxii. Wyntown says, "The Brandanys of Bute" overwhelmed Lyle the governor with showers of stones, vol. ii. p. 186. According to Fordun, they asked and obtained, as a reward for their services, a perpetual exemption from the payment of *multures*.

‖ "He was a comely youth, tall and robust, modest, liberal, gay, and courteous, and for the innate sweetness of his disposition, generally beloved by true Scotsmen." Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxii.; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 214.

loyalty of his father. The regents followed up the previous successes by instant and vigorous measures for the punishment of the Earl of Athole, now,—in consequence of the removal of Talbot and Beaumont,—almost the sole stay of Baliol in Scotland, and who was formidable from his feudal influence and vast possessions, which comprehended, in addition to his patrimonial estates in Scotland and England, the extensive lands of the family of Comyn, and those of the Steward, bestowed on him by Baliol, in reward of his services. Moray, having collected a powerful force, proceeded rapidly to the north, and, attacking the earl before his preparations were completed, drove him into the wilds of Lochaber, and compelled him to surrender. He soon after renounced allegiance to Baliol and embraced the cause of David Bruce.* Baliol, thus deserted by the nobles, and viewed with indignation and contempt by the people, fled once more to England, to claim the protection and assistance of his liege lord.

Edward III. invades Scotland.

The English king, though the season was unfavourable for military operations, determined, with characteristic promptitude, to support his vassal and regain his conquest. His expedition was viewed with little favour by his military barons, many of whom failed to appear when summoned to join the army; but, bent on his purpose, and confident of success, he pushed rapidly with his army into Scotland.† As the Scots had retired to the northern provinces on the news of his approach, his progress was altogether unopposed, and he found himself at last, amid the rigours of winter, in the heart of the Lothians, without having accomplished anything of note, save the capture of some robbers, on whom he executed summary punishment.‡ Baliol, who accompanied him, after ravaging Avondale, and the districts of Carrick and Cunningham, with a portion of the army, held a mock court at Renfrew, where he feasted royally, and rewarded his adherents by gifts of estates belonging to his enemies.§ But the expedition, instead of crushing the patriot party in Scotland, lent to it new vigour, and even the time-serving Earl of March renounced, at this period, his fealty to Edward and joined the friends of David Bruce. Though no general engagement took place, a desultory warfare was maintained between the parties. The

Siege of Lochleven Castle by the English.

castle of Lochleven, situated in the midst of the beautiful lake of that name, was commanded by Alan de Vipont, for David Bruce. Sir John de Strivelin, a Scotchman, but in the interest of Baliol, proceeded to besiege it, with a large body of English troops. Strivelin erected a fort in the churchyard of Kinross, where a narrow neck of land projects into the lake. From this point, by means of boat attacks, the English made frequent attempts to surprise and storm the fortress, but were uniformly repulsed, with considerable loss, and compelled at last to resort to a strict blockade. But one dark and stormy night, De Vipont, the governor,—having ascertained that Strivelin, with a portion of his force, was absent in Dunfermline, attending a religious festival,—conveyed his men secretly to land, and by a sudden and well-planned attack captured the fort, and drove the English from their position, with great slaughter, so that they were compelled to raise the siege.* Encouraged by these successes, the regents summoned a parliament, to meet at Dairsie, in Fife, which was attended by the Earls of March and Athole; Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell; Alexander de Mowbray; William Douglas, of Liddesdale; and many of the principal Scottish barons. The insolence of Athole, however,—who, from the unpopularity of Baliol, his own relation to the Comyns, and almost princely possessions, was probably not without hopes of gaining the crown,—proved so offensive to Randolph and the other nobles that, after a scene of stormy recrimination, the meeting broke up in confusion, without having resolved on any course for the future defence of the country.†

Meeting of the Scottish parliament, April, 1335.

Dissensions among the nobles.

Edward, on his return to England, after his last fruitless expedition, busied himself in preparing for a new invasion of Scotland. Philip, King of France, endeavoured to mediate between the two kingdoms; but all proposals for peace were sternly rejected by the English parliament; and on the 11th of July, Edward marched from Newcastle with a numerous and well-appointed force, while his fleet was ordered to sail for the Frith of Forth, and to co-operate with the land troops on their arrival. One part of the English army, led by the king himself, entered Scotland by Carlisle, while another, commanded by Baliol, advanced by Berwick.‡ After ravaging the country with unsparing cruelty, the two divisions united at Glasgow, and marched on the town of Perth. They met with no organized opposition, and the country through which they passed was completely deserted, the inhabitants with their cattle having retired, by order of the regents, to the inaccessible fastnesses among the mountains. While wisely

Renewed invasion of Scotland by Edward.

* Hailes, vol. ii. p. 215.
† Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 277.
‡ Ibid.
§ Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxix.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxiv; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 183. A more romantic account is given by some Scottish historians of this siege and the defeat of the English. According to them, Strivelin, in despair of obtaining possession of the castle by storm, determined to drown the garrison by damming up the waters of the lake at the eastern extremity, where they escape by the river Leven to the sea. De Vipont, however, sent out, at dead of night, a small boat with four men, who made a breach in the mound, and the whole body of water, breaking forth with incredible fury, swept away the tents, baggage, and troops of the besiegers, and nearly destroyed their army. Though the remains of the mound are still shown, the story has been pronounced to be physically improbable. See Tytler, vol. ii. p. 39, and note.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxiv.; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 219, and note.

‡ Ibid.; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxiv.

declining a general engagement, the Scots continued to hang on the advancing columns of the enemy, cutting off detached parties, and otherwise harassing them.

Conflict between the Scots and the Earl of Namur.

About the close of July, Guy, Count of Namur, landed at Berwick, with a large body of Flemish troops, to assist Edward in his Scottish campaign. Imagining the country south of the Forth to be entirely conquered, he advanced confidently to Edinburgh, at that time an open town, the castle having been demolished. On reaching the town he was suddenly attacked by the Earls of Moray and March, and Sir Alexander Ramsay, at the head of a strong force. A fierce engagement ensued on the Borough Muir, in which the Flemings, clad in complete steel, had at first the advantage, till compelled to give way by the appearance of Douglas of Liddesdale, who came down from the Pentland Hills with a reinforcement. The Flemish mercenaries retreated to the town, closely pursued by the Scots, with whom, amid the narrow streets, they maintained a fierce conflict, signalized by many acts of individual prowess.* Driven at last to the rock on which the castle now stands, the Flemings killed their horses, and forming a temporary parapet with their carcases, bravely defended themselves against their assailants. They were at last compelled to surrender, and Moray and Douglas treated the brave strangers with distinguished courtesy; and on receiving their promise not to assist Edward in the Scottish wars, dismissed them without ransom, and accompanied them with an escort across the border.† The generous conduct of the regent, however, had a disastrous issue. He was attacked and taken

Capture of the Earl of Moray.

prisoner on his way home by William de Pressen, the English warden of Jedburgh forest, who, after loading his captive with irons, committed him to Bamborough castle.‡ Baliol, meanwhile, overran and wasted the northern districts of Scotland, while the Earl of Cornwall, at the head of a large body of troops, spread desolation over the western portion of the kingdom. So completely were the Scots overawed by these successes, and the captivity of Moray, that the boldest were compelled to dissemble, and the lips of children alone durst express the unwavering loyalty of the nation. "If you asked a grown-up person," says Wyntown, "who was his king, he dared make no other answer save by naming Edward Baliol, while the undissembling frankness of childhood answered the same question with the name of David Bruce."§ The

The Earl of Athole joins the English—

Earl of Athole, whose ambition, along with the malignant influence which he exercised on the young Steward, had contributed mainly to produce this deplorable state of things, hastened to renew his submission to Edward. He accordingly sent five deputies who concluded a treaty at Perth, in which the English monarch agreed that the Earl of Athole, and all other Scottish barons who came under this peace, should receive a free pardon, and have their estates in Scotland secured, unless they should hereafter be excepted from indemnity by common assent.* Athole was rewarded for his useful versatility by the restoration of his large English estates, and the appointment to the office of Governor of Scotland under Baliol.† Edward, having thus put down all opposition, and secured a devoted and powerful adherent, returned to England after fortifying Perth, and rebuilding the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling.

—is made governor.

Athole, the newly-made governor, entered on his duties with the characteristic zeal of a political apostate, and persecuted the friends of Bruce with great rancour. Determined, if possible, to extinguish the spirit of loyalty, he laid siege to the castle of Kildrummie, in which Christian, the sister of Robert Bruce, and wife of the veteran Sir Andrew Moray, had taken refuge. On learning this movement, Moray hastened along with the Earl of March, and the Knight of Liddesdale, at the head of fifteen hundred men, to the relief of the fortress. The troops of Athole encamped in the forest of Kilblane, near Braemar, were surprised and speedily routed. Athole, in whose character bravery seems to have been the only redeeming feature, refused to flee, and, though abandoned by his soldiers, continued fighting till he was slain under a great oak tree, along with five knights who attended him.‡ The death of this nobleman—whose courage, rapacious cruelty, and unprincipled ambition, together with his vast feudal influence, both in Scotland and England, had made him not more abhorred than feared—infused hope into the small band of patriots on whose efforts the liberties of Scotland mainly depended; and at a parliament held in Dunfermline, they made choice of Sir Andrew Moray as regent of the kingdom.§ The intelligence of Athole's defeat and death, followed by a new insurrection in Scotland, determined Edward to lead a powerful army into the northern kingdom and crush the revolt before it had gathered strength. He penetrated first to Perth, and afterwards marched through the counties of Aberdeen, Nairn, and Inverness, ravaging the country, burning many of the towns and villages, and putting to death such of the inhabitants as he supposed to be unfriendly to his pretensions. The expedition, however, failed altogether in its main designs. The cruelty of

—is defeated and slain.

Sir Andrew Moray chosen Regent.

Edward again invades Scotland.

* Tradition long pointed out the spot at the foot of the Row, where David de Annand, a Scottish knight, is reported to have struck down with his battle-axe one of these mailed foreigners, killing horse and man, and shattering a huge flagstone in the pavement by a single blow.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxv. § Ibid.

‡ Ibid; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 222, and note.

§ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 194.

* Knighton, p. 2566; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxvi.

† Ibid; Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 223, 224,

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 201; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxvi.; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 226, and note.

§ Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxvii.

Edward only irritated, when it was intended to subdue, and roused the spirit of vengeance, which awaited but his departure to make itself felt. The regent, who wisely declined a general engagement, lost no opportunity of harassing the foe. Cool, crafty, and brave, he hung on the rear of the English, and, availing himself of his knowledge of the country, made sudden and destructive attacks on their stragglers and detached parties, and then rapidly retreated through some narrow mountain pass, only to appear again at some new point in the march. Wyntown records one incident strikingly characteristic of the cool intrepidity of Moray. He was encamped with a portion of his force at Stronkaltere, near the base of the Grampians, when Edward, who had received notice of his position, advanced with his whole army to surprise him. The Scottish scouts hastened to inform Moray, who was then hearing mass, of the near approach of the English. The veteran warrior, in spite of the anxious impatience of his troops, continued reverently to listen to the service till it was concluded. His war-horse was at last led out, and its appointments carefully inspected, but, in the act of mounting, one of the straps which buckled his armour gave way. He ordered an attendant to bring him a coffer from his baggage, out of which he took a piece of skin, and sitting leisurely down, proceeded to cut a strip, with which he mended the fracture. He then deliberately closed the coffer and returned it to its place, and, mounting his horse, formed his troops in close order, and began a masterly retreat, in which he succeeded in leading off his force without the loss of a man. The unruffled bearing of the general doubtless saved his party, to whom a confused and hasty retreat must have proved destructive, from the proximity and vast superiority of the English army; but old warriors who were present confessed, that in their life they had never spent such anxious moments as during the time that their veteran commander sat cutting his leather skin in the wood of Stronkaltere.* Unable to bring the Scottish leader to a battle, or to provide sufficiently for his troops, which now, in consequence of his ravages, began to be grievously straitened, Edward determined to return to England, and, accordingly, having strengthened some of the principal strongholds, and given the command of a sufficient body of troops to his brother, the Earl of Cornwall, he left Scotland for his own kingdom. The departure of the English monarch was the signal for a general insurrection. The loyalist leaders hastened from their mountain fastnesses, and at the head of bands, whom the memory of cruelty and oppression filled with a burning thirst for vengeance, assailed the fortresses which remained in the hands of the English. The castles of Dunnoter, Kinclevin, and Laurieston, were captured and demolished by Sir William Douglas and Sir William Keith, and those of St. Andrews, Leuchars, and Bothwell, were taken and destroyed by the regent.* Moray, also, with the view of committing reprisals, and finding food for his troops, no longer able to subsist in a country which in consequence of the long war, and the interruption of agricultural operations, was afflicted with a grievous famine, led his forces across the borders, and wasted with fire and sword the northern provinces of England.† Returning from this expedition, he expelled the English from the counties south of the Forth, and besieged the castle of Edinburgh, which Edward had rebuilt. The lords marchers of England, hastening to relieve the fortress, were encountered by William Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale, near Crichton castle, in Mid Lothian. After a fierce struggle they were driven across the Tweed; but Douglas was severely wounded, and his force so much weakened by the conflict, that the regent deemed it expedient to relinquish the siege.‡

Wise policy of the Regent.

Fortresses recovered from the English.

Expedition of the Scots into England.

At this period, the cause of national independence received a sudden and powerful impulse. The relations between the courts of France and England had been gradually assuming a hostile aspect, in consequence of the pretensions of Edward to the crown of France. The progress of events in Scotland was regarded with deep interest, both by the English monarch and his rival. Besides sympathizing with his ally, Philip of France saw in the success of the Scots the most effectual barrier against the ambition of his formidable opponent, while Edward naturally desired the cessation of a war which distracted his efforts for the conquest of France. Foiled in his attempts to subdue Scotland, and anxious to begin his continental expedition, he sought to gain time by making overtures of peace to the Scottish leaders. These, however, were rejected; and, reduced to the necessity either to abandon or prosecute his pretensions to the French crown, to the great delight of the Scots, he preferred the bolder alternative, and declared war with France, on the 7th of October, 1337.§ The command of the English force in Scotland was entrusted to the Earls of Arundel, Salisbury, and Norfolk, along with Edward Baliol, who were invested with ample powers to receive all the Scottish leaders who might be willing to accept of terms.

Declaration of war between England and France.

All attempts to secure an armistice with the Scots having failed, Montague, Earl of Salisbury, laid siege to the castle of Dunbar. This fortress, reckoned one of the strongest in Scotland, was built on a chain of rocks stretching into the sea, and could be approached from the main land only by one passage, which was strongly fortified. In the absence

Seige of Dunbar.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 204, 205.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxix.; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 214.

† Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 280.

‡ Fordun, book xiii. chap. xli; Scala Chron. ap. Leland, vol. i. pp. 556, 557; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 238.

§ Rymer Foed. vol. iv. p. 818.

of the Earl of March, it was defended by his countess, a daughter of the illustrious Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, whose lofty patriotism and indomitable courage she appears to have inherited. Though Salisbury assailed the castle with the best constructed military engines of the period, and encouraged his soldiers by heading the detachments who attempted to storm it, Black Agnes, as the countess was commonly called, from her complexion, continued, during five months, to defy his utmost efforts. Her vigilance, self-possession, and contempt of danger, were united to a rude, but biting wit, which, while it animated the garrison, seems to have greatly annoyed the besiegers. When the stones, thrown from the English engines, struck the walls, she ordered one of her maidens, with a white napkin to wipe off the dust, in derision of their vain attempts on her impregnable castle.* Salisbury himself was at one time nearly captured by a well-laid stratagem. Confiding in the sincerity of a soldier in the garrison, who pretended to betray the fortress to the English, the earl came at midnight to the gate, which was left open, and the portcullis drawn up. John Copland, one of his attendants, pressed hastily before him, on which the portcullis was suddenly lowered and the retainer was made prisoner instead of his lord, who, much to the disappointment of the Scots, succeeded in making his escape.† Among other engines, Salisbury employed the formidable machine called a sow, (so famous in the siege of Berwick,) in order to effect a breach in the citadel, by undermining the walls. As the huge engine advanced, Agnes saluted the Earl with the taunting rhyme,—

—and gallant conduct of Black Agnes.

Beware, Montagow,
For farrow shall thy sow!

and almost at the same moment a mass of rock, which had been kept in readiness, was hurled against the sow, dashing it to pieces, and killing or wounding the greater part of the soldiers who were concealed within. Salisbury, though constantly baffled by this high-spirited woman, seems to have regarded her with a chivalrous admiration, which found expression in the quaint pleasantry of the times. Riding near the walls one day, accompanied by a knight clothed in armour of proof, an arrow, shot by a Scottish archer, named William Spens, pierced through the chained mail-coat of the wearer, though it consisted of three folds, and struck him dead from his horse at the feet of the earl. "There goes one of my lady's tire-pins," said Montague; "the Countess's love-shafts pierce to the heart." Foiled in all his attempts to storm the castle, Salisbury converted the siege into a strict blockade, and with the assistance of a large fleet, so completely environed the fortress that its brave defenders were nearly famished. But Sir Alexander Ramsay, of Dalhousie, availing himself of a dark night, sailed from the Bass in a light vessel filled with provisions and manned with forty resolute soldiers, and after passing, unnoticed, the English fleet, entered the castle by a gate near the sea. Animated by this welcome reinforcement, the garrison made a sudden and vigorous sally on the besiegers, driving in their advanced guards. The English at last withdrew from Dunbar, where for nineteen weeks the heroism of a woman had defied a powerful army, assisted by the best military engines of the day, and led by one of the bravest and most experienced of the English nobles. The failure of this enterprise was regarded as highly dishonourable to the national arms.*

Salisbury is compelled to raise the siege.

On the departure of Salisbury for the South, the regent, Sir Andrew Moray, assisted by the knight of Liddesdale and Ramsay of Dalhousie, prosecuted the war with vigour and success. Attacked by the fierce bands of the Scots, who had become skilful in partisan warfare, the English were driven from the open country, and sought shelter in those fortresses which still remained in their hands. The retention even of these became daily more difficult, as the reinforcements of men and arms which Edward could spare for Scotland were frequently intercepted by the enemy, who lost no opportunity of attack or surprise. In these encounters the Scots were generally successful. The Knight of Liddesdale drove the English from Teviotdale, captured Sir John Stirling at the head of five hundred men-at-arms, intercepted a convoy of provisions on its way to Hermitage, and succeeded in reducing that fortress; defeated Roland de Vaux, and in a fierce and repeatedly-renewed engagement with Sir Lawrence Abernethy, a Scotsman in the interest of Baliol, succeeded at the fourth encounter in capturing the knight and dispersing his followers.† Sir Alexander Ramsay emulated the bravery of Douglas, and with equal success. At the head of a body of knights and soldiers whom his fame as a daring and skilful warrior had drawn around him,‡ he sallied from the crags and caves of Hawthornden, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, inflicting great damage on the enemy, and driving them into the adjoining fortress. Emboldened by success, he penetrated into Northumberland, and wasted the country with fire and sword, carrying off much booty and many prisoners.

Gallant exploits of the Knight of Liddesdale and Sir Alexander Ramsay.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 207, 208.

† Ibid. p. 211; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xli.

* Knighton, p. 2570; Walsingham, p. 136; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 244, and note. Wyntown says the English minstrels made songs in praise of the courage and perseverance of Black Agnes. He gives, as a specimen, the following lines, which have been somewhat modernised by Sir Walter Scott:—

"She kept a stir in tower and trench,
That brawling, boisterous Scottish wench;
Came I early, came I late,
I found Agnes at the gate."

Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 213.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xliv.

‡ Fordun says, that to be of Alexander Ramsay's band was considered as a branch of military education requisite for all young gentlemen who meant to excel in arms. Hailes, vol. ii p. 245, note.

Returning from one of these predatory inroads, he was encountered at Pressen, near Wark Castle, by Robert Manners and other barons, at the head of a powerful force. Ramsay, by a feigned retreat, led his enemies into an ambush, and, after capturing Manners, so completely defeated them that scarcely an Englishman escaped.*

Joustings between the English and the Scottish knights.

These fierce encounters in the open field were sometimes varied and relieved, in the spirit of the times, by tournaments or jousts, between the English and Scottish knights. Henry of Lancaster, then Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry IV. of England, having heard of the gallant exploits of the Knight of Liddesdale, sent him a courteous invitation to run three courses with him. In the first encounter, Douglas was wounded in the hand by a splinter of his own lance, and was obliged to relinquish the contest. The earl then requested Sir Alexander Ramsay to hold a tilting-match at Berwick, twenty against twenty. The invitation was at once accepted by the Scottish knight. On the appointed day, when Ramsay and his companions came to Berwick, they were received and hospitably entertained by the earl, who inquired of Ramsay in what manner of armour the knights should tilt together. "With shields of plate,"† said Ramsay. "Ah! sire," said Derby, "we shall gain little praise if we tilt in such armour, for no one will be able to injure another; if you like, let us rather use the armour which we wear in battle, so shall we gain high renown." "By my faith," replied Ramsay, "it shall like us to fight in our kirtles alone, if such be your pleasure?" "Nay," said the earl, pleasantly, "that is too hard, truly." The jousting lasted three days, and turned out a sanguinary pastime. Two of the English knights were slain, and John de Hay, one of the Scottish knights, died of his wounds on the way home; Sir William Ramsay was struck through his helmet by a lance, the splinter of which remained in his skull, and fixed the helmet to his head. A priest was immediately brought, who heard him confess his sins, and shrived him without the helmet being removed. "Lo! here is a fair sight," said the good Earl of Derby, "a fairer sight may no man see, than a knight or squire making his shrift in his helmet. When I shall pass out of this life, may God, in his grace, send me such an ending." When the shrift was over, Sir Alexander Ramsay made the wounded knight lie down at full length, and placing his foot upon his kinsman's helmet, by main force pulled out the broken spear. Then William Ramsay started on his feet, and declared he should soon ail nothing. "What stout hearts these men have," was the laconic remark of the earl.‡ Wyntown, who relates this singular incident, does not mention whether the wounded man lived or died. Next day, Sir Patrick de Graham, a Scottish knight, who had recently arrived from the continent, having heard of this jousting, hastened to Berwick. On his arrival, an English baron, named Richard Talbot, requested to run three courses with him, and was wounded in the encounter,—the lance of his opponent having pierced through the two breastplates which he wore, and sunk an inch into his breast.* If Talbot had been armed according to agreement, he would have been killed on the spot. Graham was then invited to supper, and, in the midst of the entertainment, a comely English knight, "that seemed stout, baith bald and wycht," courteously begged to have a joust with him. "Dost thou ask to joust with me?" replied Graham; "rise early in the morning, and hear mass, and confess your sins, and you will soon be delivered." This was spoken in jest, but it proved true, for on the ensuing morning Graham ran the knight through the body with his lance, and he died on the spot.†

In awarding the prizes, it was settled by the heralds that the English knights should decide which of the Scots had behaved most valiantly, and that the Scottish knights should, in like manner, decide respecting the valour of the English. The heralds expressed their satisfaction with the awards, and the Earl of Derby showed great munificence in his entertainment of the knights, and in the distribution of gifts and prizes.‡

Death of the regent—

About this period, Scotland sustained a heavy loss in the death of Sir Andrew Moray, the regent, who died at his castle of Avoch, in Ross, to which he had shortly before retired, feeling himself sinking under the infirmities of age and the incessant toil of warfare. This veteran patriot, the last of the great Scottish commanders in the War of Independence, had the high honour to be the friend of Wallace and the brother-in-law of Bruce, and, during a career of forty years, showed himself worthy of that honourable alliance. "He was," says Wyntown, "a lord of great bounty, of sober and chaste life, wise and upright in council, liberal and generous, remarkably devout and charitable, stout, hardy, and courageous."§ He is censured by Fordun for the manner in which he waged war, desolating the country, and reducing the inhabitants to the extremities of famine.‖ But the historian himself admits that this is not to be ascribed to the natural disposition of Moray, who "was a just and beneficent person;" and in burning the open country before the enemy, the regent only followed the lesson of defensive war which he had learned from Bruce. His intrepidity and coolness in the midst of great danger were conspicuously displayed,¶ while his lofty principle, and pure and inflexible patriotism, caused him, like his great compatriot, to spurn every offer made to induce him to follow the example of the time-serving nobles, who sacrificed the independence of their country to save their own lives and estates.

—his character.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xlviii.

† This was probably a peculiarly weighty and strong kind of armour, intended merely for tilting matches.

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 222, 223.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 224.

† Ibid. p. 224.

‡ Ibid. p. 225, 226.

§ Ibid. p. 217.

‖ Fordun, book xiii. chap. xliii.

¶ See ante, p. 192.

He was interred in the chapel of Rosemartin, but his body was afterwards conveyed to Dunfermline, and deposited in the Abbey Church, beside the hallowed remains of Bruce and Randolph.

Moray was succeeded in the office of regent by Robert, the Steward of Scotland, who soon showed himself worthy of the important trust. The first act of the new governor was to send the Knight of Liddesdale to solicit assistance from the French court.* He then commenced the siege of Perth—a place of great importance, as it had been the head-quarters of the English for many years, and the seat of Baliol's government. Edward had expended vast sums of money in strengthening the fortifications of the town, and had intrusted its defence to Thomas Ughtred, a veteran leader, who had acquired great experience in the Scottish wars. The siege had continued for ten weeks, during which little progress had been made in the reduction of the town, when the Knight of Liddesdale returned from France, bringing with him five ships of war, under the command of a skilful officer named Hugh Hautpyle, and having on board a body of men-at-arms, led by Arnold de Audeneham, afterwards a marshal of France,† the Lord of Garencieres, and two esquires, Giles de la Huse and John de Bracy. Hautpyle, with his ships, seized the English vessels which brought provisions to the garrison, and cut them off from all relief. At this juncture, the besieging army was powerfully reinforced by the accession of William Bullock, a bold and able ecclesiastic, who had, at one time, been chancellor to Baliol, but now brought his powerful talents and uncommon genius for war to the aid of the popular cause. Bullock, it has been justly said, was one of those churchmen who loved the battle-field, or the political scenes of the cabinet, better than mass or matins. He had been intrusted by Baliol with the charge of the strong castle of Cupar, which he successfully defended against the late regent; but he was now induced, by the bribe of an ample grant of lands, to renounce the English interest, and to deliver up the fortress intrusted to his charge.‡ His indomitable courage and military experience were of great service in pressing the siege of Perth, which was still obstinately defended by the English garrison. The Knight of Liddesdale was dangerously wounded, and Alexander Boyd and John Stirling, who commanded the Scottish archers, were slain. But the Earl of Ross collected a body of miners, who, by means of a subterranean excavation, diverted the water from the fossé, and laid bare the walls. Preparations were now made to storm the town, but, in the midst of these operations, an eclipse of the sun took place, and filled the minds both of the besieging army and of the garrison with great terror.* Bullock, however, showed the hardihood of his character by taking advantage of the darkness to advance his military engines close to the wall, to be in readiness for the assault. But the governor had at length lost all hope of relief, and capitulated upon honourable terms. He and his soldiers were allowed to retire into England, where his conduct was made the subject of a parliamentary inquiry, which terminated in his acquittal of all blame.†

The Steward elected Regent.

Siege and capture of Perth—

The Steward having thus made himself master of Perth, proceeded to besiege the castle of Stirling, which also yielded to his arms.‡ Baliol, intimidated by these successes, fled for refuge into England. He was hospitably received at Morholm by his kinswoman, Christiana de Lindsay, "who entertained him," says the Chronicle of Lanercost, "with divers solaces and festivities, and he promised her, if he should chance to prosper in his enterprise, great lands and revenues in Scotland, which belonged to her hereditarily from ancient times."§ His interest in Scotland, however, was now almost totally annihilated, and of all the English conquests in that country nothing remained except the fortresses of Edinburgh, Jedburgh, Roxburgh, and Lochmaben, with a few inconsiderable strengths in their vicinity.

—and of Stirling.

In the mean time Scotland was suffering severely from a terrible famine which broke out, and continued for several years. In consequence of the ravages committed by both parties during the war, the land was left uncultivated, and the people were, to a great extent, dependent for support on the supply of provisions surreptitiously imported from England. According to Wyntown, the district around Perth was entirely laid waste, and contained neither house for man nor harbour for cattle. The wild deer came down from the mountains, and roamed undisturbed in the vicinity of the town. Many of the inhabitants fled from the country in despair. Numbers of the poorer classes were constrained by hunger to feed upon the raw nuts and acorns which they gathered in the woods, or to devour substances most abhorrent to human nature; and it is even said that some miserable creatures were driven by want and misery to prey on human flesh. Wyntown, a sober and trustworthy writer, speaks of one horrid wretch, called *Christian of the Cleik*,

Famine in Scotland.

Cannibalism.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xlv.

† Ibid.; Froissart, vol. i. chap. xxxiv.; Wyntown, vol ii. p. 293, calls Hautpyle "a sturdy reiver of the sea."

‡ Ibid. p. 232; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xlv.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 234. This old chronicler remarks, with great simplicity,

"Bot had they knawyn the cause all
That garrs sic ecclippis fall,
They suld noucht have had abayssing;"

and he then proceeds to explain this natural phenomenon in a manner which shows that it must have been but imperfectly understood even in his day.

† Foed. vol. v. p. 131.

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 237, 238. He mentions, that in this siege Sir William Keith, a brave and experienced soldier, in mounting a ladder was struck down by a stone, and falling "twa-fauld" was "stickit on his own spere."

§ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 271.

from the iron cleik, or hook, with which he seized his victims, who used to set traps for women and children, as if for wild beasts, and subsisted on their flesh.* Famine was followed by its natural consequence—disease; a pestilence swept the land, and destroyed many thousands of the enfeebled inhabitants.

These horrors were somewhat alleviated by the expulsion of the English from the country. Order began to be re-established, and the operations of husbandry were resumed. In the language of Bower, husbandmen were once more seen at the plough and priests at the altar. But this breathing-time was too brief to heal the wounds of the country. War suddenly broke out again with increased fury. Great preparations were made by the English to carry on with vigour their operations against Scotland, and many of the great barons undertook to raise considerable numbers of soldiers, and to serve in person against the Scots. Notwithstanding these efforts, however, the patriots continued to gain ground, and the important castle of Edinburgh fell into their hands by a stratagem devised by William Bullock, and executed by the Knight of Liddesdale and Sir Simon Fraser. They procured one William Curry, a shipmaster of Dundee, to bring his vessel into the Forth, and in the assumed character of an English merchant, to make an offer to the governor of the castle to supply the garrison with wine and wheat. The offer was accepted; and as Curry pretended to be afraid that he might be intercepted by the Scots, he obtained permission to convey his goods into the castle at an early hour in the morning. In the course of the night Douglas concealed himself with a party of his men among the ruins of some houses adjacent to the castle, and at daybreak next morning, Curry, and Sir Simon Fraser, with a few of the most resolute of his followers, wearing grey frocks over their armour, presented themselves at the castle-gate with barrels and hampers supposed to contain wine and provisions. The porter without suspicion readily opened the outer gate, lowered the drawbridge, and admitted the carriages into the outer court, when the pretended merchant and his attendants instantly threw off their disguises, stabbed the porter, and seizing his keys, opened the inner-gate of the fortress, and placed the casks and hampers in the entrance, so that the gate could not be shut, or the portcullis lowered. Douglas and his men, who lay in ambush at the foot of the hill, warned by the sound of a horn, hastened to the assistance of their associates. Meanwhile, the garrison having taken the alarm, hastily armed themselves and rushed to the gates. A desperate conflict ensued, which terminated in the total defeat of the English, who were all put to the sword except the governor, Sir Richard Limosin, and six esquires. The command of the castle was intrusted to a natural brother of the Knight of Liddesdale.*

Capture of Edinburgh Castle, 17th April, 1341.

The Scottish leaders, having now succeeded in expelling the enemy almost entirely from the country, deemed it advisable that King David, who had for nine years been an exile in a foreign land, should return to his own dominions. The youthful king accordingly embarked with his consort, and landed in safety at Inverbervie, on the 4th of June, 1341, where he was enthusiastically welcomed by his subjects. David was now in his eighteenth year, and began to exhibit a character very unlike that of his heroic father. He was headstrong, violent in his passions, and immoderately fond of pleasure,—a propensity probably acquired by his education at the court of France; and, though possessed of a goodly person and considerable intrepidity, he was quite unfitted for the government of a country like Scotland, and ignorant of the character of the fierce and turbulent barons over whom he was called to rule. A lamentable proof of this occurred shortly after the arrival of the young king in his own dominions. The gallant Sir Alexander Ramsay, of Dalhousie, captured the important fortress of Roxburgh in a night attack; and David, as a fitting reward for this gallant exploit, conferred upon him the government of the castle and the sheriffdom of the county. The Knight of Liddesdale, who then held the office of sheriff, was deeply offended by this imprudent act, and immediately resolved to revenge himself upon Ramsay, who had been his friend and companion in arms. Having, by a pretended reconciliation, thrown Sir Alexander off his guard, Douglas led a band of soldiers to Hawick, where the new sheriff was holding his court in the church, attacked and dispersed his few attendants, wounded his unsuspecting victim in attempting a vain resistance, and throwing him bleeding across a horse, carried him, through many a wild bog and mountain path, to his solitary castle of Hermitage, among the morasses of Liddesdale, where he thrust him into a dungeon, and left him to perish of hunger. It is said that there was a granary above his place of confinement, and that some grains of corn falling through the crevices in the floor, enabled him to linger out a miserable existence for seventeen days, until death put an end to

Return of the young king to Scotland.

Cruel murder of Sir Alexander Ramsay.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 236. Bower, the continuator of Fordun, who also relates this horrible incident, speaks of a woman by whom *Cristicleik* is said to have been assisted. A similar story is told of a family of cannibals who are said to have lived in the reign of James II.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 239—243; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xlvii.; Froissart, vol. i. chap. lvi. Wyntown, who relates this exploit in a very graphic manner, and with great minuteness of detail, says that Curry and his men had their beards shaven when they presented themselves at the castle gate; from which we may infer that at this period the Scots retained the ancient practice of wearing their beards, which the English, in accordance with the Norman fashion, had shaved ever since the time of William the Conqueror. The kings alone retained the beard as a mark of dignity and distinction. See notes to Wyntown's Chronicle, p. 516.

his sufferings.* The young king was deeply indignant at this atrocious crime; but such was the weakness of his government, that he was obliged not only to pardon the savage murderer, but to bestow upon him the office which had led to the perpetration of the crime. According to Wyntown, Douglas owed his pardon to the intercession of the High Steward. "It is scarcely possible," says Scott, "to give a more deplorable instance of those wretched times in which the great stood above all law, human and divine, and indulged their furious passions, not only with impunity, but with an enlarged scope to their ambition. Neither was the act of cruelty attended with any blot upon his fame, since the Knight of Liddesdale, who, before Ramsay's murder, had been distinguished by the splendid title of the Flower of Chivalry, continued to retain it after that atrocious transaction."

About this time a fate similar to that of Ramsay overtook William Bullock, the able but versatile ecclesiastic who deserted the cause of Baliol, and assisted so powerfully in the capture of Perth. Having, from some cause or other, lost the confidence of the king, he was suddenly seized by David de Berkeley, stript of his high offices, and thrown into the dungeon of the castle of Lochendorb, in Moray, and there, like Ramsay, starved to death. An ancient Scottish historian, who evidently regarded Bullock as an innocent and oppressed man, makes this melancholy remark on his fate:—"It is an old saying, that neither the wealthy nor the valiant, nor even the wise, can long flourish in Scotland, for envy obtaineth the mastery over them all."† There is reason to believe, however, that this intriguing ecclesiastic had been detected in a traitorous correspondence with the English, and that his fate was not wholly unmerited.

Miserable fate of William Bullock.

In the mean while the war with England still continued to rage, and the frontiers of both countries were disturbed and devastated by mutual incursions, which led to no decisive result. A two years' truce was at length concluded, which was to terminate at Martinmas, 1346. At this period, the English monarch tampered with the Knight of Liddesdale, and succeeded in seducing him from his allegiance. Henry de Percy, Maurice de Berkeley, and Thomas de Lucy, were appointed commissioners by Edward, with full powers "to treat of and to conclude a treaty with William Douglas, to receive him into our faith, peace, and amity, and to secure him in a reward."* Douglas appears to have held repeated private meetings with Baliol and the English commissioners, and to have accepted of the terms which they offered; but, from some unknown cause, the conspiracy was laid aside for the time, and Douglas, probably with the view of clearing himself from all suspicion of treachery, in violation of the truce made a furious incursion into England, and burnt the towns of Carlisle and Penrith. The English king was at this time absent in France, carrying on the siege of Calais, and David was induced by the urgent entreaty of the French monarch to renew the war.† He accordingly assembled a numerous army at Perth, for the purpose of invading England. A strong body of troops, from the Highlands and islands of Scotland, appeared at the place of rendezvous; but a deadly feud, which existed between Reginald, or Ronald of the Isles, and the Earl of Ross, led to the assassination of the island chief in the monastery of Elcho, at the instigation of the earl; and the assassin, with his numerous retainers, dreading the royal vengeance, retired from the host and sought refuge in the mountains. The men of the isles, indignant at the murder of their chief, returned home in confusion, so that the king found his army much diminished in number.‡

Treachery of the Knight of Liddesdale.

King David prepares to invade England.

David, however, though he possessed little of his father's judgment, or military skill, yet exhibited the hereditary valour of his house, and determined to proceed on his expedition. He entered England by the western frontier, and stormed a fortress called the Moat of Liddell, which was held by Walter Selby, the celebrated freebooter, who, along with Gilbert Middleton, at the instigation of King Robert Bruce, waylaid and plundered the Bishop of Durham and the two cardinals, who were commissioned to publish the Papal sentence of excommunication against the Scottish king.§ David put the garrison to the sword and ordered the governor to be beheaded. The Knight of Liddesdale now recommended a retreat, but this judicious advice was rejected by the king, through the jealousy, it appears, of the other barons, who imputed it to the selfishness of Douglas. "You have enriched yourself," said they, "by the spoils of the English, and now you wish to deprive us of our share in the plunder. Never have we had such an opportunity of taking vengeance on our enemies. Edward and his chief leaders are absent, and we have none to

Capture of Liddell Castle.

* "He was the greatest menyd (lamented) man
That any could have thought on than
Of his state, or of more by far,
All menyt him baith better and waur (worse),
The ryche and puir him menyde baith
For of his dede (death) was meikle skaith."
Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 254.

Nearly four hundred and fifty years after the murder of this noble and gallant patriot, a mason employed in building a dike, in the neighbourhood of Hermitage, laid open a stone vault, about eight feet square, in the east end of the castle. He descended into it by a ladder, and found, amid a heap of chaff, some human bones, along with the remains of a saddle, a large bridle-bit, and an ancient sword. These were conjectured, and with great probability, to mark the vault as the place of Ramsay's death.
Statist. Acc. of Scotland.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. i. Berkeley himself was not long after waylaid and assassinated by John de St. Michael, at the instigation of the Knight of Liddesdale. This fact strengthens the supposition that Bullock and Douglas were parties to a plot for the restoration of Baliol to the throne.

* Foed. vol. v. p. 379.
† Walsingham, p. 165.
‡ Fordun, book xiv. chap. i.
§ See ante, p. 146.

oppose our progress, except ecclesiastics and base mechanics."*

David accordingly proceeded on his enterprise, and moved eastward to Hexham, plundering and laying waste the whole country with merciless severity. Even the sacred patrimony of St. Cuthbert did not escape the general devastation, although, according to a monkish historian, the saint appeared to the Scottish king in a night vision, and entreated him to abstain from the sacrilegious crime. The Scots marched through the bishopric of Durham, carrying everywhere rapine and ruin, and at length encamped at a place called Beaurepair (now Bear-park), within a short distance of the city of Durham. Meanwhile, unknown to them, the great northern barons of England, Percy, Neville, Musgrave, Scrope, and Hastings, with Edward Baliol, the ex-king of Scotland, had assembled their retainers to repel the invaders; and, reinforced by the church vassals of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of Durham, Carlisle, and Lincoln, and by ten thousand soldiers, who were about to join the forces of Edward before Calais, but were countermanded in this emergency, they marched against the Scots, at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. They had now reached Bishop-Auckland, only six miles distant from the Scottish camp; and on the morning of the 17th October, marching towards Sunderland, they came upon the Knight of Liddesdale, who, with a strong body of men-at-arms, was advancing for the purpose of forage, and unexpectedly found himself in presence of the whole English army, at a place called Ferry of the Hill. As his forces were totally inadequate to make a stand, he attempted to avoid an encounter; but his squadron was pursued, attacked, and routed, with the loss of five hundred men, and he, with the remains of his division, with difficulty escaped to the main body of the army, and gave the alarm.† On receiving the unexpected intelligence that the enemy were upon them, the Scottish forces were hastily drawn up in three divisions. David himself led the centre, the right wing was commanded by the Earl of Moray and the Knight of Liddesdale, and the left by the Steward and the Earl of Dunbar.‡ Their position was very unfavourable, for the ground was intersected by inclosures and ditches, which separated the divisions, and rendered it impossible for them duly to support each other.

These arrangements had scarcely been made, when the English archers, to the number of twenty thousand, came within sight. Sir John de Graham, an experienced leader, foreseeing the fatal consequences which would ensue, if the English were allowed to fix their arrows, entreated the king to permit him to charge the archers in flank with a body of cavalry. "Give me," he said, "but one hundred horse, and I will disperse them all."* But David, forgetting the success which attended a similar movement at the battle of Bannockburn, refused the request. "To confess the truth," says Fordun, "Graham could not procure a single horseman on that service."† In this crisis, Sir John attacked the archers at the head of his own followers, but they were far too few to make any impression, and were beaten off. Their brave leader had his horse shot under him, and with difficulty escaped to the main army.

Battle of Neville's Cross.

The English began the attack on the right wing of the Scots, commanded by the Earl of Moray. The deadly shower of arrows flew thick as hail, and the men-at-arms and the bill-men charged through the gaps in the Scottish line, caused by the numerous inclosures which intersected the ground, and interrupted their system of defence. At length Moray fell, and the Knight of Liddesdale was taken prisoner, and the division, thus deprived of its leaders, was thrown into disorder and took to flight. The English then attacked the centre, where the king commanded in person, both in front and upon the left flank, which was now uncovered by the defeat of the right wing. In spite of every disadvantage, however, the contest was obstinately maintained for three hours, and amid the furious charges of the men-at-arms, and the slaughter of the unerring shafts of the English bowmen, David, although severely wounded by two arrows, fought bravely in the midst of his nobles, who fell fast around him, and continued to the last to encourage his few surviving officers. At length, a Northumbrian knight, named John Copland, in a hand-to-hand struggle with him, in which two of his teeth were knocked out by the king's dagger, disarmed David and made him prisoner.‡ On the fall of the royal banner, the left wing of the Scots, commanded by the Steward and the Earl of March, despairing of being able to retrieve the battle, or to rescue the king, withdrew from the field, and succeeded in making good their retreat. The escape of these powerful nobles was a most fortunate event for their country; but there is every reason to believe that David regarded it as a wilful leaving of him to his fate, and that it enkindled in his bosom lasting resentment against the Steward. Along with the king there were made prisoners, the Earls of Fife, Menteith, Sutherland, and Wigton, and fifty other barons and knights; while the Earls of Moray and Strathern, David de la Haye, the Constable of Scotland, Keith the Marshal, Chartres the High

Defeat of the Scots, and capture of the king.

* Fordun, book xiv. chap. i.

"But other lords that were by,
Said he had filled fullyly
His bags, and theirs all toom (empty) were;
They said that they might rycht weel fare
Till London, for in England then
Of great mycht was left na man;
For they said all were in France,
But suitors, skinners, and merchants."
Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 259.

† Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 261. ‡ Ibid. p. 262.

* Fordun, book xiv. chap. iii.
† Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 262.
‡ Ibid. p. 264.

Chancellor, Peebles the Lord Chamberlain, and thirty other nobles, and about fifteen thousand common soldiers, were left on the fatal field.* "That day," says an old English historian, "would have been the last of the obstinate rebellion of the Scots, had the English, neglecting the spoil and the making of captives, urged the pursuit of the fugitives, and cut off from the land of the living that nation which has ever been rebellious."†

The Scottish king was conveyed to London, shortly after his capture, by an escort of twenty thousand men-at-arms. An old English chronicler mentions that he was mounted on a tall black horse, that he might be seen by all the people, and that the civic authorities, and the different companies of the city, clothed in their appropriate dresses, took part in the procession.‡ The captive prince was conducted to the Tower, where, with a mean and ungenerous parsimony, Edward compelled him and the rest of the prisoners to maintain themselves at their own expense. In farther imitation of the conduct of his grandfather, Edward I., he brought two of his noble captives, the Earls of Menteith and Fife, to trial, on the ground that they had joined the party of Bruce after having sworn fealty to Baliol. Along with the commission for trying the prisoners, he transmitted to the judges a scroll of the sentence of condemnation, previously fixed by himself and his privy council.§ As a matter of course, the court, thus instructed in its duty, convicted both earls of high treason. Menteith was executed with all the shocking barbarities sanctioned by the English law of treason, and his members were distributed over the kingdom. The Earl of Fife, whose mother was the niece of Edward I., had his life spared, from his relationship to the royal family of England.

Mean and cruel conduct of Edward.

The calamitous defeat of Neville's Cross brought the Scottish nation to the very brink of ruin. The strong fortresses of Roxburgh and Hermitage immediately surrendered, and the whole country south of the Forth was at once abandoned to the enemy.‖ Edward, looking upon Scotland as at length completely subdued, laid aside the pretence of supporting the claims of Baliol to the crown, and appointed the English barons, Lucy, Dacre, and Umfraville, to receive the homage which it was supposed the Scots were now willing to pay to the English monarch himself. But these expectations were speedily found to be premature. Though cast down, the Scottish people were not in despair. The nobles, who had escaped from the field of Neville's Cross, appointed the High Steward, the heir of the throne, to the office of guardian of the kingdom; and, in this season of confusion and dismay, he exerted himself to maintain the liberties of his country, with a prudence and resolution worthy of his illustrious descent.* His efforts were powerfully seconded by William, Lord Douglas, nephew of the Good Sir James, who at this critical period returned from France, where he had been bred to arms, and with the hereditary valour of his house, succeeded in expelling the English from Douglasdale, and, in the course of time, from Ettrick Forest and Teviotdale.†

Consequences of the battle of Neville's Cross.

The Steward is elected regent.

The English monarch was anxious to follow up his successes by vigorous measures, for the complete subjugation of Scotland; and with a view to collect funds for the payment of his army, he seized all the ecclesiastical lands belonging to the clergy who were hostile to the English interest, and resumed all the estates in Scotland which had been granted to natives of England. But, fortunately for the interests of the Scottish people, his barons could not be prevailed upon to aid him in a renewal of hostilities; and he was reluctantly compelled to consent to a truce with the Steward, which was renewed from time to time for six years. The object of Edward seems to have been to fill his coffers with a large ransom for his royal prisoner and the noble captives taken at Durham, and to obtain possession of the Scottish throne by secret intrigues and negotiations, since he had failed in open war. With this view David was treated with kindness, and was even permitted to revisit his own dominions upon parole, and on giving seven noble youths as hostages for his return within a limited period.‡ There is reason to fear that the king's impatience for his restoration to freedom, made him willing to surrender the rights and liberties of his country. He appears even to have taken some steps for that purpose; and there yet remain two instruments in which David recognizes the King of England as his lord paramount, and agrees to take the oath of homage. From some mysterious instructions given to the English commissioners, it would seem that David's temporary liberation had been conceded mainly for the purpose of promoting the views of Edward, in regard to this important point; and that the commissioners were empowered to extend the term of absence allowed to the Scottish king, if they should think this likely to subserve the interests of England. According to an old English historian, David engaged to procure the acquiescence of his people in the long-contested claim of feudal superiority; but the nation refused to listen to the proposal for a moment, and declared, with one voice, that they would willingly pay the ransom of their sovereign, but they would never agree, for any consideration, to barter the independence of their country.§ David was therefore reluctantly compelled to return to his captivity.

David revisits Scotland on his parole—

—his treachery to the liberties of his country.

* Fordun, book xiv. chap. iii.; Knighton, p. 2590.
† Walsingham, p. 167; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 267.
‡ Knighton, p. 2592; Ibid.
§ Foed. vol. v. p. 549.
‖ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 265; Fordun, book. xiv. chap. vi.

* Fordun, book xiv. chap. vi.
† Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 269, 270.
‡ Foed. vol. v. pp. 724, 727.
§ Knighton, p. 2603; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 273.

During his imprisonment, a dreadful pestilence, which had for several years swept through Europe, at last reached Scotland, and carried off immense numbers of the people. "The historians of all countries," says Lord Hailes, "speak with horror of this pestilence, which took a wider range, and proved more destructive, than any calamity of that nature known in the annals of human kind." It is calculated that not fewer than one-third of the inhabitants of Scotland fell victims to its ravages, aggravated, as they must have been, by the desolating war which had so long raged in that country.*

Great Plague, A.D. 1349.

While negotiations were carrying on between Edward and the Scottish king for the surrender of the independence of Scotland, the Knight of Liddesdale, who had also been taken prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross, was induced to purchase his liberty at the expense of his honour, and to tarnish the fair fame of his former achievements by transferring to the English monarch that allegiance and duty which he owed to his country. He entered into a secret treaty with Edward, by which he bound himself to allow the English to pass unmolested through his estates at all times and for all purposes; neither openly nor secretly to give counsel or aid to his own country, or to any other nation, against the king of England; and to keep on foot a body of men for his service. In return for this act of base treachery he was liberated from prison, and received from Edward a grant of the territory of Liddesdale and the castle of Hermitage, with some possessions in the interior of Annandale.† "Thus in an evil hour," to use the language of Lord Hailes, "did Sir William Douglas at once cancel the merit of former achievements, and, for the possession of a precarious inheritance, transmit his name to posterity in the roll of time-servers and traitors." But his treachery was speedily discovered, and his intrigues entirely defeated by his kinsman Lord William Douglas, whom he had expected to gain over to his dark designs. Shortly after his return from England, as he was hunting in Ettrick Forest, he was waylaid and slain by his kinsman at a place called Galseford, between the Tweed and the Yarrow.‡ The contemporary historians ascribe this wicked deed either to domestic jealousy,§ or to revenge for the foul murder of Ramsay and of Sir David Berkeley. It is probable, however, that his treachery to his country, and his attempt to deprive his kinsman and chief of his patrimonial inheritance of Liddesdale and Hermitage Castle, led to his violent end. In spite of his courage and great military talents, and the services which he had rendered to his country, his selfishness and ambition, and the repeated and atrocious murders of which he had been guilty, must have deprived him of all sympathy. "The bloody and deceitful man shall not live half his days."

Treason of the Knight of Liddesdale—

—his murder.

Meanwhile David had made various unsuccessful attempts to obtain his liberty, and negotiations for this object were repeatedly begun and broken off. The Scottish nobles and people appear to have felt some reluctance to make great sacrifices to procure the liberation of a prince addicted to low pleasures, and who, by his attachment to the interests of the English monarch, had deservedly become an object of suspicion and distrust to his own countrymen. At length, however, a treaty was agreed upon at Newcastle (July, 1354,) in which the king's ransom was fixed at the enormous sum of ninety thousand marks, to be paid in nine years, at the rate of ten thousand marks annually.* But before the treaty was ratified a brave French knight, Eugene de Garencieres, arrived upon a mission from the court of France with a small but select body of knights and esquires, and a sum of forty thousand *moutons* of gold,† which were to be distributed among the Scottish nobles on condition of their breaking off the treaty and renewing the war with England. "The Scots," says Fordun, "often for a penny lose a shilling." The negotiations for the ransom of the king had been peculiarly unpopular with the patriotic party in Scotland, who considered the sum demanded for his liberation exorbitant, and his return to the country an event rather to be deprecated than desired. They therefore lent a ready ear to the representatives of Garencieres, and were easily induced by him to adopt a course which was attended "with receiving money instead of that which involved their own

Negotiations for the ransom of the king.

The treaty is broken off.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 271. It is a curious fact, mentioned by Macpherson, in his notes on Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 512, that the Scots and Picts of Britain were the only nations who escaped the ravages of the pestilence which afflicted all Europe in the seventh century.

† Foed. vol. v. p. 739.

‡ Fordun, book xiv. chap. viii. The spot is said to have been long marked by a cross, from which it received the name of William's Cross. The body of the slaughtered knight was conveyed to Lindean church, a mile or two below Selkirk, where the funeral obsequies were first performed, and was then transported to Melrose, and buried in that ancient abbey.

§ Hume, in his History of the House of Douglas, vol. i. p. 143, has preserved a single stanza of a ballad, made on this dark deed.

"The Countess of Douglas out of her bower she came,
And loudly there did she call,
'It is for the Lord of Liddesdale
That I let the tears down fall.'"

Mr. Tytler, and other Scottish historians, have stated that the Knight of Liddesdale was a natural son of the good Sir James; but this is a mistake: he was of another family of Douglasses, and enjoyed all the honours and privileges of legitimacy. See Ruddiman's edition of Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, and Stewartiana, p. 82.

* Foed. vol. v. p. 791.

† Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 271; Fordun, book xiv. chap. ix. This gold coin had the impression of the *Agnus Dei*, which the common people mistook for a sheep, and hence the coin received the name of *mouton*. Wyntown says they were worth four shillings each. At this rate the whole sum brought over by Garencieres was £8000, but according to Fleetwood's valuation of the *mouton* in 1358, it amounted to £10,000, or about £24,000 of our present money.—M'Pherson's Notes to Wyntown, p. 512.

paying it." The treaty was broken off, and an invasion of England resolved on as soon as the truce expired.

Renewal of the war.

The Northumbrian borderers, however, made the first aggression by invading and plundering the estates of the Earl of March. Reprisals were soon successfully made by the Scots. Sir William Ramsay, of Dalhousie, was sent into Northumberland at the head of four hundred men, with orders to lay waste the country around Norham castle, while the Earls of Douglas and March, and a strong body of men-at-arms, along with the French knights and soldiers,

Action of Nesbit Moor.

under Garencieres, formed an ambuscade at a place called Nesbit Moor, within the Scottish frontier. Ramsay accordingly crossed the Tweed, and having plundered the village of Norham and the adjacent district, he proceeded, according to his instructions, to drive his booty into Scotland under the full view of Norham Castle. The garrison, led by the governor, Sir Thomas Grey and Sir James Dacre, sallied out to revenge this insult, and to recover the spoil, and pursuing Ramsay, who fled before them, suddenly found themselves in the presence of the main body of the Scottish army. After a most chivalrous defence, in which Grey and his brother knights performed many feats of valour, the garrison were entirely defeated, and the governor, and his eldest son, with Sir James Dacre, and nearly the whole of their men, were taken prisoners.*

Shortly after this exploit the important city of

Capture of Berwick—

Berwick fell into the hands of the Scots. The Earls of Angus and March having collected some ships, under cover of a dark night sailed up the river, and silently landed their forces near the foot of the walls, and at daybreak scaled the ramparts, slew the captain, Sir Alexander Ogle, with some English knights, and obtained possession of the town.† As Berwick had long been the emporium of the commerce of both kingdoms, an immense booty fell into the hands of the captors. They next turned their arms against the castle, but its great strength resisted all their efforts. The regent soon after visited the town, and made some arrangements for its defence, although it was evident that while the castle remained in possession of the English,

—it is recovered by Edward.

the garrison could not long hold out against a hostile army. No sooner did the tidings of these successes reach Edward, who was then at Calais, than he hastened home with those veteran troops which had gained so much fame in the French wars, and sat down before Berwick with an army of eighty thousand men. The Scottish garrison were totally unprepared for defence; and perceiving that Edward was preparing to storm the town, they capitulated on honourable terms, and were permitted to return to Scotland with all their effects.*

Berwick being regained, Edward prepared for the fifth time to march into Scotland at the head of his formidable army, determined now to make a final conquest of that country, and to put an end to those interruptions, which the resistance of the Scottish people had so frequently offered to his victorious career in France. With a view to the promotion of this object the weak and unfortunate Baliol appeared before Edward at Roxburgh, formally divested himself of the emblems of royalty in which he was clothed, and laying his crown at the feet of the English monarch, solemnly surrendered into his hands all claims on the sovereignty of Scotland. The alleged motives for this degrading act were Baliol's great obligations to the English king, his especial affection for him, and the nearness of the blood relation which existed between them; the ingratitude and rebellion of his relations, who stood next in succession to the crown; his own advanced years; the evils which might arise from a disputed succession after his death; and in general, his desire to promote the advantage of both nations. Such were the pretexts put forth to justify the surrender, but in reality Baliol was a mere stipendiary and tool of the English king;† and the ceremony of abdication was evidently arranged for the purpose of giving a colour of justice to the war which Edward was about to undertake, and to facilitate his designs upon the Scottish crown. Baliol was rewarded for his subserviency with a donation of five thousand marks, and an annual pension of two thousand pounds. After this base transaction he sank into obscurity, and, fortunately for Scotland, died childless in the year 1363.

Baliol's surrender of his claims.

The Scottish leaders prepared to meet the impending invasion according to the lessons of defensive war taught them by their great deliverer, Bruce. In order to give time for the people to drive away their flocks and herds, to conceal their valuable property in the fastnesses of the country, and to destroy the hay and forage, and whatever could not readily be removed, the Scottish nobles entered into negotiations with Edward, who was lying at Roxburgh. The Earl of Douglas repaired to the English camp for this purpose, and succeeded in obtaining a ten days' truce, during which he amused the English monarch with hopes that his title to the crown would be recognised by the Scottish people. When the truce was about to expire, the earl withdrew and joined his countrymen, who had made excellent use of the space thus gained for defensive preparations.

Prudent policy adopted by the Scots.

On entering Scotland, the English found the

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 276. Fordun, (book xiv. chap. ix.) mentions a shocking trait of feudal vengeance which occurred after the fight. A French knight purchased from the Scots some of their prisoners, and conveying them to a retired spot among the hills, murdered them in cold blood, to avenge the death of his father, who had been slain by the English in their wars in France.

† Fordun, book xiv. chap. x.; Scala Chron. in Leland's Coll. p. 565.

* Foed. vol. v. p. 828; Fordun book xiv. chap. xii.

† Foed. vol. iv. pp. 832, 843.

country deserted by its inhabitants, who had removed all their cattle and provisions into the fastnesses of the forests and mountains. They marched as through a desert, and no kind of supply could be found either for man or for beast. Incensed at finding himself overreached by Douglas in the previous negotiation, Edward, says an old chronicler, was like a she-bear robbed of her whelps,* and with a cruel and short-sighted policy, burned down every town, village, and hamlet which he approached, without sparing even the churches and religious houses. The noble abbey-church at Haddington, whose choir, on account of its singular beauty, was called the Lamp of Lothian, was utterly destroyed, and the monastery, with the town itself, laid in ashes.†

Edward destroys the country by fire and sword—

These barbarous proceedings, however, only aggravated the difficulties of his position. He could neither procure provisions for his men nor forage for their horses. Flying bodies of his nimble adversaries harassed him on all sides, and cut off his foraging parties the moment they ventured out of sight of the main army. The inclemency of the weather greatly increased the sufferings and privations of his troops. Bread began to fail, and the victualling-ships, which had been sent from Berwick, were dispersed by a storm, and completely destroyed. Famine stared him in the face, and, after penetrating as far as Edinburgh, he found it absolutely necessary to retreat, in order to save his army from total ruin. His return was not effected without considerable loss. Every glen, forest, and mountain-path swarmed with enemies, ready to pounce upon the retreating and disorderly invaders, whenever an opportunity offered. To avoid returning through the district of East Lothian and Berwickshire, which he had wasted in his advance, Edward involved himself in the defiles of Teviotdale and Ettrick, where he suffered great loss, and on one occasion, in passing through the Forest of Melrose, he very narrowly escaped being made prisoner or slain in an ambuscade which Douglas had laid for him.‡ The ravages which he perpetrated in this savage and inglorious expedition, caused the period at which it took place (Feb. 1356) to be long remembered in Scotland by the title of the "Burnt Candlemas."

—he is compelled to retreat.

The failure of this formidable enterprise seems to have convinced Edward of the necessity of resorting to other means than those of open war, for the purpose of establishing his supremacy over Scotland. He was well aware of the facile and selfish character of the Scottish king, whom he had completely gained over to his views, and relied on his cordial co-operation in promoting his ambitious designs. As a preliminary step, therefore, it was necessary to procure the establishment of peace between the two kingdoms, and the return of David to his own land. During a period of ten years various abortive conferences had been held for the ransom and liberation of the captive monarch; but as both parties were now desirous of peace, negotiations were renewed with every prospect of success. After a preliminary conference at London, it was arranged that commissioners from the two kingdoms should meet at Berwick-upon-Tweed on the 3rd of October, 1357, for the final settlement of the treaty.*

Final negotiations for the king's ransom.

The Scottish parliament, convened by the Steward, met at Edinburgh on the 26th of September, when the three estates appointed delegates to represent them in the approaching conference. The Bishops of St. Andrews, Caithness, and Brechin, were chosen by the clergy; the Earls of Angus, March, and Sutherland, Sir Thomas de Moravia, Sir William Livingston, and Sir Robert Erskine, were delegated by the regent and barons; and the royal burghs made choice of eleven delegates of their own number to represent their interest.† The conference assembled at Berwick on the day appointed, and was marked by a dignity and splendour suited to the solemn occasion. In addition to the Scottish delegates, who seem to have vied with each other in state and retinue, there were present, on the part of England, the Primate, with the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle, and the Lords Percy, Neville, Scrope, and Musgrave, while the interest of the assembly was deepened by the presence of David Bruce himself, whose freedom depended on the issue of its deliberations. Negotiations were speedily and satisfactorily brought to a termination. The ransom of the king was ultimately fixed at one hundred thousand pounds,—equivalent to the sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling of modern money, to be paid by annual instalments of ten thousand marks. As sureties for payment, three of the principal nobles of Scotland were bound to reside, by turns, in England, and twenty youths belonging to the first families were also given as hostages.‡ A truce was concluded between the kingdoms for ten years, during which it was calculated that the debt would be discharged; failing this, or any of the previous conditions, the liberated monarch was bound to return as a prisoner to England. The enthusiastic loyalty of the Scots can alone account for their ready assent to a treaty, the terms of which were cruelly oppressive to their country. The ransom price, besides being exorbitant in itself, was likely to press heavily on a land, the resources of which, at no time great, had been drained by a long and expensive conflict, and by the maintenance of its king and many of the nobility during their captivity in England, while the number and importance of the hostages

Terms of the treaty.

* Fordun, book xiv. chap. xiii.
† Ibid.; Scala Chron. apud Leland, vol. i. p. 566; Knighton, p. 2611; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 288, and note.
‡ Fordun and Knighton, supra

* Rymer, Fœdera, vol. v. p. 831.
† Ibid., vol. vi. pp. 42—45.
‡ Ibid., pp. 47, 48; Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 295, 296, and note.

furnished Edward with opportunities, of which he was likely unscrupulously to avail himself, of extorting further and even more humbling concessions.

David returns to Scotland.

After the ratification of the treaty, David returned to his kingdom, from which he had been absent eleven years, and immediately summoned a parliament to arrange measures for fulfilling the conditions of his freedom. His character had not been improved by his long residence in England, and the people speedily found that their generous sacrifices had been made for one who despised their devotion to his person and crown, and would not deny himself a single selfish gratification in requital of the sacrifices which they had made for his sake. On his way to the hall where his privy-council were to meet, as the multitude crowded around him, anxious to obtain a sight of their king, and testifying their joy with shouts of welcome, he rudely repelled their familiarity, and, seizing a mace from one of his attendants, threatened to beat down any who should further annoy him.* The parliament having met, proceeded to make various provisions for the payment of the king's ransom. It granted to David all the wool and woolfels of the kingdom, at the rate of four marks for the sack of wool, from the sale of which to foreign traders, at a high profit, a large sum of money was likely to be realized.† Commissioners were appointed to collect and give accurate returns of the names of all the landed proprietors, with the rents and produce of their estates, and of all mechanics, artificers, and tradesmen, with the amount of their real property, in order that the tax which each person should pay, might be apportioned to his means; but white sheep, domestic horses, oxen, and household furniture were exempted from this account, and heavy penalties were enacted against all attempts to evade this impost. All the lands, rents, and customs originally belonging to the king, but which, in course of time, had been granted to other persons, were resumed, in order that the crown might be maintained from its own patrimony; and, as additional security, David was required to renew that part of his coronation oath which bound him in no case to alienate the lands of the crown or any of its revenues, without the advice and consent of his council. As a further source of probable revenue, it was ordered that "all the lands, possessions, and goods of the homicides since the battle of Durham, who had not yet bound themselves to obey the law, should remain in the hands of the king until they came under sufficient security to obey the law, and all pardons or remissions granted to such persons by the governor of the kingdom, during the absence of the king, were declared of no authority unless ratified by the king himself."

Meeting of the parliament at Scone.

Measures enacted by it.

A species of intimacy now grew up between the two kingdoms, and was zealously encouraged by the English monarch, who strove by every means in his power to ingratiate himself with the nobility and the people of Scotland. A friendly and unfettered intercourse between his own country and Scotland, was carefully fostered by this politic prince, and passports were freely given to nobles, merchants, pilgrims, and students,—to all, in short, who could allege either business or pleasure for visiting the English dominions. In this way it was hoped that the prejudices which had grown up during the fierce and protracted war between the two countries, would be gradually weakened, and the manifold advantages of peace with England having been felt by the Scottish people, they would be less likely to offer a strenuous resistance to a proposal for a complete union with that country. The Scottish king willingly lent himself to the promotion of this subtle policy. He had long been childless; the Steward was heir to the throne; and, as it has been justly remarked, princes seldom love or greatly trust their successors, when not of their own immediate family. David was, moreover, extravagant in his personal habits, and immoderately addicted to selfish pleasures; and his repose was embittered by the dread, that, in the event of his ransom remaining unpaid, he might be remanded to his prison in the Tower. He therefore turned a willing ear to the proposal of Edward, that, in the event of his own death without heirs, the crown of Scotland should devolve upon Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son of the English monarch. This scheme was in the mean time carefully concealed from the Scottish nation, and was not publicly brought forward till six years afterwards; but it was never lost sight of for a moment, and no opportunity of promoting its success was neglected. A considerable number of the higher nobles appear to have been seduced by the example of their sovereign, and by the blandishments of the English king, to join in the plot against the independence of their country. Secret negotiations were constantly carried on between the two monarchs, and commissioners were from time to time despatched to the court of Edward, on missions whose ostensible object was to maintain friendly relations with England, but which were really intended to pave the way for the ultimate annexation of Scotland to the English crown. The expense of these embassies was, in all probability, defrayed by the English monarch; and the Scottish nobles, flattered by his attentions, and enriched by his gifts, returned to their own country more eager than ever to aid him in his ambitious and sinister plans.

New and crafty policy of Edward.

Treachery of David to his country.

Intrigues of the nobles with England.

The truce was injurious to the northern kingdom from other causes. Reduced to a state of inactivity, which the fierce and protracted conflicts of the war of independence rendered peculiarly irksome, oppressed by heavy taxation, and deprived

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 283.
† Parl. Records, pp. 96, 97.

of their wonted opportunities for plunder, many of the nobility hastened to the continent, to mingle in the contests raging there,* or even enlisted themselves in the ranks of the English army, and fought against their ancient ally, France.† Thus, while treason menaced the country, many of its best and bravest defenders were absent, shedding their blood in distant wars with which they had no concern.

Passion among the Scottish nobles for foreign adventure.

The second instalment of the king's ransom was now nearly due; but though the Scottish parliament had made every possible exertion to meet the claim, and the Pope, at the entreaty of David, had agreed that for a term of three years a tenth of all the ecclesiastical benefices in Scotland should be levied for the purpose, such was the impoverished condition of the country, that there appeared no prospect of raising the money. In this emergency, David consented, at the instigation of the Steward and his friends, to open negotiations with France, offering to renew hostilities with Edward, if the French regent would assist in discharging his ransom. The French plenipotentiaries at first pleaded the exhausted state of the public treasury, and the captivity of their own king; but ultimately agreed to contribute fifty thousand marks, on condition that the Scots should renew the war with England, and at the same time ratify the former treaty between France and Scotland. This agreement, however, was never fulfilled. Shortly after, (8th May, 1360,) peace was concluded by the celebrated treaty of Bretigny. Edward agreeing to give up his Flemish allies, and the French, on their part, consenting to renounce all former alliances with Scotland, and engaging for the future to make no new treaty with that kingdom to the prejudice of England. The assistance which many of the Scottish nobles openly gave to the English army, after friendly negotiations had been entered into between their own country and France, in no small degree contributed to this result, which was in every way injurious to the Scottish nation, by detaching from them a powerful ally, and leaving Edward free to prosecute his designs on the independence of their country.

David opens a negotiation with France.

France renounces her alliance with the Scots.

While the liberties of the kingdom were thus menaced from without, the country was visited by two terrible scourges. Continuous and heavy rains produced a dreadful inundation in the district of Lothian, accompanied by a great sacrifice of life and property.‡ The rivers, swollen by the torrents which rushed down from the hills, overflowed their wonted channels, tearing up the strongest trees by the roots, and sweeping away bridges, granaries, and cattle-sheds, with the rude huts of the peasantry. The suburb of Haddington, called the Nungate, was levelled to the ground. At length, according to Bower, when the raging element was approaching the nunnery of that town, a nun, struck with terror, snatched up a small image of the Virgin from a shrine in the church, and threatened to throw it into the river unless she protected the abbey from the impending destruction. At that moment the flood, which had already reached the threshold of the building, suddenly retreated, and gradually subsided within its usual limits. "This nun," says the chronicler, "was a simpleton, but devout; although not according to knowledge." "If, however," Lord Hailes significantly remarks, "she perceived any abatement of the inundation before she uttered her threats, she was not a simpleton."*

Scotland visited by a great inundation, A.D. 1358—

This catastrophe was followed by a still more dreadful visitant. The pestilence which ten years before had made such havoc, again broke out in Scotland,† but on this occasion with an indiscriminate violence which rendered its ravages more appalling. The rich as well as the poor, the noble and the peasant, alike perished by hundreds. The king and his court were at last compelled to retreat to the north, and to remain at Kinross in Moray till the violence of the scourge had abated. One-third of the inhabitants of Scotland were computed to have been carried off by this dreadful malady.

—and by the pestilence, A.D. 1361.

During the retreat of the king to the north, an incident occurred which strikingly marks the savage character of the times. Catherine Mortimer, a native of Wales, with whom David had formed a degrading connexion during his imprisonment in England, had accompanied him to Scotland on his liberation, and continued for several years to be his favourite mistress. She in some way had become obnoxious to the profligate and factious Earl of Augus, and others of the nobility, and they resolved to put her to death. Two villains named Hulle and Dewar, hired for that purpose, went to her residence, and, pretending to have received instructions to convey her to the king, induced the unfortunate woman to commit herself to their guidance. On the lonely road, between Melrose and Soutra, she was barbarously murdered by these inhuman wretches.‡ The king, on his return, committed Angus a prisoner to the castle of Dumbarton, where the plague terminated his turbulent career, and directed the body of his favourite to be interred with every mark of respect in Newbattle Abbey.

Murder of Catherine Mortimer, the king's mistress.

The events which followed during this and the succeeding years present little requiring detailed narrative. The Steward and his adherents viewed with apprehension the growing intercourse between the English and Scottish courts, as fraught with danger to the liberties of the country; while the

* Rymer, vol. v. p. 866; Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 830; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 104.
† Ibid. ‡ Fordun, book xiv. chap. xxi.

* Hailes, vol. ii. p. 334.
† Fordun, book xiv. chap. xxiv.
‡ Fordun, book xiv. chap. xxiv.; Scala Chron. p. 196, Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 301, 302.

king, who had been completely gained over to the interests of England, sought by every method to promote the base conspiracy which had been formed against the independence of his kingdom and the rights of his kinsman. The confederacy had gradually gained ground among the Scottish nobility, and as the negotiations with Edward were insidiously carried on under the guise of an attempt to secure lasting peace between the two countries, they received the support of not a few of the nobles and clergy who were ignorant of their real design, and were actuated solely by an honest and sincere desire to establish the pacific relations with England on a permanent basis. These dark designs against the liberties of Scotland had been maturing, as we have seen, for many years, and at length the king appears to have imagined that the time had arrived when he might venture to make known the plan which he had so long cherished for the transference of the sovereignty of Scotland to the English monarch. Accordingly, in a parliament held at Scone, in the year 1363, he proposed to the estates, that in the event of his death without issue, they should settle the crown on one of the sons of Edward III.; and he expressed his earnest wish that their choice should fall upon Lionel, the third son of that monarch—a prince well qualified to maintain the national liberties. He assured them that this step would secure a permanent peace between the two countries, and would induce the king of England to renounce all pretensions to the feudal supremacy of Scotland. The proposal was received by the estates of parliament with a burst of indignation. Instantly and unanimously, the members replied, "We will never permit an Englishman to reign over us."* They reminded David that by solemn acts of settlement, sworn to in parliament, the Steward of Scotland was recognised as heir to the crown, in default of the present king or his issue,—that the Steward and his sons were brave men, and worthy of the succession, from which therefore they refused to exclude them by preferring the son of an alien enemy. They added, that they yet earnestly desired peace, and, provided the royal state, liberty, and separate independence of the kingdom were not infringed upon, would willingly make every sacrifice to attain it.

Secret negotiations with England.

David's proposal to alter the succession, indignantly rejected by the parliament.

David was deeply enraged at this resolute answer, but he repressed his feelings and made no reply, and the parliament, passing on to other matters, appointed commissioners to negotiate a final treaty of peace with England. The king apparently passed from his design of altering the succession to the crown; but the proposal destroyed all confidence between him and his people, and so alarmed the Steward and his friends, the Earls of March and Douglas, and others of the great nobles, that, according to a common practice in that age, they entered into a bond or agreement of mutual defence, and assembled their retainers to compel the king by force to adhere to the order of succession as fixed in the days of Robert Bruce. David, however, was not deficient in personal courage, and manifested on this occasion a very unexpected degree of promptitude and decision. The Steward and his supporters had placed themselves in a false position, by seizing and imprisoning the nobles who belonged to the king's party, and ravaging their estates; and the king, taking advantage of these violent and illegal proceedings, issued a proclamation commanding the rebels to lay down their arms and return to their allegiance; and he levied a numerous army for the purpose of compelling obedience to his commands.* Fortunately both parties were afraid of proceeding to extremities, and the calamities of a civil war were averted. The Steward and his associates laid down their arms, and consented to renounce their engagements, in a parliament held on the 14th of May, 1363, at Inchmurtoch, a palace of the Bishop of St. Andrews; and in recompence for this prompt return to his duty, the Steward's title to the succession was fully recognised, and the earldom of Carrick, once a title of Robert Bruce, was conferred on his eldest son, afterwards Robert III.†

The Steward and his party rise against David—

—their reconciliation.

Scarcely had the public tranquillity been restored by this reconciliation between David and the Steward, when the faithless and imprudent monarch again repaired to London, and involved himself in secret negotiations with the King of England. A private conference was held at Westminster, between the two kings and certain chosen counsellors, on the 23rd of November, 1363, for the purpose of drawing up a new plan for the alteration of the succession to the Scottish crown. By this agreement, the King of England himself was to be declared heir of King David, in the event of the latter dying without heirs male of his body. Twenty-seven conditions followed, the object of which was evidently to reconcile the people of Scotland to the loss of their independence, and to induce them to submit patiently to the sway of the English monarch. It was agreed that the town and castle of Berwick, with the castles of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Lochmaben, and all the lands which belonged to King Robert Bruce at the time of his death, and were now in the hands of the King of England, should be delivered up to the Scots, and that the arrears of King David's ransom, and all the penalties incurred

David's secret treaty with England—

—its terms and conditions.

* "Cui breviter et sine ulteriore deliberatione aut retractione responsum fuit per universaliter, singulos et singulariter universos de tribus statibus, NUNQUAM SE VELLE CONSENTIRE ANGLICUM SUPER SE REGNARE." Fordun, book xiv. chap. xxv. Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 294.

* Fordun (book xiv. chap. xxv.) says that David expended large sums of money in paying the forces which he had collected. As his own finances were at this period in a very low condition, he must have received supplies of money, and probably of men also, from England. Hailes, vol. ii. p. 305, and note.

† Fordun, book xiv. chap. xxvii.

by its non-payment, should be cancelled, and the hostages set at liberty. It was carefully stipulated that the name and title of the kingdom of Scotland should be preserved distinct and entire, and that no part of the kingdom was ever to be alienated on any pretence whatever; but that it should remain free and entire as in the days of King Robert. The national pride was to be flattered by the restoration of the sacred Stone of Destiny, on which the kings of England were henceforth to be crowned kings of Scotland, at Scone, and the ceremony was to be performed by those Scottish prelates whom the Papal court should depute to that office. All parliaments for the settlement of the affairs of Scotland were to be held within that kingdom. The independence of the Scottish Church was to be guaranteed by the solemn oath of the monarch at his coronation; and he was also to swear that he would maintain unimpaired the ancient laws and usages of the country, and never require the subjects of Scotland to answer to any suit except within the courts of their own kingdom, and according to their own laws. In addition to all this, Edward solemnly engaged that all ecclesiastical benefices or dignities, and all civil or military offices, should be conferred exclusively on natives of Scotland, and that he would employ Scottish counsellors alone, in all national concerns of the kingdom. An artful attempt was to be made to gain over the various classes of the community by the offer of certain peculiar privileges of which they were at present deprived. The merchants and burgesses were to be conciliated by imparting to them a share in the advantages of English trade; to the powerful Earl of Douglas was held out the prospect of the restoration of the possessions in England which had belonged to his father and his uncle: and the full restitution of their estates was promised to the disinherited barons, and to all who claimed lands in Scotland, either by the gift of the king when a prisoner, or on any other grounds. To propitiate the clergy, an article was inserted which promised to the various religious houses the restoration of the lands of which they had been deprived during the wars with England; while the good will of the military tenants, and of the community at large, was to be secured by the assurance that they were not to be bound to render any military service except what was required by the ancient regulations of the kingdom; and that no taxes were to be imposed upon them except those which they had been accustomed to pay under the government of their native kings. It is evident that the persons engaged in this plot against the independence of Scotland were fully aware that the bare suspicion of such proceedings would kindle a flame in that country; for the minutes of this extraordinary conference open with a provision of strict secrecy, and a declaration that the various stipulations which followed were to be regarded merely in the light of an experiment, and not as conditions finally agreed to either by one party or the other. By the last article, David undertook to sound the inclinations of his people respecting this scheme, and to inform the King of England and his council of the result, fifteen days after Easter.* There is no evidence that this treaty was ever brought before the Scottish parliament or privy council, and there can be little doubt that David, on his return to his own dominions, found the scheme wholly impracticable.†

Some time before this, Joanna Queen of Scotland had died at Hertford Castle, in England, and at this critical period the imprudent monarch added to the difficulties with which he was surrounded, by a marriage with Margaret Logie, a young woman of remarkable beauty but inferior birth.‡ This step disgusted the haughty nobles, and seems to have caused an open rupture between the king and his kinsman the Steward; and such was the influence which the young queen possessed over her reckless and selfish husband, that, at her suggestion, he cast the Steward and his son the Lord of Badenoch into prison, where they were long detained.§ Soon after his marriage, David paid another visit to England, under the pretext of performing a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Virgin, at Walsingham. His queen, at the same time, obtained a safe-conduct to visit the shrine of Thomas à Beckett, at Canterbury. They appear to have remained a considerable period at the court of Edward, sharing in the splendid entertainments which were given at this time to celebrate the visit to England of the kings of France, Cyprus, and Denmark.

David's marriage with Margaret Logie.

While the unworthy monarch was endeavouring to forget his own cares and the distresses of his kingdom amid these festive rejoicings, the Scottish commissioners continued their negotiations for a lasting peace between the two countries. The payment of the king's ransom was the principal obstacle. By extraordinary exertions, and great sacrifices, the sum of thirty thousand marks had been raised and paid to England, but the resources of the country were now exhausted; the instalments had not been regularly transmitted at the appointed periods, and penalties for default of payment had accumulated to a large amount. A parliament was summoned to meet at Perth, on the 13th of January, 1364, for the purpose of receiving the report of the commissioners respecting the conference on the projected treaty between the two kingdoms. The proceedings were characterized by great prudence and moderation. The estates declared themselves willing to make every sacrifice honourably to meet the engagements of the nation, and to obtain a permanent peace. They offered to restore the disinherited lords to the estates which they claimed in Scotland, and to settle upon the youngest son of

Parliament at Perth.

Proposals made to pay the king's ransom.

* Rymer, Foedera, vol. vi. p. 427.
† See Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 312, 313.
‡ Fordun, book xiv. chap. xxviii.
§ Ibid. chap. xxxiv.

the King of England the Isle of Man and the lands in Galloway, which were the inheritance of Edward Baliol. In the event of these offers being accepted, they professed their willingness to serve as his auxiliaries in an invasion of Ireland, conducted by the king in person. On the other hand, if these conditions should be rejected, the estates unanimously agreed to pay the full ransom, provided that moderate intervals between each term of payment should be allowed; and, over and above, to restore the estates of the disinherited lords, to cede the inheritance of Baliol to Edward's son, and to aid in the invasion of Ireland. They proposed to pay down annually five thousand marks sterling, till the whole accumulated ransom and penalty, amounting to a hundred and twenty thousand marks, should be completed; or, if this offer should not be accepted, they declared their readiness, rather than renounce the hopes of a peace, to pay down in ten years the sum of a hundred thousand marks. To raise this enormous sum, it was determined that an annual custom of eight thousand marks was to be charged upon the whole wool of the kingdom, and that a general tax should be annually levied of six pennies in the pound upon every person in the country without exception.*

In consequence of these resolutions of the Scottish parliament, negotiations were entered into for a lasting peace between the two kingdoms. It was agreed that the sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be accepted in full of all demands for arrears of ransom, and of all penalties for non-payment at the stated period; and that this should be paid by instalments of six thousand marks yearly. On these conditions, the truce was prolonged for four years, from the 20th May, 1365, preparatory to the conclusion of a final peace.† It appears from an imperfect record of the proceedings of a parliament held at Perth, shortly after this prorogation of the truce, that Edward, as one of the conditions of a lasting amity between the two countries, had insisted that, in the event of an invasion of England, the Scots should assist him with a body of forty men-at-arms and sixty archers, and that if, on the other hand, Scotland should be invaded by foreigners, Edward should send to the assistance of his ally, two hundred men-at-arms and three hundred archers. The Scottish commissioners were instructed to accede to these demands rather than break off the treaty.‡

A four years' truce concluded with England.

Edward was evidently much less anxious to obtain payment of the ransom, than to render the burden of paying it so intolerable that the Scottish people should be willing to relieve themselves from the debt by the sacrifice of their independence. It was in vain, therefore, that the commissioners endeavoured to procure some mitigation of the rigorous terms proposed by the English monarch. The greater the sacrifices they showed themselves willing to make for the sake of peace, the more did the insolence of his demands increase; and it is evident, from the arrogant tone which he adopted throughout these negotiations, that he confidently expected that his long-cherished schemes were about to be crowned with success. At the same time, he sought by every means in his power to ingratiate himself with the nobility and the trading classes of the community. Inducements were held out to the Scottish youth to frequent the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; the piously-disposed portion of the people had every facility afforded them to make pilgrimages to the most celebrated English shrines; the vassals and labourers on the estates which belonged to the King of England and his nobles were treated with kindness, and were allowed to retain their ancient customs and privileges; important advantages were secured to the religious houses which acknowledged the English authority; the commercial intercourse between the two countries was placed on the most liberal footing; and grants of protection and immunity were readily bestowed on the Scottish merchants, to encourage them to trade with England.

Crafty policy of Edward.

This wily policy was followed by the most beneficial results, and would have deserved high commendation if its object had been fair and honest. The blessings of peace were gratefully accepted by a people who had undergone the most terrible sufferings during the fierce and protracted war which had withered or destroyed every branch of national property, and, under this change of measures, the country gradually improved in order and industry. The youth of Scotland crowded in great numbers to the English colleges. The Scottish merchants commenced a lucrative trade with England, and, through that country, with the continent, exporting thither the wool, hides, and other raw produce of their own country, and receiving in return, woollen cloth, earthenware, wine, salt, and spices of all kinds, gold and silver plate, and swords, helmets, and all sorts of warlike accoutrements. The Scottish rolls in the Tower of London contain numerous passports or safe-conducts granted to merchants from Edinburgh, Kirkaldy, Perth, Aberdeen, and other towns and royal burghs of Scotland, to travel into England and the continent for the purposes of trade. From these curious and authentic documents it appears that the merchants travelled with their goods in caravans, protected by companies of horsemen, and that sometimes passports were given to fifty or sixty at a time, each of whom was attended by a suite of four, five, or six horsemen. On one occasion, in the space of a single month, safe-conducts were granted to no less than sixty-five merchants, who were escorted by two hundred and thirty horsemen.*

Great increase of intercourse between England and Scotland.

* Robertson's Parliamentary Records, p. 101.
† Ibid. p. 103.
‡ Ibid. p. 104.

* Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. pp. 885, 886; Tytler, vol. ii. pp. 111, 112.

In spite of the great benefits which the people of Scotland derived from the peace, and the unfettered intercourse with England, they continued to offer the most strenuous resistance to all attempts to degrade their country to the level of an English province, and neither the blandishments nor the threats of Edward availed to shake their resolution. In an assembly of the Scottish council, which was held at the monastery of Holyrood on the 8th of May, 1366, when David was absent in England, it was declared in the strongest terms, that the proposals of the English king with regard to the homage, the succession, and the dismemberment of the kingdom, were altogether intolerable, and could not for a moment be entertained. At the same time it was announced, that in order to pay off the ransom of their king, the Scottish people were willing to submit to an additional tax on all the lands in the kingdom, both lay and ecclesiastical; and the rich proprietors were directed to appear on certain appointed days before the sheriff of the county in which they resided, and to state the precise sum which each was willing to contribute within three years, towards defraying the ransom. In this way it was calculated that the whole debt would be liquidated at the end of the four years' truce with England.

Resistance of the Scots to Edward's schemes.

Meanwhile their unworthy sovereign, by his incessant and expensive journeys to the court of Edward, as well as his pilgrimages to English shrines, had involved himself in a load of debt. Heavy expenses had also been incurred by the Scottish commissioners during their protracted and fruitless negotiations for peace; and the large arrears of the royal ransom were a subject of great anxiety to the people of Scotland, and seemed to threaten national bankruptcy. In a parliament assembled at Scone on the 20th of July, commissioners were appointed to make a last attempt at negotiation, on the basis of the articles agreed to in the parliament held at Perth on the 13th of January, 1364, for the purpose of obtaining either a final peace or a prolongation of the truce for twenty-five years.* An exact census of all the lands in the kingdom, lay and ecclesiastical, and of all the goods, not only of the burghers, but even of the husbandmen, was appointed to be taken, and a contribution of eight thousand marks was to be levied upon the gross rental, to defray the charges of the commissioners, and to pay off the debts which the king had contracted both in his own kingdom and in England. It was agreed that the annual instalment of four thousand pounds towards the payment of the ransom, should in the meantime be paid out of the great custom, as appointed by a former parliament, but that after the return of the commissioners it should be taken out of the general property-tax, and that two thousand pounds out of the same fund should be employed to pay the royal debts and the expenses of the commissioners. As this last sum was required without delay, it was borrowed from the barons, clergy, and burgesses, on the security of Sir Robert Erskine and Walter Biggar, the Chamberlain.

Heavy debt contracted by David.

Resolutions of the parliament convoked at Scone.

It would seem that grievous abuses had sprung up in the administration of justice, and in the purveying of provisions for the royal household, as well as in the exactions of the nobles, who travelled through the country with the pomp and military array of kings, quartering themselves and their attendants at pleasure on the farmers and labourers, destroying or consuming their crops; and the present was deemed a fitting occasion for the enactment of regulations to remedy these grievances. Accordingly, it was proclaimed by the king, at the instance of the three estates, that justice should be done to every subject of the realm, without favour or respect of persons; that whatever letters had been directed from the chancellary, or other court in the administration of justice, should not be liable to be recalled by other letters under any seal whatever, but that the officers to whom such were addressed should be bound to give them full effect, and to return them endorsed to the parties. It was also stipulated, that since the people had taken upon themselves so heavy a burden to pay the ransom of the king, together with the expenses incurred by him and by the commissioners, no part of the money collected for these purposes should be applied to any other use; that the clergy should be protected in the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges; that no other burdens should be imposed upon them, than those which were sanctioned by parliament, and that those who were opposed to the regular payment of tithes, should be compelled to submit peaceably to their exaction, under the penalty of excommunication, and a fine of ten pounds to the king. Nothing was to be taken from the people for the use of the king without prompt payment, and, even when paid for, nothing was to be exacted, except what was sanctioned by use and custom. The parliament next resolved, that the rebels in Athole, Argyle, Badenoch, Lochaber, and Ross, and the other northern districts of the kingdom, should be arrested and compelled to submit to the laws, and to pay their share in the general contribution, besides being otherwise punished, as appeared best for securing the peace of the community. All sheriffs and other inferior officers were enjoined to obey the chamberlain and other superior authorities, under the penalty of a removal from their offices without hope of restitution. All remissions for offences, granted by the king, were declared null and void, unless the fine was paid within the year from the date of the pardon. It was ordained that the followers of the nobility, with their horses, should not be forcibly quartered upon the inferior clergy, or the farmers and husbandmen, so as to destroy the crops and meadows, and consume the grain; but that they should duly pay for their entertainment in the

Abuses remedied by the estates.

* Robertson's Parliamentary Records, p. 104.

inns where they took up their residence; and the chamberlain was enjoined to take care, that in every burgh proper inns were erected, and maintained according to the wealth of the place. No prelate, earl, baron, knight, or other person, lay or clerical, was to be permitted to ride through the country with a greater attendance than became their rank, and such persons were enjoined under pain of imprisonment, unless reasonable cause for the attendance of such followers was shown to the king's officers. And it was finally directed, that these regulations should be reduced to writing, under the royal seal, and publicly proclaimed by the sheriffs in their respective counties.*

Another abortive negotiation with England.

In consequence of the resolutions of this parliament, another attempt was made to obtain a final peace, but without effect, and the abortive negotiations for that purpose were followed, on the part of England, by preparations for war; an array was ordered of all fighting men, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and the border barons were enjoined to put the marches in a state of defence, and to hold themselves in readiness to repel an invasion of the Scots.†

Unworthy conduct of the king and nobles—

At this critical juncture, the conduct of the Scottish king, and of many of his nobles, is deserving of the severest reprobation. David and his queen made such frequent visits to England, that they seem almost to have taken up their residence in that country; and in their incessant and unnecessary journeys, they lavishly squandered the money wrung from the commercial and labouring classes of the community, besides incurring so large an amount of personal debt, that ultimately they could not venture to visit the English court without a royal protection from arrest.‡ Many of the higher nobles imitated the foolish and selfish conduct of their sovereign, and, totally unmindful of the duty which they owed to their country, in great numbers undertook expensive pilgrimages to holy shrines in England and various parts of the continent,§ or entered into the service of foreign powers, and wasted their blood and treasure in quarrels with which they had no concern. And even when they remained at home, they were much more intently occupied in carrying on their petty feuds with one another, than in labouring to secure the independence or to promote the prosperity of their country. During the long minority and subsequent captivity of David, the exorbitant power of these haughty and turbulent barons had grown to such a height, as to set at defiance all attempts to bring them under the control of the laws. Their incessant quarrels with each other rendered the country a universal scene of disorder and bloodshed; and, secure in the strength of their castles, and the number of their vassals, they committed the most atrocious crimes with impunity. Even the patrimony of the crown was not secure from their rapacious grasp, and was so seriously impaired during the long captivity of the monarch, that on his return to his own country he was frequently reduced to great privations, and both he and his first queen were under the humiliating necessity of pawning their jewels for debt.

—their turbulence and contempt for the laws.

This serious defalcation in the royal revenue was brought under the consideration of a parliament, summoned for that purpose, at Scone, on the 27th of September, 1367.* It was resolved by the estates, that to enable the king to live as he ought, without oppressing the people, all the rents, dues, customs, and emoluments, which had belonged to the crown in the time of Robert Bruce and Alexander III., and which had been grievously dilapidated, should be reclaimed, and that even though these rents or duties had been disposed of, or the crown lands let, either by the king or his chamberlain; and with an entire disregard of the rights of private persons, the leases or gifts of these lands or dues were pronounced null and void. The chamberlain was directed to retain in his own hands, for the king's use, and the support of the royal household, all lands in ward, all the feudal casualties due upon the marriage of crown vassals, with the fines or perquisites of the royal courts. All deeds and charters by which the patrimony of the crown had been disposed of, since the time of Robert Bruce, were ordered to be delivered into the exchequer at Perth, to remain in the hands of the chancellor and the chamberlain; and any such deeds not so delivered upon the appointed day, were abrogated, and declared to be null and void, in all time coming.†

Defalcation in the royal revenue—

—attempt of the parliament to restore it.

About this period, the Earl of Ross, John of the Isles, John of Lorn, and other northern barons, appear to have risen in rebellion against the royal authority, and to have refused to contribute their proportion of the impost for the relief of the kingdom. In a parliament held at Scone, in the summer of 1368, the distracted state of the northern districts was taken into consideration, and the best methods of

Rebellion of the northern barons—

* Robertson's Parliamentary Records, pp. 105, 106; Tytler, vol. ii. Illustrations, letter H, p. 391.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. pp. 909, 910, 911.

‡ Ibid. p. 900.

§ In the year 1363, the Earls of March, Douglas, and Mar successively visited the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket. On the 10th October, 1365, Archdeacon Barbour, the celebrated biographer of Bruce, obtained a safe-conduct to proceed with six knights upon a foreign pilgrimage; and a month or two later in the same year, no less than twenty-two Scottish knights and soldiers, accompanied by a hundred horsemen, set out upon pilgrimages to different shrines in Europe and Asia.

* The record mentions that the Earls of March, Ross, and Douglas were absent through contumacy. It seems to have been no uncommon occurrence for the higher barons to refuse, at their pleasure, to attend parliament, or to contribute their share to the relief of the king and people.

† Robertson's Parliamentary Records, p. 103.

reducing them to obedience; in order, as it was said, that in the event of war, the estates of the kingdom might then have a safe place of retreat:* an expression which gives a very striking description of the low state to which the country was then reduced. John of the Isles, one of the insurgent chiefs, was the son-in-law of the Steward of Scotland; and David, in person, enjoined that officer and his sons, the Lords of Kyle and Menteith, with the Earl of Mar, to defend his subjects within the territories over which their authority extended.† John of the Isles, John of Lorn, and Gillespie Campbell, were at the same time summoned to appear before the king, and give sufficient security that the country should not, in future, be plundered by them and their vassals; and that, along with their equals and neighbours, they should submit to the labours and the burdens imposed upon them by the laws. The king was recommended to take counsel, respecting the defence of the borders, with the Earls of March and Douglas, the wardens of the east marches, although it was added, these barons seemed little disposed to give either labour or counsel to promote the welfare of the country. The chamberlain, assisted by Walter Lesley, Walter Haliburton, Hugh Eglintoun, and Walter Moyne, was directed to visit, in the first instance, the royal castles of Lochleven, Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dunbarton, and to give orders for their being immediately repaired and garrisoned, and provided with victuals, warlike engines, and all other articles necessary for resisting a hostile attack; after which, the remaining castles in the kingdom were to be carefully surveyed and put into a state of defence.‡

—measures taken for its suppression.

Provisions for the defence of the country.

The exorbitant power of the great barons at this period, and their haughty contempt of all law and authority, are strikingly manifested in the tone of advice and entreaty, rather than of command, in which they are implored to lay aside their private feuds and dissensions, and to unite cordially in the defence of their common country. The parliament clearly perceived both the true nature and the origin of the evils which afflicted the state, and the regulations which it made to repress them were in most cases sound and sagacious; but such, unhappily, was the weakness of the executive, that it was always difficult, and often impossible, to put the laws in execution: and thus the nation, as it has been justly said, continued in the condition of a froward patient, who cannot be cured, because there is no prevailing upon him to take the prescriptions ordered by the physicians.

Lawless conduct of the nobles.

When the parliament again assembled nine months after this, John of Lorn and Gillespie Campbell submitted to the royal authority. The Earls of Mar and Ross appeared in their places, and engaged within their territories to assist the royal officers in the maintenance of law and order; and the Steward of Scotland became bound to put down dissensions in the districts of Athole, Strathern, and Menteith; but John of the Isles still continued to defy the power of the king and parliament, and to insist that his vassals were under no obligation to pay any portion of the national impost. David, incensed at this continued resistance to his authority, with unwonted activity assembled an army, and though it was the depth of winter, marched against John of the Isles in person, and reduced that turbulent chief to obedience. Accompanied by a numerous train of the insurgent Highland chiefs, he met the king at Inverness, and humbly submitted to his authority, promising to pay the tax imposed by parliament, and to put down all disaffection within his territories, and gave hostages for the fulfilment of the obligations under which he had come.* According to Fordun, David employed artifice as well as force, in reducing the unruly natives of the islands and other remote districts of the country, and had recourse to the crooked policy of stirring up one chieftain against another, and bestowing large rewards on those who succeeded either in slaying or in taking prisoners their brother chiefs.† In this way the power of the whole was humbled and diminished, and the royal sovereignty was acknowledged, and regular government gradually established throughout their wild and almost inaccessible territories.

Expedition against John of the Isles—

—his submission.

Meanwhile the truce with England was about to expire, and there appeared as little prospect as ever of the establishment of a permanent peace between the two kingdoms. The Scottish nation was weighed down by an overwhelming load of taxation, and yet the debt of the king was accumulating year by year, and more than a half of his ransom was still unpaid. Many districts of the country, through the ravages of war, and the long neglect of husbandry, were reduced to such a state of poverty as to be wholly unable to pay their portion of the public impost. The common necessaries of life were scarce, and therefore dear, and even the ordinary supplies for the maintenance of the royal household had to be imported from England.‡ In the midst of these distresses, the Scottish nation, though deserted and betrayed by their own degenerate Sovereign, continued, with unshaken courage and perseverance, to resist every attempt on the part of the English monarch to destroy or impair, by force or fraud, the independence of their country. Although the proposal made by David to settle the crown on one of the sons of Edward was promptly and indignantly rejected by the Scottish parliament and people, the unworthy son

Miserable state of the kingdom.

* Robertson's Parliamentary Records, p. 112.
† Ibid. p. 115.
‡ Ibid pp. 111, 112; Tytler, vol. ii., Illustrations, letter L.

* Tytler, vol. ii., Illustrations, letter M; Robertson's Parliamentary Records, p. 115.
† Fordun book xiv. chap. xxxiv.
‡ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. pp. 924, 930.

of the heroic Bruce did not abandon his base design. Up to the end of his life, he continued to act as the tool of England, and there is the clearest evidence, that during his almost constant residence in that country, he took an active part in the intrigues which Edward was incessantly carrying on for the purpose of securing this grand object of his ambition. Many of the nobility were, as usual, gained over to the English interest, but the great mass of the people were determined to preserve the independence of their country at all hazards, and the appeals made to their hopes and fears proved like unsuccessful. Year after year, negotiations were renewed, for the purpose of permanently establishing, on an amicable basis, the relations between the two kingdoms, but without effect. In the exhausted state of the country, the Scots were wholly unable to raise the enormous sum which they had stipulated to pay for the king's ransom, and Edward obstinately refused to abate any portion, either of the original amount, or of the penalties incurred by default of payment. It was in his power, by the terms of the treaty, at any time to have remanded the Scottish king to his prison in the Tower, but by taking this step, he would have deprived himself of a tractable and zealous agent for the promotion of his views on the independence of Scotland, and would, at the same time, have thrown the government of that country into the hands of the Steward, the rightful heir to the throne, and the decided enemy of English influence. His object was, therefore, so to avail himself of the difficulties under which the country laboured, as to reduce it to a state of insolvency, that the people might be constrained to sacrifice their independence in order to relieve themselves from the overwhelming pressure of the debt,—and his nefarious schemes were apparently about to be crowned with success.

War between France and England.

The country seemed to be rapidly sinking under its accumulated distresses, when it was at once providentially rescued from despair by the sudden breaking out of a war between France and England, and the consequent necessity under which the English monarch was placed of concentrating his whole strength on the contest, in order to maintain his position on the continent. His arrogant demands were immediately relaxed, and he readily consented that the truce between the kingdoms should be prolonged for fourteen years,* and that the balance of King David's ransom, amounting still to fifty-six thousand marks, should be paid by annual instalments of four thousand marks. In this manner the ransom of the king was at length completely discharged, and a receipt in full was granted by Richard II. in the seventh year of his reign.†

The truce between England and Scotland is renewed for fourteen years.

* Parliamentary Records, p. 116.
† Rymer, Foedera, vol. vii. p. 417; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 317.

An important and dangerous innovation on the freedom of the great national council took place towards the close of David's reign. In the parliament which was held at Scone, in the year 1368, a practice was introduced, apparently for the first time, of appointing committees to consult upon the business, and to prepare and arrange the affairs of delicacy and importance which were afterwards to come before the parliament at large.* When the council of the nation assembled at Perth, in the following year, a similar course was adopted on a more extended scale. All judicial questions which were to come before parliament were referred to a committee, consisting of six of the clergy, fourteen of the barons, and seven of the burgesses, who were directed to deliberate and give their judgment regarding them. To a second committee, composed exclusively of the clergy and barons, in the proportion of six of the former to eleven of the latter, was intrusted the management of certain secret affairs which it was not deemed expedient, in the first instance, to bring before the body at large. The principal business brought before this committee was the consideration of the king's debt; and it soon appeared that the object of the secrecy which had been preserved, and of the exclusion of the representatives of the royal burghs, was to prevent their opposition to a declaration remitting and cancelling all the debts contracted by the king throughout the realm, up to the period of the Exchequer Court at Perth, in the year 1368. This mean and fraudulent transaction showed how perilous this innovation on the constitution was to the rights of the community and to the principles of good government. It was probably with the view of reconciling the burgesses to the injury thus inflicted upon those who had lent money or sold goods for the royal use, that it was accompanied by an order enjoining the king's officers to exact only what was due by use and custom, and to make prompt payment of whatever was borrowed for the ransom, or the support of the royal household. For the purpose of equalizing the taxation over the whole country, it was declared that in those northern districts where sheep had not been introduced, and which consequently escaped the heavy tax on wool paid by the Lowland districts, an annual impost in aid of the crown should be levied upon the crops and farm-stocking, or that the king, at certain seasons, should take up his residence in these remote counties and assess them for his support.

Innovation in the constitution of parliament.

Repudiation of the king's debts.

Attempt to equalize the taxation.

It was enacted by this parliament, that a tax should be paid to the exchequer of forty pennies upon every pound of money, either of gold or silver, exported out of the country, under a penalty of twenty shillings upon every penny of the duty which was eluded; and with regard to horses,

Tax on the exportation of gold and silver, and of horses and cattle.

* Parliamentary Records, p. 113.

cows, and other animals purchased for exportation, a duty of forty pence was to be levied upon every pound of the price of the horse, and twelve pence upon the price of all other animals. As grievous complaints had been made from all parts of the kingdom respecting the extortion of the serjeants and other officers of the crown, a strict investigation was ordered to be made into the conduct of all persons who had held these offices since the period of the king's captivity, and those who were found guilty of malversation were ordered to be punished by imprisonment and deprivation of their offices. It was further declared, that no justiciary, sheriff, or other officer of the king, should execute any mandate under any seal whatever, not excepting the great or privy seal, if such mandate were contrary to law. All grants of exemptions from public burdens or services due to the king were revoked, and the merchants and burgesses were enjoined not to leave the kingdom without license from the king or the chamberlain.*

At this period discord broke out in the royal family, and from causes which are involved in obscurity, bitter animosity arose between David and his queen. She appears to have been expensive in her habits, like most persons suddenly elevated to high rank, and was fond of splendid dress and entertainments; and she apparently also liked admiration. Nothing is known, however, with certainty, of the reasons that induced the king to dissolve the unequal alliance which he had so hastily formed. A sentence of divorce was pronounced by the Scottish bishops, in Lent, A.D. 1369;† but the queen appealed to the Pope against this decision, and having with great secrecy conveyed herself and the treasure she had amassed, which is said to have been considerable, on board a vessel in the Forth, she set sail for France and proceeded to Avignon to prosecute her appeal in person. Her cause met with a favourable hearing at the papal court; but she did not live to bring it to a conclusion, as she died on her journey to Rome, 18th Feb. 1369. Immediately after the divorce of the queen, the Steward and his sons were released from prison and restored to the royal favour.

Divorce of the queen—

—her appeal to the Pope—

—and death.

Shortly after this event, David, while meditating an expedition to the Holy Land, as an expiation for his sins, was seized with a mortal illness, and died at the castle of Edinburgh, on the 22nd February, 1370, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the forty-first of his reign.* The character of this prince presents little deserving of either affection or esteem. He was indeed possessed of personal courage and of courteous and affable manners, but he was habitually under the dominion of selfish and sordid passions; and while he exacted the most painful sacrifices from his subjects in the midst of their deepest distresses, which his folly and extravagance had greatly aggravated, he recklessly indulged his love of show and pleasure, and never denied himself a single indulgence in return for their devoted loyalty and affection. His violent resentments, and mingled obstinacy and caprice, entailed a long train of calamities upon his people; and his readiness to barter, for paltry and personal advantages, the independence of his kingdom, must ever remain a dark blot upon his memory. It is a melancholy consideration, that the death of the only son of Robert Bruce must have been regarded by his subjects as a national deliverance.

Death of David.

Character of this prince.

* Parliamentary Records, pp. 117, 118.
† Fordun, book xiv. chap. xxxiv.

* Fordun, book, xiv. chap. xxxiv.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND—LAWS—CHARTERS—ROYAL BURGHS—TRADE AND COMMERCE—COINAGE—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES—HOUSES, MILITARY ARMS, AND DRESS—SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS.

THE origin and constitution of the ancient parliament of Scotland are involved in some obscurity, and have given rise to considerable discussion. The early monarchs of the Scoto-Saxon dynasty, like other feudal sovereigns, were doubtless accustomed, on important occasions, to consult the most powerful of their clergy and barons; but there is no evidence that a regular convocation of the three estates of the realm was ever held during their reigns, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to point out the precise period at which the transition from the occasional council to the formal and legal assembly took place. David I. was undoubtedly a legislator, and some of his laws have come down to our own day; but there is no reason to believe that any parliament was consulted in their enactment. In one instance, indeed, he held a meeting of the clergy and barons at Carlisle, in the year 1138; but this assembly appears to have been convoked by the papal legate, and may be deemed an ecclesiastical rather than a civil council. On various occasions during the reigns of his immediate successors, Malcolm IV., William the Lion, and Alexander II., mention is made of important public transactions having been carried through in accordance with the advice of a great council; but in other instances equally important the government appears to have been entirely directed by the will of the monarch; and nothing resembling a regular parliament is to be found throughout the whole of this period, although the word is once or twice employed by ancient historians in speaking of the consultations between the king and his council. Towards the close of the reign of Alexander III., on the death of his son and daughter, leaving an infant as the only heir to the crown, Wyntown informs us that the king "caused make a great gathering of the States at Scone,"* for the purpose of settling the succession; and we learn from Fordun,† that this "gathering" consisted of the bishops and higher barons of the realm; but no mention is made of the attendance of the representatives of the burghs upon this occasion.

The first certain notice of the meeting of the Estates of the kingdom.

Immediately after the sudden and calamitous death of Alexander, we are told by Wyntown that the Estates of Scotland held a parliament at Scone,‡ in which they appointed six guardians to govern the kingdom; but we possess no authentic information respecting the constitution or proceedings of this assembly, and therefore cannot say of whom it was composed. A very full meeting of the Estates took place shortly after at Brigham, which was attended by the five guardians, ten bishops, twelve earls, twenty-three abbots, eleven priors, and forty-eight barons, who assumed the title of the Community of Scotland.* The absence of the representatives of the burghs on this important occasion clearly proves that they were not yet recognised as entitled to a place in the national council. The stipulation in the treaty of marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Maiden of Norway, "that no parliament was ever to be held without the boundaries of Scotland," together with the declaration which Fordun informs us was afterwards made by the Scottish parliament to Baliol—that he had been compelled to swear homage to Edward without consulting the three Estates of the realm†—show how rapidly the great national council was rising into importance. The burgesses of Scotland were called upon by Edward I. to take the oaths of allegiance to him in his progress through the country (A.D. 1292), after his claims as Lord Paramount of the kingdom had been admitted by the Scottish clergy and barons; but it was not till three years later that we have the first authentic record of the admission of the representatives of the burghs into the Scottish legislature. The chiefs of the people formed a constituent part of that parliament which compelled Baliol to renounce his homage and fealty to Edward, and to declare war against England;‡ and in the treaty of marriage which the same parliament negotiated between the eldest son of Baliol and the daughter of the French king, a clause was inserted providing that the treaty should be corroborated by the seals and the signatures not only of the prelates and nobles, but of the communities of the towns of Scotland.§ There is no farther mention of the constitution of the Scottish parliament till the year 1305, when Edward, after what he deemed the final conquest of Scotland, proceeded to form a constitution for the country, which he regarded as now indissolubly united with the English crown. By his orders the States of the realm assembled at Perth on the 28th of May, and elected ten commissioners, who, in conjunction with twenty chosen by the English parliament, were invested with full powers to frame a series of regulations for the administration of justice, and the government of the country. These commissioners consisted of two bishops, two abbots, two earls, two barons, and two members to represent the community of burghs,‖ a satisfactory proof that the royal burghs

First admission of the representatives of the burghs into parliament.

* Wyntown, vol. i. p. 397

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 127; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 221.

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 10.

* Rymer Foed. vol. ii. p. 472; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 744, note (*n*).

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 152.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 153.

§ Rymer, vol. ii. p. 696; Tytler, vol. ii. pp. 226, 227.

‖ History, ante, p. 111.

were now regarded as constituting an essential part of the national council. In the year 1315 the Estates of Scotland assembled at Ayr, and determined that, in the event of the death of King Robert Bruce without heirs male, his brother Edward should succeed to the throne. As the heads of the communities or royal burghs appended their seals to the instrument of succession along with those of the prelates and barons, there can be little doubt that they sat in this important parliament, and took part in its deliberations.* They were also present in the parliament which met at Scone in the year 1318, for the purpose of framing some new regulations regarding the succession to the crown, rendered necessary by the death of Edward Bruce; and the famous letter which the parliament held at Aberbrothock, addressed to the Pope, was drawn up in the name of the prelates, earls, freeholders, and whole community of Scotland,† thereby showing that the representatives of the royal burghs were now recognised as forming the third estate of the national council. In the year 1326, King Robert, finding his health rapidly declining, convoked a parliament at Cambuskenneth, for the purpose of making a final settlement of the crown, and taking the oaths of fealty to his infant son, David. The original record of this Assembly of the Estates has perished, but an indenture has been preserved which was drawn between the king and his earls, barons, free tenants, communities of burghs, and the whole community of his realm;‡ and proves beyond a doubt that the burghs were now considered an integral part of the parliament. Some writers, indeed, have contended that this ought to be regarded as the true epoch of the introduction of deputies from the towns into the great national council;§ but the cases already adduced afford a strong presumption, if not conclusive evidence, that this important change in the constitution of the country took place as early as the reign of Baliol. No record has been preserved of the parliament assembled at Edinburgh in the year 1327, for the purpose of finally adjusting the terms of the peace with England; but the treaty itself distinctly states that it had been concluded with consent of the prelates, earls, barons, and other heads of the communities of the kingdom of Scotland.‖

In consequence of the distracted state of the country during the minority and captivity of David Bruce, no regular parliament appears to have assembled for more than twenty years, and the election of the various regents who carried on the government was vested in that portion of the nobility who adhered to the patriotic cause. But there is unquestionable evidence of the presence of the burghs, as the third Estate, in all the parliaments held by David after his return to his own dominions; and on the record of the proceedings of the parliament held at Scone on the 20th of July, 1366, we find it stated, that the assembly consisted of those who were summoned to the parliament of the king, according to ancient use and wont; namely, the bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and free tenants, and certain burgesses who were summoned from each burgh to attend at this time. Towards the close of David's reign, an important and most mischievous innovation took place in the constitution of the parliament. In the account of the meeting of the Estates in the year 1367, it is stated that, in consequence of its being held in the autumn, "certain persons had been elected to hold the parliament, while permission was given to the rest of the members to return to their own business."* In the meeting of the three Estates at Perth, on the 6th of March, 1368, the same questionable measure was adopted of intrusting the entire management of the business of the parliament to a committee, and allowing the rest of the members to return home and attend to their own affairs; and in the last parliament of David, which assembled at Perth on the 18th of February, 1369, this new and dangerous practice was still more fully recognized and carried out. The management of all the judicial questions and complaints which required to come before parliament was intrusted to a committee consisting of six of the clergy, amongst whom were the Bishop of Brechin, the Chancellor, and the Chamberlain, John de Carrie, fourteen of the barons, and seven of the burgesses; while certain special and secret matters regarding the king and the nation were referred to another committee, from which the representatives of the burghs were entirely excluded.† The change thus introduced in the management of parliamentary proceedings necessarily tended to limit the freedom of discussion in the national council, by investing a small body of the members with the power of keeping back or bringing forward at their pleasure the subjects for consideration and debate, and ultimately led to the institution of the Lords of Articles,‡ who possessed a veto upon all measures which were proposed to be brought before the Estates, and thus exerted a most injurious influence upon the freedom of the parliament and the nation.§

Dangerous innovation on the constitution of parliament.

The origin of Scottish jurisprudence has given rise to a great deal of controversy, in which the most conflicting opinions have been expressed; but the spuriousness of the laws attributed to Kenneth Macalpine, Malcolm II., Macbeth, and Malcolm Canmore, has been clearly demonstrated, and it has been shown that nothing like a code of written law was trans-

Origin of Scottish law.

* History, ante, p. 140.
† Ibid. ante, p. 152.
‡ Kames' Law Tracts, Appendix No. 4; Caledonia, vol. i. 714, note (*p*).
§ Ibid.
‖ Robertson's Index, p. 103.

* Parl. Records of Scotland, pp. 105, 108.
† See ante, p. 211; Parl. Records, p. 117.
‡ Hailes, vol. ii. p. 316, and note.
§ See Tytler's Dissertation on the Ancient Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 217—236; Caledonia, vol. i. pp 741—744; Wight's Rise and Progress of Parliament.

mitted by any of the Celtic kings. David, the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore and the Saxon princess, Queen Margaret, is the first of the Scottish kings whose legislative enactments were transmitted to posterity in a permanent form. His reign forms an important era in the jurisprudence of Scotland. His long residence at the court of Henry I. had made him intimately acquainted with the laws of England, and on his accession to the throne of Scotland, he laboured to introduce among his rude subjects, the laws, manners, and customs of the more civilized inhabitants of the southern division of the island. There can be little doubt that the code of

Laws of David I.

mercantile law called *Assissa Burgorum*, from a term of English jurisprudence, was gradually formed by this enlightened and patriotic monarch.* In the statutes of William the Lion there is a reference to "the customs and laws made by King David;" and in the year 1305, Edward I. enjoined his lieutenant to read, in the presence of the good people of the land, "the laws which King David had enacted." It appears from Ayloffe's Calendar of Ancient Charters, that among the public records carried away by Edward, there were several rolls of the laws and assizes of the kingdom of Scotland, several rolls of the laws and customs of the burghs, and a roll of ancient statutes which had been made by the Kings of Scotland.† The greater part of these statutes and assizes were, in all probability, enacted during the reigns of David and of William the Lion. The learned Chalmers states, that he had inspected a manuscript collection of ancient laws preserved in the library at Berne, in Switzerland, and which is undoubtedly older than the year 1306.‡ This interesting document contains an enumeration of certain statutes under the title of *Leges Scotiæ* and *Leges Burgorum*, which it affirms were enacted by King David; but it makes no

The Regiam Majestatem.

mention of the famous code entitled *Regiam Majestatem*, from the first words of the treatise—the genuineness of which was long a keenly disputed question. Several Scottish lawyers and antiquaries have affirmed that the *Regiam Majestatem* is a book of Scottish law compiled, if not by the pen, at least in the age of David I. This opinion has been controverted by other distinguished Scottish jurists, such as Craig and Lord Stair, while the eminent English lawyers, Spelman and Hale, maintain that it was copied from the well-known treatise of Glanvill.§ More recently, the acute and learned Lord Hailes published an elaborate dissertation, intended to prove that the disputed code is a modern fabrication.‖ It has been clearly shown by internal evidence, that the composition of *Regiam Majestatem* belongs to a later age than that of either David I. or Glanvill, and that the date of its compilation cannot be fixed earlier than the fourteenth century. There is no reason, however, to suppose, with Sir George Mackenzie, that the code was the unauthorized production of a private lawyer, or that it was merely an inartificial copy from Glanvill. The treatise of the English lawyer, as Chalmers remarks, was undoubtedly in the view of the compilers of the disputed tract; but the lawyers who assisted in that work, had before them the whole code of English law, as it stood enlarged and improved at the conclusion of the long reign of the law-giving Edward I. There is no evidence, however, that Scotland, at this period, possessed a body of lawyers who could have compiled a judicial treatise containing so much Scotch and English canon and civil law as appears in the *Regiam Majestatem*.* The compilers of this code must therefore be sought in some other more probable quarter; and there can be little doubt of the accuracy of the statement made by the learned author already quoted, that the compilation of the *Regiam Majestatem* may be more justly referred to the genius of Edward I. than to the pen of King David. The true origin of this treatise is to be found in the famous state paper of Edward, known by the title of an "Ordinatio super stabilitate terræ Scotiæ," and published in 1305. In this celebrated decree it was declared that—"The Lieutenant or Guardian should, immediately on his arrival in Scotland, assemble the good people of the land in some convenient place, and that in their presence he should read the laws which King David had enacted, and also the amendments and additions which had been made by his successors: that the Lieutenant, with the assistance which he shall then have, as well English as Scottish, shall amend such of those laws and usages as are plainly against the dictates of God and reason, as they best may in so short a space, without consulting the king; and as to such matters as they cannot correct of themselves, that they put them into writing, by the common assent of the Lieutenant and the good men assembled, to be laid before the king at Westminster, under the Lieutenant's seal."† In compliance with this decree, a sketch of the old laws of Scotland was drawn up by the Guardian, with the assistance of the English lawyers who then accompanied him, and doubtless, also, of some of the Scottish clergy who attended this assembly, and this compilation, with numerous additions and alterations, constitutes the code entitled *Regiam Majestatem*. We learn from this

* Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 725, 726, and notes (*a*) and (*e*).
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid. p. 729, note (*l*).
§ Ibid. vol. i. p. 727.
‖ "The Examination of some of the Arguments for the High Antiquity of Regiam Majestatem."—Edinburgh, 1769.

* Chalmers says, "I have looked unsuccessfully for lawyers in Scotland during the Scoto-Saxon period. The pleadings of the competitors for the crown of Scotland were plainly drawn by English lawyers. The bishops, and other dignified clergy in Scotland, were no doubt canonists and civilians; but they were not municipal lawyers. Even at the comparatively recent establishment of the Court of Session, there was not in Scotland a regular body of municipal lawyers. Most of the earliest Lords of Session were what the English judges once had been,—mere churchmen."—Caledonia, vol. i. p. 731, note (*a*).
† Caledonia, vol. i. p. 732.

memorable ordinance of the English monarch, that a portion, at least, of the ancient consuetudinary laws and customs of the Scots and Britons existed at this period; so slowly and gradually had the feudal law advanced in Scotland, and displaced the usages of the Celtic tribes.* It appears also, that the Flemings, who colonized Scotland during the twelfth century, and settled in great numbers along the east coast, were long allowed to retain their own peculiar customs under the name of *Fleming-lauche;*† so that the establishment of entire uniformity of laws among the different races in Scotland was the work of a comparatively late period.

Customs of the Scots and Britons, and of the Flemings.

The earliest lawsuit of which there is any record, occurred before David's accession to the throne, and rose out of a dispute between his *Drenges* of Horndean-on-the-Tweed and the monks of St. Cuthbert. David decided, that if the monks could bring forward legal witnesses, or produce his brother's charter, they should be allowed to retain the land in dispute. They produced the charter, and the decision was given in their favour.‡ The next in point of time and interest was the dispute between Sir Robert Burgoner and the monks of Lochleven, who complained to the king that they were violently oppressed by the knight. David summoned a meeting of the whole county of Fife, in order to do justice to both parties. In order to support the laws, the power of the county was collected by Constantine the Earl of Fife, and the great judge, or justiciar, of Scotland; and the Bishop of St. Andrews also sent a body of troops, commanded by two officers, named Budadh and Slogadah. The dispute was referred to three judges, or arbiters—Constantine the Earl, and Dufgal and Meldoineth, two judges highly respected on account of their character and learning. After hearing witnesses, Dufgal gave judgment upon the complaint, and pronounced sentence against Burgoner. The whole proceeding, as Chalmers justly remarks, evinces that Fife was then a Celtic country, governed by Celtic usages.§

Earliest lawsuit in Scotland.

The fees and fines which arose from the administration of justice in the royal courts, formed no inconsiderable revenue; and as early as the reign of David I. these profits had become objects of donation. David granted to the church of Glasgow the eighth penny out of all his pleas in Cumbria; to the monastery of Dunfermline, the eighth part of all his pleas and gains in Fife and Fotherif; to the monastery of Holyrood, the tithe of all his pleas from the Avon to Colbrandspath, and the half of the tithes of his *can* and of his pleas and profits in Kintyre and Argyle; to the priory of Urquhart in Moray, the tithe of his pleas and profits in Argyle. The same monarch bestowed upon the monastery of Cambuskenneth the tenth of all his pleas and profits in Stirling, Stirlingshire, and Calentire; and the prior and canons of Restennet obtained from him a grant of the tenths of the wards, reliefs, marriages, fines, escheats, and other emoluments which accrued to the king in the justiciary, chamberlain, and sheriff courts in Forfarshire. The successors of David imitated his example in bestowing upon the clergy and religious houses, similar revenues from judicial proceedings. Simon, Bishop of Moray, obtained from William the Lion the tithes of his pleas throughout the whole diocese of Moray. The bishops of Brechin received a part of the second tenths of the same profits in Kincardineshire, and those within the shires of Aberdeen and Banff were bestowed upon the bishops of Aberdeen. And before the termination of the Scoto-Saxon period, the royal revenue arising from the administration of justice to the people was, to a great extent, in the hands of the clergy.*

Revenue drawn from judicial proceedings.

Charters, as we have seen, were called for in the earliest lawsuit on record in Scotland. Many fabulous statements are made by a certain class of Scottish historians respecting the existence of charters at a very early period in the history of the country; but there is no reason to believe that any such documents could have been found in Scotland until after the termination of the Celtic form of government. The earliest genuine charters are those of King Edgar.† They are invariably in Latin, which was also at that period the language of the laws and of all judicial proceedings. Chalmers states, that the oldest document which he has met with in the Scottish language, is a contract with the magistrates of Edinburgh in the year 1387.‡ The charters of Edgar and of Alexander I., and the greater part of those granted by David I. and his grandson Malcolm IV. are without dates. The earliest dates on public documents in Scotland refer to the reign of the king, the birth of his son, or some other event which had occurred during his government. The custom of employing the date of the year of our Lord was not introduced into Scotland till the beginning of the twelfth century.§ Seals were known in Scotland as early as the year 1122, but they did not come into common use till a much later period.

Charters.

Reference has already been made to the *Leges Burgorum*, or Burgh Laws, enacted by David I., which afford conclusive evidence of the existence of royal boroughs at a period anterior to the reign

* In a charter of King Robert Bruce to Ranulph, creating him Earl of Moray, mention is made of certain *Scotican Services*, which must have been closely allied to the "usages of the Scots and the Brets," and were no doubt customs or dues anciently paid to the Celtic kings, and which were transmitted as legal rights to their successors.—Caledonia, vol. i. p. 740.

† Ibid. p. 735, note (*g*.); Charter of David II. to John Mar.

‡ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 743.

§ Ibid. p. 749.

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 749, and notes (*f*) and (*g*).

† Anderson's Diplomata, Plate 6.

‡ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 754.

§ Ibid. pp. 755—757.

of that monarch. There were no towns in Scotland during the Celtic period, as the Celtic race have always shown an aversion to a settlement in large communities, and to habits of industry and the pacific pursuits of trade and commerce. The origin, therefore, of the towns and royal boroughs of Scotland cannot be traced to an earlier period than the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon dynasty. The small clusters of hamlets, which, for the sake of security, were placed in the vicinity of the royal and baronial castles erected by the Anglo-Norman and Saxon settlers, and formed the dwellings of their feudal vassals and retainers, grew by degrees into extensive settlements of skilful and enterprising artisans, who again, in the course of time, were transformed into wealthy manufacturers and traders. These communities became the nurseries of freedom, and afforded a safe asylum to the slave who could escape from the vigilance of his master.* Their power and privileges continued steadily to increase, till at length they were formed into chartered corporations, endowed with peculiar immunities and rights; thus forming by their enterprise and wealth a useful check on the overweening arrogance and exorbitant power of the barons. The oldest of the royal burghs of Scotland are Edinburgh, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Stirling, which have been traced to the time of Alexander I.† To these were added, in the course of a few years, Inverkeithing, Perth, and Aberdeen, which, however, obtained their respective charters from William the Lion. David I., with his usual sagacious policy, viewed with special favour the erection of these infant towns, and held out such encouragement to induce the more industrious and civilized tradesmen and merchants of England to settle in these communities, that we are informed by an English historian, the towns and burghs of Scotland under William the Lion were almost exclusively peopled by Englishmen. No less than twenty-five of these burghs, including Jedburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, Inverness, Dumfries, Lanark, Glasgow and Dundee, had their origin under David and his grandson William, who carried out the policy which his predecessor originated. It is noticed by Chalmers, that though the names of these burghs are Celtic, the names of their streets and lanes are Anglo-Saxon—a significant fact, which clearly proves that for their elevation from the position of villages to the rank of towns, they are indebted to the Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Flemish settlers, who took up their residence in them during the twelfth century.* It is also worthy of notice that the burgesses and common people of the towns, who appear in the charters of that period, are distinguished by English or Flemish names, while the inhabitants of the rural districts, mentioned in these charters, receive Celtic designations.

Rise of the royal burghs.

At this early period the royal burghs were the exclusive property of the king, and were either held in his own hands, or let out to farm. This is shown by the conclusive fact, that the Cartularies, as Chalmers remarks, are full, not only of grants from successive kings to new settlers, and to the clergy and barons, of *tofts*, or small portions of pasture and arable ground, in their various burghs, with the right of building on them, but of annuities payable out of the royal farms, and pensions from the *census* of their burgesses.†

The royal burghs were originally the property of the monarch.

Not a few of the Scottish burghs owed their origin to the heads of the great religious houses, or to the higher barons, who imitated the policy of their sovereign in granting exclusive privileges to the villages or towns on their estates. Thus Selkirk was indebted for its elevation to the rank of a burgh to the Abbot of Kelso; Aberbrothock, to the Abbot of that monastery; St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Brechin, to the bishops of these sees; Newburgh, to the Abbot of Lindores; Peebles, to the Bishop of Glasgow; Burntisland, to the Abbot of Dunfermline; and Whithorn, to the Prior of Candida Casa.‡ Renfrew was granted by David I. to Walter, the son of Alan, the founder of the Stewart line. Robert Bruce obtained Lochmaben by a grant of the same monarch. Dunbar was early the property of the Earls of Dunbar; and Lauder, of the ancient family of the Morevilles.§ North Berwick was erected into a port by Robert II., who conveyed it to the Earl of Douglas. Wick belonged to the Earl of Caithness, and Inverary and Campbelton were the property of the powerful family of Argyle. In these troublous times, the estates of the barons were frequently forfeited to the crown; and thus their burghs, like their castles and manors, became the property of the monarch, and, from baronial or ecclesiastical, were converted into royal burghs.

Ecclesiastical and baronial burghs.

It appears that from an early period all disputes

* Any bondman, except the king's, who escaped from his feudal superiors and lived for a year and a day within a burgh, without being claimed by his master, became entitled to his freedom.—Laws of the Burghs, chap. xvii.

† The chronological series of the boroughs of Scotland is thus given by Chalmers:—"Under Alexander I.: Edinburgh, Berwick, Stirling, Inverkeithing, Perth, Aberdeen. Under David I.: Jedburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, Rutherglen, Renfrew, St. Andrews, Dunfermline, Crail, Elgin, Forres, Inverness; Rutherglen and Inverness received their first existing charters from William. Under William, who granted many charters to boroughs: Dumfries, Lanark, Glasgow, Irvine, Ayr, Forfar, Dundee, Aberbrothock, Montrose, Inverury, Kintore, Banff, Cullen, Nairn. Under Alexander II.: Annan, Dunbarton, Dingwall, Rosemarkie. Under Alexander III.: Kinghorn, Peebles, Cupar, Inverbervie, Dunbar, Brechin, Lauder, Wigton. Under Robert III.: North Berwick, Pittenweem, Burntisland, Dysart. Under James VI.: Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester, Culross, Wick, Sanquhar, Stranraer. Under Charles I.: Dornoch, Inverary, New Galloway, Newburgh. Under Charles II.: Tain, Cromarty, Kilrenny. Wilham III.; Campbeltown." Some of them may have existed as villages before they were erected into corporate towns. Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 775, 776, note (*b*).

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 779.
† Ibid. p. 778.
‡ Ibid. p. 776, note (*b*).
§ Ibid.

which arose among the members of these trading communities, were determined in a separate court of their own; and that, from the decision of the burgh court, there lay a right of appeal to a tribunal denominated the Court of the Four Burghs, which was instituted by David I. The four burghs which composed this tribunal were Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling;* and their commissioners assembled once every year at Haddington, before the Chamberlain of Scotland, for the purpose of "falseing the dooms of the burghs" as it was termed, or giving judgment upon the appeals brought before them. "By an easy transition," says Chalmers, "the Court of the Four Burghs, from being judicial in its principle, became legislative in its practice; and, before the commencement of the fifteenth century, delegates from all the burghs met in the convention of the Four Burghs, to treat and determine upon all things concerning the common weal of all the king's burghs."†

Court of the Four Burghs.

The gradual rise of the towns and royal burghs was, at first, highly conducive to the advancement of the mercantile wealth and prosperity of the kingdom, but the peculiar privileges with which these corporations were invested, must have ultimately proved injurious to the general welfare of the nation. These trading communities were all formed upon a principle of exclusion and monopoly. It was early settled as the law of Scotland that "all merchandis and boroughs enjoy their own liberties and privileges; that persons dwelling without boroughs shall not use any merchandize, nor sell any staple goods; and that none but merchant guilds shall buy or sell within the liberties of the boroughs."‡ These exclusive privileges completely prevented competition. Each burgh had its own district, within which it strove to maintain a strict monopoly. The privilege of carrying on any branch of trade or commerce was confined to the guild brethren or favoured monks. The cargoes of foreign vessels could be offered for sale only to the members of the privileged corporations; and the "stranger merchand," when about to reload his ship, soon found that he could not purchase any goods for that purpose, either within or without the boundaries of a burgh, except from a burgess.§ These impolitic regulations not only retarded the extension of the trade and commerce of the country by checking competition, but gave rise to jealousies and angry contentions between the members of the rival communities. The burghers of Dunbarton strove to exclude the men of Glasgow from trading in the counties of Lennox and Argyle.* The burgesses of Cupar endeavoured to prevent the citizens of St. Andrews from buying and selling within their district; but, after a lengthened litigation, the controversy was decided in favour of the bishop and his burghers.† There was a fierce and protracted contest between the towns of Perth and Dundee respecting their precedence and privileges in trade.‡ The burgesses of Irvine and Ayr had a dispute regarding their exclusive right of traffic, which was finally settled by the verdict of a jury, under Robert II.§ The royal burghs even attempted to deprive the burghs of regality and barony of an equal share in the privileges granted to these corporations, and they were ultimately allowed to participate in the benefits of foreign trade, only upon condition of their relieving the royal burghs of a certain proportion of the public taxes.‖

Exclusive principles of these trading communities—

—jealousies and disputes to which their monopolies gave rise.

The information which we possess respecting the constitution and government of the royal burghs of Scotland at this early period is exceedingly scanty; but enough is known to warrant the conclusion that they closely resembled those of the southern division of the island. Berwick was governed by a mayor, under whom were four provosts. Some idea of the wealth and importance of this burgh may be formed from the fact, that the salary of the mayor was ten pounds a year—a sum equal to four hundred pounds of our present money. Glasgow was placed under the superintendence of three provosts, Haddington of one; Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Stirling, and Perth, were each governed by an alderman; and the smaller burghs of Peebles, Linlithgow, Inverkeithing, Montrose, and Elgin, were superintended by one or more magistrates, called bailies.¶

Constitution of the royal burghs—

Scone, which was the site of the Stone of Destiny, appears to have been the principal residence of the kings of the Scoto-Saxon dynasty. Malcolm IV., in his charter to the monastery of Scone, terms it the principal seat of his kingdom. It was one of the earliest places in the country which carried on a foreign trade. Alexander I. granted to the monastery the custom of ships landing at Scone, and addressed an invitation to the merchants of England to trade at this place, promising them protection on paying cus-

—their trade and wealth.

* An Act of Parliament, passed in 1367, declares, that as long as Berwick and Roxburgh,—which were two of the burghs that of old ought to hold the chamberlain court,—shall be detained by their adversaries of England, Lanark and Linlithgow shall be substituted in their place.—Caledonia, vol. i. p. 777, note (*e*).

† The Auld Laws, p. 140; Ibid.

‡ Skene's Burgh Laws; Ibid. p. 781.

§ Burgh Laws, chap. xviii.; Ibid. p. 786.

* The villagers of Glasgow were originally the mere *men* of the bishop. In the Cartulary of the see they are termed "the men, natives, and serfs of the Bishop of Glasgow." Sometime between 1175 and 1180, William the Lion granted to Bishop Jocelyn "that he should have a burgh at Glasgow, with a market on Thursdays."—Cart. of Glasgow p. 23; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 779, note (*u*).

† Caledonia, vol. i. p. 780.

‡ Birrel states in his Diary, p. 13, "that on the 20th Dec., 1567, the Lord Regent raid to the parliament houre and was much troubled to compose these two turbulent tounes of Perth and Dundie."

§ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 781, note (*b*).

‖ Ibid. note (*d*).

¶ Tytler, vol. ii. pp. 253, 254.

toms to the monks.* Alexander II. addressed a mandate to his subjects in Moray and Caithness, requiring them to protect and succour the ship and men of the abbot and convent of Scone, if they should touch at their unknown coasts.† The residence of the court at Scone, and the privileges bestowed upon that monastery, seem to have exercised a most beneficial influence upon the neighbouring town of Perth, which was erected into a royal burgh by William the Lion, and became, in the words of a contemporary writer, one of the principal pillars of the opulence of the kingdom.‡ There is evidence that, at this remote period, the burghs of St. Andrews and Stirling also shared extensively in the benefits of a commercial intercourse with the continent; but Berwick was the great emporium of foreign commerce, and far excelled any other port in Scotland in trade and opulence. Its customs under Alexander III. amounted to the large sum of £2197 8s. sterling, one-fourth of the whole amount of the customs of England at that time.§

Trading and banking operations carried on by the monks.

We learn from the Cartularies, that the monks were the earliest guild brethren, and possessed various exclusive privileges of trade and fisheries, at a time when scarcely any of the burghs existed. The ships belonging to some of the religious houses enjoyed special protection, and were exempted from the payment of *can*, toll, and custom.‖ The monks were also the bankers of these times, being the only bodies who possessed any large portion of ready money; and many of their lands and tenements came originally into their possession as securities for the loans which they advanced to the extravagant or the needy.¶ Not a few of these great monastic houses became so extensively engaged in commercial enterprises, and obtained so many privileges from successive sovereigns, that they might be regarded as trading rather than religious corporations. To such an extent did the evil grow, that, as early as 1269, one of the canons of the Scottish church peremptorily forbade clerks or monks to engage in business; and William the Lion enacted, that "kirkmen live honestlie of the fruits, rents, and profits of their kirks: and sall nocht be husbandmen, scheipherds, nor merchants."** But these regulations do not appear to have been enforced, and the evil was probably beyond the reach of any legislative enactment.

Exports and imports of the country.

The exports of the country at this period were principally composed of wool, skins, hides, salted fish, horses, sheep, and cattle, and on some occasions of pearls,†† falcons, and greyhounds. The imports consisted of fine linen and silks, broad cloth, and a rich woollen cloth, called *sayes*, carpets and tapestry, wine, oil of olives, spices, drugs, arms, armour, and cutlery, and occasionally of corn and barley, and gold and silver plate. That Scotland at this time carried on an extensive trade with foreign countries, is shown by the violent efforts made to extinguish it by Edward I. and his successors, and the steady refusal of the Flemings, and other inhabitants of the low countries, to break off their traffic with the Scots.*

Shipping.

The inhabitants of Scotland must at a very early period have directed their attention to the arts of ship-building and navigation, and in this, as in other branches of industry, the monks led the way. As early as the year 1249, an old English chronicler records the building of a large vessel at Inverness, the property of the Count de St. Paul.† Mention is also made of the fleets of William the Lion, and his successor, Alexander II.; but it has been conjectured that these naval armaments were furnished by the islanders, who held their lands by the tenure of furnishing a certain number of galleys for the use of their sovereign.‡ Alexander III. possessed several large vessels, which were built in the port of Ayr. Robert Bruce was too much occupied with his almost incessant struggle for the independence of his kingdom, to be able to devote much time to the peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce; but in the last year of his life, while residing at Cardross, his attention seems to have been anxiously turned to the subject of shipping and navigation, and he built several vessels, in which he often sailed on the adjacent frith. It was not till after the death of Bruce, however, that attempts were made to maintain a regular naval force. During the long-continued hostilities with England, which marked the reign of his son, the Scottish ships of war plundered the merchant vessels of the enemy, and made repeated and destructive descents upon their coast; and not unfrequently their merchantmen, even when riding at anchor within the harbours, were cut out and carried off by the Scottish seamen. The commerce of the English suffered severely from these naval attacks, and the Scottish navy at this period appears to have possessed a decided superiority over that of England. Mr. Tytler quotes from the Rotuli Scotiæ, a remarkable order addressed by Edward III. to his admirals and naval captains, and complaining in bitter terms of their pusillanimous conduct in permitting the united fleets of the Scots, French, and Flemings, to capture and destroy the ships of England in the very sight of his own navy, which

* Cart. of Scone, p. 3; Caledonia, p. 778, note (*p*).
† Cart. of Scone, p. 57.
‡ Necham apud Gough's Camden's Brit. vol. iii. p. 393; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 254.
§ Tytler, vol. ii. p. 253.
‖ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 783, and note (*m*).
¶ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 785, and note (*z*).
** Skene's Statutes, chap. xxxiv.; Ibid. p. 786.
†† See ante, p. 169

* See ante, p. 149.
† M. Paris; Hailes, vol. i. p. 370.
‡ Tytler, vol. ii. p. 258. The old charters of the island chiefs required as the service for their tenure one vessel with twenty oars. On this account the great family of Argyle still bear ships, or lymphads, on their coat-of-arms.—Nisbet's Essay on Armouries, p. 9; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 786, note (*b*).

kept aloof during the action, and did not dare to give battle.* Many of the Scottish vessels, however, were evidently privateers hired from the Flemings and Genoese, and which served, as occasion required, either as traders or as ships of war.

Early coinage of Scotland.

Before concluding this brief sketch of the early commerce of Scotland, it will be necessary to notice the Scottish coinage of this period. It is evident that coins were unknown to the ancient Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. Many coins of the Romans, English, and Scoto-Saxons have been found in various parts of the country, but none of her Celtic monarchs. The earliest Scottish coins that have yet been discovered are the silver pennies of Alexander I., which are of the same shape, fineness, and weight as the contemporary English coins of the same value.† There is every reason to believe that there was no gold coinage in Scotland at this period. From the time of Alexander, there was a regular coinage of silver pennies by the various monarchs who successively filled the throne down to the War of Independence, and their money continued to be of precisely the same weight and value as that of the contemporary English sovereigns. These pennies were composed of mixed silver, one pound or twelve ounces of which contained eleven ounces and two pennyweights of fine silver, and eighteen pennyweights of copper alloy.‡ The first attempt

Depreciation of the currency.

to debase the Scottish coinage took place in the reign of Robert Bruce. The pound weight of silver then consisted of twelve ounces, each containing twenty pennyweights, or of two hundred and forty pennies. In the year 1300, Edward I. commanded two hundred and forty-three pennies to be coined out of the standard pound. The depreciation was, in the first instance, trifling; but the pernicious example thus set, was speedily followed and outdone by the Scottish king, who coined two hundred and fifty-two pennies from the pound weight of silver.§ Edward III., who closely copied the ambition, the cruelty, and the dishonesty of his grandfather, attempted to relieve himself of the debts which he had incurred in the French war, by paying his creditors with debased money; and a few years later (in 1346) he repeated this fraudulent and impolitic expedient, and commanded two hundred and seventy pennies to be made out of the pound of silver. This example was followed, in 1354, by the Steward, who was then regent of Scotland, and who issued a new coinage still more depreciated than that of England. Up to this date it appears that the silver pennies of both countries had continued to pass indiscriminately; but, on the issue of the new money of the Scottish regent, Edward wrote to the Sheriff of Northumberland, informing him that "the new money of Scotland, although of the same figure with the old, was not, like it, of the same weight and quality with the sterling money of England; and he accordingly commands that officer to make proclamation within his district, that the new Scottish money should be taken only for its value as bullion, and carried to the proper office to be exchanged for current money; but that the old money of Scotland, which, as appears from what was above stated, was considerably better than that of England, should be still current as before."* This unjust and injurious tampering with the currency was repeated in 1367, when the Scottish Parliament, under the pressure of the scarcity of silver caused by the payment of the king's ransom, gave orders that the pound of silver should contain twenty-nine shillings and four pennies, or, in other words, that it should be coined into three hundred and fifty-two pennies. The enormous fraud thus practised on the community, besides other pernicious effects, produced a great rise in the prices of all the necessaries of life. And, as one false step leads to another, both in England and Scotland the legislature attempted to counteract the natural and necessary consequences of their own vicious legislation, by enacting stringent sumptuary laws, prohibiting artificers and labourers from asking a rise of wages, and enjoining the dealers in provisions to sell their commodities at reasonable prices.†

Weights and measures.

The weights and measures in use among the inhabitants of Scotland at this period were nearly all derived from England. The early intercourse of the Scottish merchants with the Netherlands led to the introduction into Scotland of what are called Dutch weights. The inhabitants of the Orkney and Shetland islands, down to a very recent period, continued to use the Norwegian weights and measures, which the first settlers brought from their mother country.‡ The measures of land—which were all derived from England—were the caracute, the bovate, or oxgang, the hide, the librata, the perticate, and several others, whose exact dimensions cannot now be ascertained, as they appear to have been used indefinitely, and to have varied at different times. Mention is also made in the Cartularies of the acre, the rood, the perch, and other well-known measures. The davoch, which appears to have been nearly of the same dimensions as the caracute, was the usual division of land in Scotland during the Celtic times. It comprehended eight bovates, or oxgangs. In the western districts of the country, mention is made of mark and half-mark lands, shilling lands, penny lands, &c., the origin of which is very apparent. As early as the reign of David I. the thrave was the common measure of corn in the field. This term, which was probably derived from the Saxon

* Tytler, vol. ii. p. 262.
† Anderson's Diplomata, Plate 157.
‡ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 806, and note (*b.*)
§ M'Pherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 466; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 267.

* Tytler, vol. ii. p. 268.
† Regiam Majestatem, pp. 45, 46; Parl. Records, pp 103, 117; Tytler, vol. ii. pp. 270, 271.
‡ Swinton on Weights and Measures, pp. 104, 105; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 815.

threaf, comprehended two shocks, or *stooks*, each consisting of twenty-four sheaves. Grain was measured by the chalder, which contained sixteen bolls; the boll—containing four firlots, or six bushels; the firlot—equal to four pecks, or a bushel and a half English standard measure; and the peck, which comprehended four lippies. A *skep* of meal appears very early in the Cartularies, and contained twelve bushels. Wool was sold by the sack, which consisted of twenty six stones; and hides, or skins, by the last, which contained twelve dozen. The lagen, or flagon, was an ancient measure of oil, wine, and ale, well known at this period in the monasteries of Scotland.*

Houses of the nobles, burgesses, and farmers.

With regard to the architecture of these primitive times, though strength and security were the qualities chiefly aimed at in the erection of the baronial castles of the nobility, yet elegance was by no means overlooked; and great ingenuity and skill were frequently displayed in combining security with comfort and splendour. The houses of the merchants and artisans, as well as of the farmers, were invariably built of wood, though there is no reason to believe that they were destitute of the comforts and conveniences of life. The hovels of the cotters and villagers were slight erections of turf or twigs, which, as they were often laid waste by the enemy, were erected merely for temporary accommodation. But the architectural skill of the age was chiefly manifested in the erection of the monasteries, cathedrals, and other ecclesiastical buildings, which reared their towers in every district of the country. These magnificent structures were, for the most part, the work of ecclesiastics; and both the grandeur of their plan, and the extraordinary skill and genius shown in their execution, manifest the great proficiency which their architects must have made in mathematical and mechanical philosophy. The existing remains of these beautiful and imposing edifices are of themselves a sufficient proof of the perfection to which this noble style of architecture was carried in Scotland by the monks, and of the munificence with which they were patronized by the monarchs and nobility of that early age.

Cathedrals and monasteries.

The high excellence to which the architecture of that period had attained, necessarily implies a corresponding degree of excellence in many other useful and ornamental arts, requisite for fitting up and adorning the mansions of the nobility and clergy. The manufacture of steel and iron implements must have been successfully practised by a people so frequently engaged in war, and who employed the armour and accoutrements of that age. The sumptuous robes worn by the dames and knights, show that the mysteries of embroidery and needlework, and the art of working in precious metals, must have attained to considerable perfection.

Useful and ornamental arts.

The military dress and arms used by Scottish warriors at this period appear to have been the same as those worn by the Saxons and Normans. The defensive armour of the knights consisted of a lorica, or entire coat of mail, reaching from the neck to the knee, and was composed of rings of steel or iron, quilted on leather. Sometimes the neck and head were protected by a hood of mail, over which the helmet was placed. In later times, it was customary over this mail-coat to wear a surcoat, made of cloth or linen, which was latterly ornamented with the arms of the wearer. The shield which was worn by the Scottish knights was kite-shaped, like the shield of the Normans. The higher order of yeomanry wore a haubergeon formed of the same ringed mails sewed upon leather, and which protected only the breast and the shoulders. The burgesses and freemen were protected by a wambais, or coat-of-fence, made of leather or cloth quilted with cotton. Ultimately the horses were clad in steel as well as the men. We are informed by an old chronicler, that the Scottish cavalry in the battle of Largs were armed, both horse and man, from head to heel in complete mail. The offensive weapons of the knights and men-at-arms consisted of a sword, and a lance or spear, to which a small flag was attached, while the arms of the inferior soldiers were a club or mace, and, at a later period, a short dagger, a bill, and a battle-axe. There is satisfactory evidence that the various improvements in their arms and military accoutrements, which were successively adopted by the English, soon found their way into the northern division of the island.* The ordinance of arms which was enacted by Robert Bruce, in 1319, gives a minute account of the arms then used by the Scottish soldiers. Every person who possessed ten pounds value in land, or ten pounds of moveable property, was to provide himself with an acton and a steel helmet, gloves of plate, and a sword and spear. Those of lower rank were required to procure an iron jack, an iron headpiece, and gloves of plate. And the lowest class of all were to furnish themselves either with a spear, or with a bow and a sheaf of arrows. The bow, however, appears to have been at no time a favourite weapon with the Scots. At a very early period indeed, mention is made of small bodies of archers mingling with the spearmen in the Scottish armies; but, from the reign of Bruce downwards, they do not appear in any of their encounters with the English. The arms used by the Galwegians, and other Celtic tribes of Scotland, were much inferior to those employed by the Anglo-Saxon and Norman races. They wore an outer coat of leather, tanned with the hair on, and an under vestment, which was so short that the leg was wholly bare from the knee downward; their shields were formed of strong cow-hide, and they were armed with swords, darts, and javelins, and long spears pointed with steel, but blunt and badly tempered.

Military dress and arms.

* Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 807—815.

* An exact representation of the armour worn at this period, will be found on the seals of our early monarchs, which will be given in the course of the work.

Even their chiefs, as we learn from Aldred's description of the battle of the Standard, wore no steel armour.* They appear to have generally fought on horseback, but to have been accustomed, on emergency, to act also on foot.

Civil dress.

The civil dress of this period was rich and graceful, and exactly similar to the dress of the higher ranks in England and France.

The monumental effigies exhibit the kings and nobles clad in full flowing robes, girded with a richly-ornamented waist-belt, mantles fastened by fibulæ on the breast or on the shoulders, long hose and laced sandals or boots, caps of various forms, and jewelled gloves. The mantles were lined with the most expensive furs, and the under tunics were usually of silk, or some other precious stuff. The toes of the boots and shoes were long and pointed, and frequently of the most absurd shapes. During the thirteenth century a ridiculous fashion was introduced, of clothing one half of the figure in one colour and the other half in another, or of having one stocking red or blue, and the other green or yellow. Another whimsical fashion prevailed about the same period, of indenting, escalloping, and cutting the edges of garments into the shape of leaves and other devices, and of embroidering letters and mottoes upon the gowns or mantles. Matthew Paris says, the nobles who attended at the marriage of Alexander III. with the daughter of the English king, in 1251, were attired in vestments of silk cut in this fashion. Velvet mantles lined with ermine, and beaver hats, were first introduced about this period.

The costume of the ladies appears to have been extremely rich and elegant. In the poem called "The Lay of Sir Launfal," the damsels are described as being clad in kirtles of light blue silk, with mantles of green velvet, richly embroidered with gold, and furred with the finest grey fur and vair; their heads attired with kerchiefs, well cut, and rich gold wire, and surmounted by coronets, each adorned with more than sixty precious gems. A girdle of beaten gold, embellished with emeralds and rubies, is mentioned in another poem, as worn by a lady "about her middle small."† In a contemporary account of a sumptuous entertainment given in 1275, it is mentioned, that "the ladies who attended had rings of gold, set with topaz-stones and diamonds, upon their fingers; their heads were ornamented with elegant crests or garlands; and their wimples were composed of the richest stuffs, embroidered with gold and embellished with pearls and other jewels." The headdress of the ladies at this period consisted of the wimple, the turban of chaplets of goldsmiths' work, or of wreaths of natural or artificial flowers, and the hair was sometimes plaited or braided, and sometimes turned up behind, and inclosed in a caul of net-work, composed of gold, silver, or silk thread, over which was worn the peplum or veil. The satirists of the period complain loudly against the inordinate waste and excessive cost of the apparel of all classes, down to the menial servants, who are described as arrayed in silk, satin, damask, and green and scarlet cloth.

Sports and amusements.

With regard to the sports and amusements of our ancestors, they appear to have been the same as in the other feudal countries of Europe. The healthy and spirit-stirring pastimes of hunting and hawking seem to have formed the principal recreations of our kings and barons. In almost every district of the country there were royal forests and hunting-seats, and the frequent sums entered in the Chamberlain's accounts for horses, hounds, and falcons, and the preservation of the game, show the attention that was then paid to the sports of the field. At a very early period, the Scottish stag-hounds and wolf-dogs were prized in foreign countries, and, during the reign of David II., Scottish dogs and falcons had become articles of export. Tournaments were an established amusement in Scotland, at least as early as the reign of Alexander II. Sumptuous feasts,* and masques and jugglers' tricks,† the amusement afforded by the licensed wit of the fool, the games of chess and dice, and the reading of romances, and listening to the lays of harpers and minstrels, occupied the time of our ancestors within doors, and when not engaged in the pursuits of war or of the chase.

On the whole, it is evident, from the few and scattered notices which we possess of the trade and commerce of Scotland during the Scoto-Saxon period, that between the accession of Malcolm Canmore and the death of Alexander III., a visible improvement had taken place in the resources of the country, and in the necessaries and comforts of life enjoyed by the great mass of the community. The increase, especially in the population and trade of the towns, must have been very considerable. In the twelfth century, the revenue which the Scottish kings received from the royal burghs was very trifling; and we find them at this time taking active measures to attract new settlers to their towns, and bestowing upon them exclusive privileges and local monopolies for the purpose of promoting their traffic. But during the fourteenth century, the progress which the burghs had made in trade and opulence is shown by the numerous grants which the Cartularies contain of annuities and pensions to the children and favourites of successive monarchs, payable out of the *mails* of the burghs, and the customs of their ports. The growing prosperity of the country, however, received a

* See ante, p. 62.

† Pict. Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 867.

* We learn incidentally from Fordun, that in the reign of Alexander III. the nobles sat down to dinner before twelve o'clock. The state banquets of that period were exceedingly extravagant and expensive.

† Aldred informs us, that at the battle of the Standard, the army of David I. was accompanied by jesters, buffoons, and female dancers. The Wardrobe Account of Edward I., in 1300 contains a payment of two shillings to a Gascon buffoon, for playing the fool before him; and Robert Bruce kept a fool called Patrick.

fatal check from the protracted and ruinous war which the Scots were compelled to carry on with England in defence of their national independence. The operations of husbandry were to a considerable extent suspended, and many fertile districts of the country were turned into uncultivated and barren wastes. The peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce could not continue to flourish among a people engaged in a death-struggle for life and liberty. The commercial intercourse with England, which, greatly to the advantage of both nations, had grown up during the reigns of David I. and his successors, was entirely extinguished; and the export trade of Scotland, which had been principally carried on through the neighbouring kingdom, experienced a material depression. An accurate estimate of the extent to which the trade and industry of the country, in all its branches, were injured by the inveterate war with England, may be formed from a comparison of the rents and profits of the crown lands, and of the revenues of the bishoprics, before the commencement of the war of succession, and after its conclusion. There existed during the reign of Alexander III. a well known valuation of lands, which was usually called the "old extent." A new valuation or extent was taken in the year 1366, when a tax was about to be imposed for the payment of King David's ransom. Both the old and the new valuation contain an ample detail of the income of the bishopries, and of the rents and profits which were paid to the crown from the several shires of Scotland; and a comparison of the two will serve to show the extent to which the wealth of the country was diminished by the English war.

Injury done to the trade and commerce of Scotland by the war with England.

The old and the new extent.

	The Old Valuation. £	s.	d.	The New Valuation. £	s.	d.
Berwick	622	2	4	372	17	3
Roxburgh	1133	15	0	523	17	0
Selkirk	99	9	10	80	18	6
Peebles	1274	18	6	863	13	4
Edinburgh, with Haddington and Linlithgow	4029	16	10	3030	12	9
Lanark	4052	9	0	1755	19	8
Renfrew				535	9	8
Ayr	3358	19	10	1396	16	2
Dumfries	2666	13	4	882	15	4
Wigton	1235	3	4	195	0	2
Stirling	1749	19	4	687	3	10
Dunbarton	1442	9	6	96	9	6
Total revenue of the Crown from the Southern Shires	21,665	16	10	10,421	13	2
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Clackmanan	331	0	8	243	14	8
Kinross	65	0	0	38	14	8
Fife	3465	13	4	2555	0	0
Perth	6192	2	6	3087	1	7
Forfar	3370	6	8	2240	6	8
Kincardine	1088	10	8	722	0	0
Aberdeen	4448	6	0	2588	5	2
Banff	1510	6	0	128	16	8
Inverness	3164	44	8	1080	11	9
The total of the Southern Shires	23,635	17	6	12,614	11	2

A similar result will appear from the following comparative statement of the revenues of the Scottish bishopries, before and after the War of Independence:—

	The Old Valuation. £	s.	d.	The New Valuation. £	s.	d.
Candida Casa	368	15	6	143	1	8
Glasgow	3339	0	0	2028	10	6
St. Andrews	5340	13	4	3627	0	0
Dunkeld	1206	5	8	602	13	4
Dunblane	607	13	4	407	12	8
Brechin	441	3	4	321	16	8
Aberdeen	1492	4	4	1358	17	8
Moray	1418	11	0	559	8	6
Ross	320	7	11	246	12	0
Caithness	286	14	10	86	6	8
Argyle	281	6	8	133	6	8
	15,102	15	11	9515	6	6

CHAPTER XIII.

ROBERT THE SECOND.

1370—1390.

DAVID THE SECOND, the only son of Robert Bruce, dying without issue, was succeeded by his nephew, Robert, only child of Marjory Bruce and Walter, the sixth High Steward of Scotland. Previous to the coronation of the new monarch, however, his claims were unexpectedly opposed by the powerful Earl of Douglas, who, it is alleged, put forth pretensions to the crown as the representative of the families of Comyn and Baliol.* But these pretensions were abandoned as soon as he found that they were not likely to meet with public support; and as a reward for the promptitude of his obedience, the king's eldest daughter, Isabella, was promised in marriage to his eldest son, and the Earl himself was appointed to the high office of Justiciar on the South of the Forth, and Warden of the East Marches. To Sir Robert Erskine, the Earls of March and Moray, and the rest of the barons, who espoused his cause, the High Steward was equally liberal in his rewards for the prompt and efficient support which they had lent to the new government. All opposition to his claims having been withdrawn, Robert was crowned at Scone, March 26th, 1371, by the Bishop of St. Andrews. Next day, the king sitting on the moot-hill of Scone, according to custom, received the homage of the assembled prelates and nobles.† The new monarch then stood up, and in imitation of the example of his grandfather, pronounced his eldest son, the Earl of Carrick and Steward of Scotland, to be heir to the crown in the event of his own decease. This nomination was promptly and cordially ratified by the consent of the clergy, nobility, and barons, and by the acclamations of the people. The oaths of homage were also taken to the Earl of Carrick, as the future king of Scotland, and the whole of the proceedings were recorded in a public instrument, and attested by the seals of the principal nobility and clergy.‡ The new monarch had been twice married, and had a numerous family of sons and daughters, grown up to maturity.§ By his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Adam Mure, of Rowallan, he had John, Earl of Carrick, Robert, Earl of Fife, afterward Duke of Albany, and Alexander, Lord of Badenoch, Earl of Buchan, besides six daughters, united in marriage to the powerful families of March, Lyon of Glammis, Hay of Errol, the Lord of the Isles, Douglas of Nithsdale, and Lindsay of Glenesk. By a second marriage, with Euphemia, daughter of the Earl of Ross, and widow of Randolph, Earl of Moray, the new king was the father of David, Earl of Strathern, and Walter, Earl of Athol, and of four daughters, the eldest of whom was afterwards married to James, Earl of Douglas, and the three others also wedded into ancient and powerful families. In addition to these legitimate supports of the throne, genealogists make mention of no less than eight natural sons, also arrived at maturity, who took their place among the nobles of the land, and added strength to the paternal throne.* Robert had been in his youth a bold and active soldier, and a successful opponent of the designs of the English upon the liberties of the country; but he was now fifty-five years old, and his natural indolence, together with that love of repose which the approaches of old age tend to produce, made him somewhat unfit to restrain the turbulence and ambition of a fierce and lawless nobility. He was, however, just, prudent, and sagacious, pleasant in his address, and easy of access; while his simple yet graceful manners gained the affection of all classes of the community.

Accession of Robert II.

Opposition by the Earl of Douglas.

Coronation of the king.

Family of the new monarch—

—his character.

Robert was anxious to maintain the amicable relations which, at the period of his accession to the throne, existed between England and Scotland. Peace, indeed, was imperatively required by both countries. The efforts which the Scottish nation had made to pay the ransom of David II. had reduced it to the brink of bankruptcy, and a large portion of the sum was still unpaid. The country was not in a condition to bear the imposition of new taxes, and its financial difficulties were greatly aggravated by a grievous famine which pressed severely upon all classes of the community. Besides all this, their hereditary enemies were still in possession of an extensive tract in the southern district of the country, and of several of its strongest fortresses, and had therefore constant facilities for the invasion of the kingdom at pleasure. On the other hand, the continuance of the truce was no less necessary to the English. Edward III. had met with serious reverses in the prosecution of his ambitious schemes, which, after an immense expenditure of blood and treasure, had terminated in a series of most mortifying disasters. His own health had become infirm; Prince Lionel, whom he had attempted to make the heir to the Scottish throne, was lately dead in Italy; and his more celebrated son, the Black Prince, had been attacked by a mortal illness. In these circumstances he was compelled to abandon his deeply-laid designs against the independence of Scotland, and to seek in earnest to maintain the friendly intercourse with that country

Situation of the two countries—

* Fordun, vol. ii. p. 382.

† MS. Record, quoted in Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 10.

‡ Robertson's Index to the Charters, Appendix, p. 11; Tytler, vol. iii. p. 4.

§ Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 6—8.

* Stewart's History of the Royal Family of Scotland, pp. 56—58.

1. Great Seal of Robert II.
2. Coin of Queen Mary.
3. Coin of Robert III
4. Coin of James I
5. Great Seal of Robert III

which had existed under its former monarch. The new king of Scotland was, on his side, well aware of the benefits of peace, and, both by temperament and policy, anxious to avoid the evils of war. He therefore determined strictly to observe the truce, which in 1369 had been prolonged for the term of fourteen years, and punctually to pay the instalments of his predecessor's ransom.

But though the truce was still maintained, there was little good-will between the two countries, and various subjects of mutual suspicion and distrust still existed. A trifling incident served to show the hostile feeling towards the Scots, by which the English monarch was still actuated. When Biggar, the Chamberlain of Scotland, repaired to Berwick to pay one of the instalments of David's ransom, he found that Edward, in the discharge, had omitted to bestow the title of king on the reigning Scottish monarch, and, in spite of the remonstrances of the chamberlain, he obstinately refused to supply the omission.* On the other hand, a new treaty of amity was concluded between France and Scotland, at the castle of Vincennes, on the 30th of June, 1371, by which the two kingdoms became bound, as faithful allies, to repel any aggression made upon either by their common enemy, England. It was also agreed, that no truce or treaty of peace was henceforth to be concluded by either kingdom in which the other was not included, and that in the event of a competition at any time taking place for the Scottish crown, the king of France should support the right of that competitor whose claims were sanctioned by the Estates of Scotland. This treaty was ratified by King Robert at Edinburgh, on the 28th October, 1371.† But, besides the stipulations mentioned, certain secret articles were proposed upon the part of France, which pointed at an immediate renewal of hostilities with England. By these, the French king engaged to persuade the pope to declare the truce between England and Scotland null and void; to pay a hundred thousand nobles towards discharging the ransom of King David; and, in the event of a war with England, to pay and supply with arms a body of five hundred Scottish knights and squires, and an equal number of "sargents;" and to send to Scotland an auxiliary force of a thousand men-at-arms. But these articles do not appear to have been ratified by the Scottish king, and thus the miseries of war were for the present averted from the country.‡

—causes of suspicion and distrust between them.

Scotland enters into a new treaty with France.

From this time to the death of Edward III., a period of five years, "it is impossible," says Pinkerton, "to pronounce from his disposition that there was peace, or from his exertion that there was war, between the two kingdoms." The Scottish king judiciously availed himself of the breathing-time to provide for the maintenance of order, and the due administration of justice, throughout his dominions, and to regulate and strengthen the succession to the crown. These years, it has been justly said, must have been peaceful and prosperous, for they supply few materials to history. Edward III., whose guilty ambition had proved so destructive of the best interests of both kingdoms, died on the 1st of June, 1377, leaving his kingdom weakened and impoverished by his incessant wars, and despoiled of its fairest provinces on the continent, which were wrested from him towards the close of his life. He had the misfortune to outlive his illustrious son, the Black Prince, and to leave his throne to his grandson, Richard II., a boy of eleven years of age. The death of this able but unprincipled monarch put a final end to the long-cherished plans of the English government for the subjugation of Scotland, and Robert, with characteristic integrity and prudence, was anxious to maintain the peace with England, and to devote his whole attention to the regulation of the internal government of his kingdom and the development of its resources. But the passion for military adventure, and the desire of plunder, had taken complete possession of the Scottish nobles. They had now become too powerful to be controlled by the crown, and, as they claimed the right of carrying on private war and avenging their own wrongs, they were ever ready, on the slightest injury or insult, real or supposed, to take the law into their own hands, and to gratify their thirst for vengeance and their love of plunder by ravaging the English frontiers. In this way, after mutual injuries and inroads, hostilities again commenced with great fury.

Death of Edward III.

At the fair of Roxburgh, an officer of the Earl of March was slain by the English, who then held the castle. March instantly demanded redress, but without effect; and therefore, watching his opportunity, he surprised and stormed the town during the next fair, on the Feast of St. Laurence, slew great numbers of the English, without regard to sex or age, and having set fire to the houses and booths, retreated in safety, and enriched with plunder.* In retaliation for this atrocious attack, the English ravaged the estates of Sir John Gordon, one of March's accomplices in the assault upon Roxburgh. Gordon, in his turn, broke in upon the English frontiers and carried off a large booty. On his return, he was intercepted at Carham by Sir John Lilburn, at the head of a greatly superior force, but after a desperate conflict, Lilburn was defeated and made prisoner, and Gordon, although severely wounded, made good his retreat with the plunder which he had collected.† Enraged at this insult, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, crossed the border at the head of a powerful

The Earl of March sacks and burns Roxburgh—

—war then raised by Hotspur.

* Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 958.
† Parl. Records, pp. 122, 124.
‡ Ibid. p. 122.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 306.
† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 309.

army, and encamped near Dunse, with the design of ravaging and plundering the estates of the Earl of March. But he was speedily compelled to make an inglorious retreat. It was one of the injunctions of "Good King Robert's Testament," that no rest should be given to an invading enemy, but that their encampments should be kept in a state of continual alarm,

"By wiles and wakening in the night,
And meikle noise made on height;"

and the peasantry of the Merse, acting on this advice, surrounded the camp of Percy at midnight, armed only with the rattles which they used in scaring away the wild beasts from their flocks; and such was the terror produced by the noise of the rattles and the yells of the peasants, that the English were thrown into the greatest confusion, and the horses of the knights and men-at-arms which were picketed on the outside of the encampment, broke loose and fled over the country, or galloped wildly through the ranks of their owners, greatly increasing their panic and disorder. When daylight broke, the cause of the midnight alarm was discovered; but, as the greater part of the soldiers were unhorsed, they were compelled to retreat, after pillaging the lands of the Earl of March, but without effecting anything worthy of the great preparations which they had made.*

On the western borders, the chief of the Johnston clan defeated a body of English near the Solway Frith;† while even at sea hostilities broke out between the two countries. An opulent Scottish merchant named Mercer,—who resided in France, and was greatly esteemed by the French monarch, Charles the Wise,—during one of his voyages had been captured by some Northumbrians and carried into Scarborough. In revenge of this injury, his son, a bold and enterprising naval adventurer, collected a small fleet of Scottish, French, and Spanish privateers, attacked this seaport, and plundered the shipping. After this exploit, he continued to scour the channel, capturing many richly-laden vessels, and inflicting great damage on the English commerce. At length John Philpot, a wealthy and public-spirited London merchant, fitted out a considerable armament at his own expense, and attacking Mercer, defeated and captured him, along with his whole squadron and the prizes which he had taken.‡

Naval hostilities.

The truce with England was still declared to be binding by both governments, but it was nevertheless constantly infringed by raids and forays, which tended greatly to increase the exasperation between the two countries, without producing any important or permanent effect. In one of these incursions, the castle of Berwick, the key of the eastern borders, was taken from the English by a gallant squire, Alexander Ramsay, with only forty companions. The Earl of Northumberland immediately collected an army of ten thousand men, and laid siege to the castle. On the news of Ramsay's daring exploit being brought to the barons and knights of Scotland, they determined to march to his assistance. Sir Archibald Douglas, the cousin of Ramsay, and Sir William Lindsay of the Byres, his uncle, proceeded to Berwick accordingly, with a force of five hundred men, but on drawing near the town, their scouts discovered the formidable array of the English, drawn up in two battalions before the gates.

Capture of Berwick, by Sir Alex. Ramsay—

"When Sir Archibald Douglas and the Scottish knights," says Froissart, "heard this account, they were quite melancholy, and said, 'We cannot think it will be any way profitable for us to advance further to meet the English, for they are ten to one, and all tried men: we may lose more than we can gain: and a foolish enterprise is never good, and such is what Alexander Ramsay has performed.' Sir William Lindsay, a valiant knight, and uncle to Ramsay, took great pains to persuade them to succour his nephew, by saying, 'Gentlemen, my nephew, in confidence of your assistance, has performed this gallant deed, and taken Berwick Castle; it will turn to your great shame if he should be lost, and none of our family will in future thus boldly adventure themselves.' Those present answered 'that they could not amend it, and that the many gallant men who were there, could not be expected to risk their own destruction in the attempt to prevent a single squire from being made prisoner.' It was therefore determined to retreat further up in their own country among the mountains, near the river Tweed, whither they marched in good order, and at their leisure."* Meanwhile, the siege of Berwick was pressed by the Earl of Northumberland, along with Henry Percy, the celebrated Hotspur, who at this siege first became acquainted with arms. But though the besiegers were assisted by miners and war engines, Ramsay and his handful of followers made good their defence of the castle for a considerable time. It was at length taken, however, and all its defenders, except Ramsay, were slain. After making himself master of the fortress, the Earl of Northumberland, accompanied by the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Thomas Musgrave, the governor of Berwick, resolved to invade the southern districts of Scotland, and, marching up Tweedside, directed their course towards the Merse. A detachment of three hundred spears, and as many archers, under Sir Thomas Musgrave, advanced to Melrose. Two of their squires, sent out to scour the country and find out the position of the Scots, fell into an ambuscade, commanded by Sir William Lindsay, "who had posted himself there," says Froissart, "in hopes of meeting with some adventure, and to hear news of Berwick, and also what had been the

—it is retaken by the Earl of Northumberland.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 309 Fordun, vol. i. p. 385.
† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 311.
‡ Walsingham, pp. 211, 213.

* Froissart, vol. ii. chap. vii. and viii.

fate of his nephew Ramsay, and into whose hands he had fallen." On learning from his prisoners the capture of Berwick, and the situation of the English force under Musgrave, Lindsay sent immediate notice to the main army of the Scots, who lay encamped near Haddington. They instantly set out with the view of surprising Musgrave, and reached the vicinity of Melrose about midnight, but a tremendous storm of wind and rain compelled them to halt till dawn, when the tempest abated. Musgrave, on discovering the approach of the enemy, attempted to fall back, in order to effect a junction with the main army of the English, which had advanced to Roxburgh, but the Scots intercepted his march. A conflict, therefore, became inevitable, and both parties prepared for it, with great pomp and ceremony. Sir Archibald Douglas, who commanded the Scottish army, called to him Robert and David, two sons of the king, who were then under his banner, and, along with his own son, knighted them on the field. Musgrave conferred the same honour on his son; and though his forces were greatly inferior in numbers to the Scots, he began the conflict with undaunted courage. But the engagement was quickly decided. Douglas, according to his usual custom, as we learn from Froissart, when he found the fight becoming hot, dismounted, and, wielding a large two-handled sword, made such havoc among the enemy, that they gave way on all sides. Great numbers of the English were slain, and Musgrave and his son, with many other knights and squires, were taken prisoners. After this victory, the Scots finding themselves outnumbered by the forces of Percy and the Earl of Northumberland, retired to Edinburgh with their captives, while the English leaders, unable to pursue them, in consequence of the inclemency of the weather, were compelled to return to their own country, and to disband their men.*

Defeat of a body of English under Sir Thomas Musgrave.

A pestilence at this time broke out in England, and raged with great fury,† but it did not put a stop to the devastating inroads of the Scottish borderers, who continued to lay waste the northern districts of the country with great barbarity. An old English chronicler speaks in strong terms of the excesses which were perpetrated by these "enemies of the human race."‡ He says that their rapine was now so much greater and greedier than usual, that even swine, which they used formerly to spare or neglect, did not now escape them, and there were instances of their driving off forty thousand head of plunder in a successful inroad. He affirms, that they even played at foot-ball with the heads of the slaughtered English. This is probably an exaggeration, but there can be no doubt that the cruelty of these marauders equalled their rapacity. In one of these inroads, the Earl of Douglas surprised the town of Penrith, during a fair that was held there, and, after collecting a great booty, gave the town to the flames.* In retaliation of these destructive raids, fifteen hundred of the Cumberland borderers advanced into Annandale, and laid waste the country with fire and sword, but falling into an ambuscade, they were defeated with great loss.† The contagious disease which still raged on the English frontiers was imported into Scotland by the reckless and rapacious borderers, and cut off great numbers of the inhabitants.‡

Inroads of the Scots.

At length, in the ensuing year (1380), John of Gaunt, the celebrated Duke of Lancaster, uncle and chief counsellor of the young English king, marched to the border with a powerful army, for the purpose of putting an end to these destructive forays, and establishing peace between the two countries. The Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, and the Earls of Douglas and March, along with Sir Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway, were appointed commissioners from Scotland, and a truce was concluded between them at Berwick, to last for twelve months. Lancaster disbanded his army, and, according to agreement, again proceeded to Scotland in the following summer, attended by his usual suite, to continue the negotiations with the Scottish envoys. A conference accordingly took place near Ayton, in Berwickshire, with the Earl of Carrick, the heir of the throne, and other commissioners on the part of Scotland, which terminated in a renewal of the truce for three years; the Duke of Lancaster consenting that the payment of the remaining portion of King David's ransom should be delayed during this cessation of hostilities.§

Invasion of Scotland by John of Gaunt.

Cessation of hostilities.

While the commissioners were arranging the terms of the treaty, the celebrated insurrection of Wat Tyler broke out, and Lancaster, against whom much of the popular fury was directed, found it dangerous to return into England. In this perilous dilemma, with a generous confidence highly honourable to his character, he asked permission of the Earl of Carrick to make Scotland his temporary place of refuge. His request was promptly acceded to, and the Earl of Douglas and Sir Archibald Douglas of Galloway, at the head of a numerous retinue, met him near the borders, and conducted him to Edinburgh with the utmost courtesy and attention. Many gifts were presented to him by the Scottish nobles, who vied with each other in doing honour to their

Lancaster finds a retreat in Scotland during the insurrection of Wat Tyler.

* Froissart, vol. ii. chap. x.; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 310.
† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 16.
‡ Walsingham, p. 234.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 311.
† Ibid. p 312.
‡ Walsingham says, that to preserve themselves from the plague, which the English said God in his grace had sent for their repentance, the Scots used this prayer in their own idiom: "God and St. Mungo, St. Romayn and St. Andrew, schield us this day from Goddis grace and the foule death that Englishmen dien upon."
§ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 312.

illustrious guest. The Abbey of Holyrood was fitted up for his residence, and there he remained till the civil commotion was abated. On his return to his own country, the Scottish nobles escorted him as far as Berwick with a convoy of eight hundred spears.*

In spite of this interchange of chivalrous courtesies, and the earnest desire of both monarchs for the continuance of peace, the restless character of the Scottish barons, and the intrigues of the French court, again involved the two countries in all the miseries of war. To serve their own purposes at home, the French government were anxious to obtain a diversion on the English frontiers, and instigated the Scots, by the promise of a large sum of money and of a thousand suits of armour, and the offer of an auxiliary force of a thousand men-at-arms, to resume hostilities on the expiry of the truce. The temptation proved irresistible, and in spite of the remonstrances of the old king, the war was renewed with increased fury. The strong castle of Lochmaben, which had long been in the hands of the English, was taken by a Scottish force under Sir Archibald Douglas and the Earls of Douglas and March.† For the purpose of punishing the inroads of the Scots, the Duke of Lancaster again entered Scotland at the head of a numerous army, and advanced as far as Edinburgh, plundering the country. But, mindful of the hospitality which he had lately experienced there, he generously spared the city which had been his place of refuge. His army lay encamped for three days at a short distance from the town, and the inhabitants availed themselves of the opportunity, to remove their goods and cattle beyond the Forth; and, according to an old English chronicler, they even carried off the straw roofs of their wooden houses.‡ Meanwhile many of the English soldiers were seized with sickness, and five hundred of their horses died of cold. Provisions began to fail, and the foraging parties were attacked and cut off by the Scots, who, according to their usual policy, neglected no opportunity of harassing the invaders. The victualling ships which accompanied the expedition, anchored in the Forth near Queensferry, and the crew of one of the vessels, having made good a landing on the coast of Fife, were attacked by young Sir Alexander Lindsay, and his cousin Sir Thomas Erskine, at the head of a body of eighty horse, and driven back to their ships with great slaughter. Besides the loss sustained in their hasty retreat, such was their terror, that one of the fugitives cut a rope to which forty men were clinging, who were all drowned before the eyes of their companions.§ Lancaster, on learning that the Scottish king had issued orders to assemble an army for the purpose of intercepting his retreat, withdrew into England, plundering and laying waste the country through which he passed.

Renewal of the war.

John of Gaunt again invades Scotland—

—he retreats to England.

Meanwhile a truce had been concluded between France and England, and notification of this event was made to the Scots by ambassadors sent over from France for that purpose. They were accompanied by a body of about thirty French knights and esquires, animated by a strong passion for military adventures.* The Scottish king and his nobles were divided in their opinion as to the course which should be followed: Robert was anxious for peace, and did all in his power to induce his barons to comply with the truce. "This," says Froissart, "caused a difference between the king and the knights of his country. The Earls of Moray and Douglas, and the Children of Lindsay," (including under this patriarchal title Sir James Lindsay and the other contemporary knights of the family, whom he describes as Sir James's six brethren) "held a secret meeting with such knights and esquires of Scotland as wished for war, in the church of St. Giles, in Edinburgh," where it was resolved that the foreign knights who had come so far in search of adventures should not be disappointed. Accordingly, a secret message was sent to them from Douglas, inviting them to his castle at Dalkeith, where they were cordially welcomed by that baron and the other knights who had repaired to the trysting-place. An army of fifteen thousand lightly-armed cavalry had been assembled, and, at the head of this force, the Earls of Douglas and Mar broke into the northern counties of England, ravaged the estates of the Percies and Mowbrays and of the Earl of Nottingham, laid waste the whole country to the gates of Newcastle with fire and sword, and returned home laden with booty.† Froissart mentions that the king of Scotland sent a herald to the English court to clear himself of any participation in this inroad, and to testify that he had assented to the proposed truce, and commanded "as strongly as lay in him," his nobles to do the same, but the Douglasses, the Earl of Mar, "and all those brethren De Lindsay," the Ramsays, and Sir William Seyton, would neither attend the parliament in which the treaty was agreed to, nor assent to the truce, such damage, as they asserted, having been done to their lands by the English. The explanation was deemed satisfactory; but in the meantime the Earl of Northumberland had retaliated upon the Scots the injuries they had inflicted on his estates, and thus both countries continued to suffer all the hardships of a cruel warfare, undertaken without any definite object, and leading to no conclusive result.

A party of French knights visit Scotland.

The Scots break the truce, and invade England.

It appears that in consequence of the distracted

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 314—316.

† Ibid. p. 317.

‡ Walsingham, p. 334; Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 25; Wyntown, however, states that Edinburgh was ransomed by its inhabitants, vol. ii. p. 320.

§ Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 320, 321.

* Froissart, vol. ii. chap. cxlviii. † Ibid. chap. cxlix.

state of the country during the long-protracted wars with England, law and justice had come to be entirely disregarded in the northern districts of Scotland, and troops of robbers, who are termed *ketherans*, plundered the country and slew the inhabitants at their pleasure. This dreadful state of matters was brought under the notice of a meeting of parliament which was held in Edinburgh in the month of April, 1385, and John Earl of Carrick was directed to repair to the scene of these outrages, and, in concert with the landholders, to take prompt and decisive measures for the punishment of the guilty, and the restoration of order throughout the disturbed counties. The district of Teviotdale, which had remained in the hands of the English since the battle of Durham, had been recently recovered by the exertions of the Earl of Douglas, and steps were taken for the restoration of the estates in that district to the rightful owners. All the inhabitants of Teviotdale, who had lately transferred their allegiance from the king of England to the king of Scotland, were commanded within eight days to produce before the chancellor their charters of the lands and possessions which they claimed as their hereditary right, along with the names of their present possessors, and of the sheriffdoms within whose jurisdiction they were situated. It was also ordered that the chancellor should direct the king's letter to the various sheriffs, commanding them to summon all persons who then held, or asserted their right to hold, any lands, to produce their charters and title deeds before the king and council, in order that a final decision might be given on the subject. The barons, to whose charge certain districts had been committed in the event of war, were enjoined to have their forces in readiness, that they might be prepared to march to the borders if required, with arms and provisions, and not to pillage the lands through which they passed.* A complaint was made to the parliament by William de Fenton, that he had been unjustly deprived of his estate by the Baron of Dirleton, who had twice expelled him from his property after it had been restored to him, first by the sheriff of Edinburgh, and then by a solemn award of the king's privy council. In defiance of these legal decisions, Dirleton kept possession of the property which he had wrested from its lawful owner; a striking proof of the impotency of the law at this time, even in the vicinity of the capital, to restrain the depredations of these titled robbers, who neither feared God nor regarded man. As a last resource, Fenton appealed to the parliament for redress. His complaint having been proved by the evidence of the sheriff, the parliament resolved that Fenton should be instantly reinstated in his property by the royal power, and that the rents due since the time of his exclusion should be paid over to him.

Enactments of the parliament.

At this period, the government of France, stimulated by the favourable accounts which the French knights who took part in the raid under Douglas brought back to their own country, respecting the facilities offered to an attack upon England from the Scottish borders, resolved to carry into effect the stipulations of the treaty which they had formerly made with the Scots, and to send a large body of auxiliaries to co-operate with that nation in their hostilities with the English. Accordingly, John de Vienne, Admiral of France, and one of the most distinguished warriors of the age, was despatched into Scotland with a thousand knights and men-at-arms, together with a body of crossbowmen and common soldiers, amounting altogether to about two thousand men, and forming, according to Froissart's phrase, a complete garland of chivalry. He carried along with him twelve hundred suits of armour for the Scottish knights, and a large sum of money to be distributed among the principal nobles, towards the expenses of the war.* These potent auxiliaries at first received a cordial welcome from the Scots, and were quartered in Edinburgh and the adjacent villages, till the arrival of the king, who was then residing in the district which Froissart terms the wild of Scotland. But heartburnings and misunderstandings speedily broke out between these ill-assorted allies. The French troops, accustomed to the comfort and luxury of Paris, murmured at the wretched food and miserable accommodations which they found in Scotland; while the Scots, on the other hand, grumbled loudly at the burden of maintaining these costly auxiliaries, who, although furnished with the best which their means afforded, only requited them with murmurs and complaints. The burgesses, farmers, and yeomen, on whom the foreign troops were billeted, were especially loud in their expressions of dissatisfaction with the conduct of these fastidious guests, who helped themselves to the best of every thing, and, at the same time, despised and ridiculed the manners and customs of their entertainers. "'What evil spirit hath brought you here?' was," Froissart tells us, "the common expression employed by the Scots to their allies. 'Who sent for you? Cannot we maintain our war with England well enough without your help? Pack up your goods, and begone, for no good will be done as long as ye are here! We neither understand you, nor you us. We cannot communicate together, and in a short time we shall be completely rifled and eaten up by such troops of locusts. What signifies a war with England? The English never occasioned such mischief as ye do. They burned our houses, it is true: but that was all, and with four or five stakes, and plenty green boughs to cover them, they were rebuilt almost as soon as they were destroyed.'"† To such

Expedition of John de Vienne, Admiral of France, into Scotland.

Misunderstandings between the French troops and the Scots.

* Parliamentary Records, p. 133.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 324.

† Froissart, vol. ii. chap. clx.

a height did their mutual dissatisfaction and hatred arise, that from words they came to blows, and the Scottish peasants attacked the foraging parties of the French, and slew more than a hundred men.

At length the Scottish king arrived at Edinburgh. The fifty thousand franks of gold which the French admiral had brought with him were paid over to Robert and his leading barons,* and the suits of armour were distributed among the Scottish knights. Froissart describes the king as "a comely, tall man, but with red bleared eyes of the colour of sandal-wood; and it soon became evident that he himself preferred a quiet life to war; he had, however, nine sons who loved arms."† A council was immediately held for the purpose of considering the question of an immediate invasion of England. The king was averse to the war, but his repugnance was ultimately overcome by the united remonstrances of his nobles and of France, combined with the influence of French gold, and an army of thirty thousand was assembled in the vicinity of the capital.

A council of war is held, and it is resolved to invade England.

The conduct of the army was committed to the king's sons, along with the French Admiral and the Earls of Douglas, Mar, Moray, and Sutherland. They marched at once across the borders, and after making great havoc, sat down before the castle of Roxburgh; but the siege was soon abandoned, in consequence, it is said, of an extravagant pretension set up by the French knights to garrison and hold the fortress when it should be taken.‡ The army then advanced towards Berwick, and on their way assaulted and carried the fortalices of Ford and Cornhill.§ The strong border castle of Wark was next taken by storm, and the adjacent country was laid waste by fire and sword. Advancing through Northumberland, the combined host carried their ravages to the gates of Newcastle, collecting a large booty, when information was brought that the Duke of Lancaster, with the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, and the chivalry of York and Durham, had levied a powerful army and were approaching to attack the invaders. The French were eager for battle, but the Scots, with sounder policy, retreated before the enemy and returned into their own country to secure their prey.

The northern counties of England plundered and laid waste.

In the meantime the young King of England had assembled an army of extraordinary power and splendour,* and, attended by his uncles and all the principal nobles of his kingdom, he moved towards the Scottish border. The immense host proceeded slowly through Liddesdale and Teviotdale without seeing the face of an enemy. The Scots, in accordance with their usual policy, drove away their cattle and carried off their goods into the forests and mountain fastnesses of the country, and left nothing but the green crops on the ground, and even they were trampled down and destroyed. The French and Scottish forces, on the approach of the expedition, had fallen back towards Berwick, but they now drew nearer to the invading army for the purpose of watching its progress and harassing and cutting off its advanced detachments and foraging parties. The French commander was still eager to give battle, and insisted that their combined force was equal to meet the enemy. But the Scottish leaders were too well aware of the inferiority of their troops, both in numbers and equipments, to hazard the fate of the country in a pitched battle, and the Earl of Douglas conveyed De Vienne to an eminence overhanging a mountain pass, through which the English army was at that moment defiling, and where, unseen themselves, they could see its imposing array. The Scottish leader pointed out to the admiral the number and discipline of the men-at-arms and the superiority of the equipments of the archers, and then asked the French knight whether he could recommend the Scots to encounter such a numerous and completely accoutred army with a few ill-trained highland bowmen and their light-armed prickers mounted on little hackneys. The admiral could not but admit that the risk was too great. "But yet," said he, "if you do not give the English battle, they will destroy your country." "Let them do their worst," replied Douglas; "they will find but little to destroy. Our people have all retired into the mountains and forests, and have carried off their flocks and herds and household stuff along with them. The English will find nothing, either to take away or to eat. We will surround them with a desert, and while they shall never see an enemy they shall not stir a bow-shot from their standards without being overpowered by an ambush. Let them come on, at their pleasure, and when it comes to burning and spoiling, you shall see which has the worst of it." "But what will you do with your army, if you do not fight," said De Vienne; "and how will your people endure the distress, and famine, and plunder which must be the consequences of the invasion?" "You shall see that our army will not lie idle," was the reply; "and as for our Scottish people, they will endure pillage, and they will endure famine, and every other extremity of war, but they will not endure English masters."

King of England assembles a great army.

Anecdote of Vienne and Douglas.

* The proportion in which the money was distributed among the Scottish nobles, gives us a pretty correct idea of their comparative consequence and power. The king received 10,000 livres, Douglas 7500, Cardinal Wardlaw 6000, the Earl of Carrick 5500, Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway 5500, the Earl of March 4000, the Earl of Fife 3000, Sir James Lindsay 2000, the other nobles from 700 down to ten livres each. The livre at that time weighed 1¼ ounce, and was equal to £4 of modern money. Rymer, vol. vii. p. 424; Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 31.

† Froissart, vol. ii. chap. clxix.

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 325.

§ Ibid. p. 324.

* Walsingham, a contemporary historian, states that more than three hundred thousand horses were employed.

The result of the campaign proved the accuracy of these statements. The English pushed on to the capital, burning the empty granges and villages, and plundering and razing the churches and monasteries. The beautiful abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, and Newbottle, were successively given to the flames. Edinburgh and its churches were also burned; but the Abbey of Holyrood was spared, at the earnest entreaty of John of Gaunt, to whom it had recently afforded a retreat. These barbarous and impolitic proceedings, however, soon recoiled upon the heads of the invaders. Provisions began to fail, multitudes perished from want, and, to escape destruction, they were compelled to order a retreat through those districts which their own merciless and short-sighted cruelty had rendered a blackened desert.

Devastations committed by the English, and distress suffered by them.

Meanwhile the Scottish army, with their French auxiliaries, broke into England by the western marches, and burnt and plundered the district of Cumberland,* retaliating with tenfold fury the ravages committed by the English. According to Froissart, the Scots obtained more plunder in this inroad, and did more damage to their enemies, than the English could have inflicted upon Scotland had they burned the whole country from the border to Aberdeen. On their return to Edinburgh, to the great astonishment of their French allies, the inhabitants were seen emerging from the mountain fastnesses and recesses of the forests, to which they had fled for refuge, carrying their household goods and chattels, and driving before them their flocks and herds. With a few stakes and wattles they rebuilt their burned and blackened houses, and speedily resumed their former habits and occupations.

Scots and French break into England by the western marches.

The French were now completely disgusted with a mode of warfare in which they had reaped neither gold nor glory. They complained that the people whom they came to assist had treated them with great rudeness and unkindness, and had even refused to supply them with the necessary provisions and forage. The Scots, on the other hand, declared that the foreigners were rather an incumbrance than a help, and they upbraided them with their effeminacy, and were disgusted with their arrogance and petulant pretensions to gallantry. Even Vienne himself made love to a near relation of the king, to the great scandal and indignation of the grave and sober Scots. The French at length prepared to leave a country which they despised for its poverty and rudeness, and to return home; but their allies refused to permit their departure until security was given that the French government should pay the expenses which they had incurred during their residence in Scotland, and for the injuries which they had inflicted by trampling and destroying the crops and plundering the inhabitants. These conditions were complied with, and the Scots provided vessels, in which, says Froissart, "divers knights and squires had passage, and returned into Flanders, as wind and weather drove them, with neither horse nor harness, right poor and feeble, cursing the day that ever they came upon such an adventure, and fervently desiring that the Kings of France and England would conclude a peace for a year or two, were it only to have the satisfaction of uniting their armies, and utterly destroying the realm of Scotland."* Thus ended, in mutual disappointment and recrimination, an expedition undertaken with high expectations, and fitted out at an immense expense. The result served to show the wisdom of the instructions which the great King Robert left for the guidance of his countrymen in their hostilities with England, and demonstrated the impossibility of blending, with any hope of success, two systems of military operations so completely distinct as those of the Scots and French.

Mutual dissatisfaction of the Scots and French.

The French knights return home.

After the departure of the French troops, the war with England was carried on with systematic rapacity and cruelty; and the Scots, who were peculiarly fitted for this species of predatory hostility, in their incessant raids into the northern counties of England made great havoc, and collected immense spoil. In one of these destructive inroads, the fertile country around Cockermouth, which had not been invaded since the days of Robert Bruce,† was plundered and laid waste without opposition for three days, by a powerful force under the Earls of Fife and Douglas, and Sir Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway. An old Scottish chronicler mentions, that among the spoil collected in this expedition, there was an ancient charter of the Saxon King Athelstane, which in the following brief terms made a conveyance of two estates to one of his nobles:—"I, King Adelstane, giffys here to Paulan, Oddam and Roddam als gude and als fair as ever thai myn war: and theirto witnes Mald my wyf."‡ The clearness and brevity of this curious deed astonished and delighted the Earl of Fife, afterwards the Duke of Albany, who, long after, when administering justice as regent of the kingdom, was wont to contrast this brief legal document of the good old times, with the verbose and prolix charters of more modern days. It is singular, as Mr. Tytler remarks, to meet with a protestation at so remote a period against the unnecessary multiplication of words and clauses in legal deeds.

Continued inroads into England.

At this time several brilliant exploits were performed by Sir William Douglas, the natural son of Sir Archibald of Galloway.§ This young knight, whose graceful person and warlike prowess, com-

Character of Sir William Douglas—

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 331, 332.

* Froissart, vol. ii. chap. clxxiv.

† Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 331, 332.

‡ Scotichron, vol. ii. p. 403.

§ Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 332—334. This old chronicler calls Douglas—

bined with great generosity and a most winning gentleness of manners, had gained him the hand of the king's daughter, Egidia,* and the lordship of Nithsdale, resolved to punish the Irish Katerans for their piracies on the coast of Galloway. He accordingly collected a force of five hundred spear-men, and having effected a landing near Carlingford, he immediately proceeded to assault the town with only about two hundred of his men, finding it difficult to procure boats to land the whole. The inhabitants offered a large sum of money to ransom the place; and having thus obtained an armistice, they secretly despatched a messenger to Dundalk, and procured the assistance of eight hundred horse. The Scottish leader, in the meantime, being entirely unsuspicious of any fraud or dishonesty, was on the shore busily engaged in victualling his ships, when he perceived the approach of this strong body from Dundalk, and the inhabitants at the same time sallying from the town to assist them in this treacherous assault. Douglas immediately divided his men into two bodies, and sent Sir Robert Stewart with the one to repel the attack of the citizens, while he with the other encountered the auxiliaries. A fierce and stubborn conflict ensued, in which the Scots, although greatly outnumbered, completely defeated their assailants, after which they ravaged and burnt the town, demolished the castle, and loaded with their plunder fifteen merchant vessels which lay at anchor in the harbour.† After this signal act of vengeance they set sail for the Isle of Man, which they also "harried," and then returned safely to Lochryan, in Galloway. On his return from this successful expedition, Douglas learned that his father and the other Scottish barons were engaged in an expedition against the border districts of England, and he immediately took horse and joined the invading host.

—his descent upon Ireland.

A remarkably minute and interesting account of this expedition is given by Froissart,* which is deserving of peculiar notice, on account of the famous battle of Otterburn, in which it terminated. England was now torn by dissensions between the weak and unfortunate Richard II. and his nobles, and the Scottish barons judged this a favourable opportunity to retaliate the injuries which the recent expedition of the English monarch had inflicted upon Scotland. "In order," says Froissart, "that their intentions might not be known, they appointed a feast to be held at Aberdeen, on the borders of the Highlands. The greater part of the barons attended, and it was then resolved that in the middle of August, 1388, they should assemble all their forces at a castle called Jedworth (Jedburgh), situated among the deep forests and on the borders of Cumberland. Having arranged everything concerning this business, they separated, but never mentioned one word of their intentions to the king; for they said among themselves he knew nothing about war."

Great invasion of England determined on by the Scots.

Accordingly, on the appointed day, the Earls of Douglas, Fife, and Moray, Sir James Lindsay, of Crawford, and various other powerful Scottish barons, came with their followers to the trysting-place. They formed the most numerous assembly that had been seen in Scotland for many years; and in order the more efficiently to arrange their plans, they appointed another preparatory meeting to take place at Yetholm, a village not far from Jedburgh, and situated at the foot of the Cheviot hills.

Preliminary conferences.

On the day appointed, an army of forty thousand infantry and twelve hundred men-at-arms assembled at the place of rendezvous. The English barons meanwhile, to whom the care of the borders was committed, having received information of the projected inroad from the minstrels and heralds, whom as privileged spies they had commissioned to attend the preliminary conferences, began to prepare for resistance, and despatched one of their squires to attend the meeting at Yetholm, and discover the intentions of the Scots. In the disguise of a groom he entered the church where the Scottish chiefs were in council, and learned the whole of their plans; but when he returned to the place where he had left his horse tied to a tree, he found it had been stolen; and, fearful of exciting suspicion by inquiring after it, he set off on foot on his way homewards. This very caution occasioned his detection. "I have witnessed many wonderful things," said a Scottish knight to his friend, as they stood near the church door; "but what I now see is equal to any: that man yonder has, I believe, lost his horse, and yet makes no inquiry after it. On my troth, I doubt much if he belongs to us; let us go after him, and see whether I am right or not." They soon overtook him, and on their approach,

Seizure of an English spy.

"A young jolly Bachelor
Prized greatly was of war;
For he was ever travelland,
Whiles by sea and whiles by land,
To skathe his foes right busy,
Sa that they dread him grettumly;"

and after mentioning various deeds of valour, which bear no inconsiderable resemblance to the exploits of David's worthies, he thus sums up his description of this Scottish Paladin:—

"Sa stoutly he was travelland,
And put to sa hard assayis,
That to say sooth in-to my days
I have not heard a Bachelor
Sa greatly prized far or near
In-to sa short time as was he."

* Wyntown says the princess was

"The fairest of fashion (form) and of face
That men might find that day living,
Though they had sought o'er all Scotland."

And Fordun states that the report of her beauty so inflamed the King of France that he privately despatched a painter into Scotland to bring him her picture; when he found, to his disappointment, that the affections of the princess were already engaged.—Scotichron, vol. ii. p. 403.

† Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 335, 336.

* Froissart, vol. iii. chap. cxxiv. See also Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 337—343, for an account of this battle, corroborating in all important points the narrative of Froissart.

says Froissart, with much simplicity, "he was alarmed, and wished himself anywhere else." His confused and contradictory answers confirmed their suspicions. He was immediately seized; and on being closely interrogated, and threatened with instant death if he did not tell the truth, was induced to reveal all he knew concerning the force and intentions of his countrymen. From his confession the Scottish leaders learned that the English did not consider themselves strong enough to encounter the Scottish army, and had determined to remain quiet until the invaders had crossed the borders, and then, "by way of counteracting their career," to make an inroad into Scotland. "Should you march to Cumberland," said the spy, "they will take the road through Berwick to Dunbar, Dalkeith, and Edinburgh; if you follow the other road, they will then march to Carlisle, and enter your country by these mountains."

Plan of the campaign.

"The barons of Scotland," continues Froissart, "were in high spirits at this intelligence, and considered their success as certain, now they knew the disposition of the enemy. They held a council as to their mode of proceeding, and the wisest and most accustomed to arms, such as Sir Archibald Douglas, the Earl of Fife, Sir Alexander Ramsay, Sir John Sinclair, and Sir James Lindsay, were the speakers." It was ultimately resolved that, for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the English, the troops should be divided into two bodies, and that an invasion should be made both by the eastern and western marches. Accordingly, the main body of the army, under the Earl of Fife, the king's second son, with Archibald Douglas of Galloway, and the Earls of Sutherland, Menteith, Mar, and Strathern, began their march through Liddesdale towards Carlisle; while a smaller division, consisting of three hundred men-at-arms and two thousand foot, was placed under the command of the young Earl of Douglas, along with the Earls of March and Moray, Sir James Lindsay, Sir Alexander Ramsay, Sir John de St. Clair, and other experienced leaders, for the purpose of invading England by the eastern marches.

Army separates into two divisions.

By a swift and secret march, the Earl of Douglas, with this small force, pushed rapidly on through Northumberland, which they did not molest; but as soon as they reached the bishopric of Durham, the plundering began, and the smoke of the flaming villages gave the first intimation to the English garrisons that the Scots had crossed the border. They ravaged the whole of that rich and populous district without opposition, as the English imagined that Douglas was supported by the whole force of the Scottish army, and were therefore afraid to venture beyond the walls of their fortresses. After wasting the country as far as the gates of Durham, the Scots returned to Newcastle, where lay Sir Henry Percy, renowned by the name of Hotspur, his brother Sir Ralph, and many other Northumbrian barons and knights; and there Douglas determined to remain two days, to try the mettle of the English warriors. In one of the skirmishes at the barriers of the town, a personal encounter took place between Douglas and Hotspur, in which the pennon of the English leader remained in the possession of the Scottish earl, who boasted that he would carry it to Scotland, and plant it on the tower of his castle of Dalkeith. "That," said Percy, "shalt thou never do: you shall not even bear it out of Northumberland; be assured you shall never have this pennon to brag of." "Well," replied Douglas, "your pennon shall this night be placed before my tent: come and win it if you can." He then continued his march up the river Tyne, and, encamping at night, stuck the pennon into the ground in front of his tent, expecting that Hotspur would redeem his pledge.

The division under the Earl of Douglas lay waste Durham.

Encounter between Douglas and Hotspur.

The English leaders, however, were still under the impression that the main army of the Scots was close at hand, and that the object of Douglas was to draw them from their entrenchments. Percy's wish to attack Douglas that night was therefore overruled; and the Scots, after in vain expecting an encounter, left their encampment, and resumed their march homeward. On their way they attacked and carried the tower of Ponteland, which they razed to the ground; and, still continuing their retreat, arrived on the second day at Otterburn, a hamlet situated in Redesdale, about thirty miles from Newcastle. There was a strongly-fortified castle there, which resisted the attacks of the Scots; and, after some deliberation, they were prevailed upon by Douglas to remain a day or two in order to reduce it, and to give Percy an opportunity of fulfilling his promise. They accordingly pitched their camp in an advantageous position, on the banks of the Reed water, flanked on one side by a marsh, and on the other by a small wooded hill, and placed their carriages and waggons at the entrance, under the charge of the sutlers and camp-followers. Having taken these precautions against a surprise, they spent the day in attacking the castle, and at night retired within their encampment. Meanwhile, Hotspur, having discovered that Douglas was not supported by the main army of the Scots, and that he lay encamped at Otterburn, hastily assembled about six hundred men-at-arms and eight thousand infantry, and marched rapidly in pursuit of the enemy.

The Scots continue their retreat, and encamp at Otterburn.

Hotspur pursues them with a superior force.

It was after sunset before Percy came in sight of the Scottish encampment. It was a sweet moonlight evening—Froissart tells us—clear and bright; and the breeze blew soft and fresh. The day had been extremely warm, and most of the Scots, fatigued by an attack upon the castle, had taken their evening meal and lain down to rest, and their leaders were sitting in their gowns and doublets at supper, when they were roused by the war-cry of "Percy!"

Battle of Otterburn.

"Percy!" The English attacked the encampment with great fury, but the camp-followers courageously defended the barricade of waggons, and thus gave time for the knights and men-at-arms to put on their armour and take up their position. The leaders, however, had to arm in such haste that Douglas's harness was in many places unclasped, and the Earl of Moray fought all night without his helmet. Instead of waiting within the camp to receive the assault of the enemy, Douglas drew up his men, and, silently sweeping round the wooded eminence, fell on the flank of the English while they were engaged in the marsh which bordered on the Scottish encampment. Percy, having discovered the mistake which he had made, now drew back his troops on firm ground, and received the attack of the enemy with great courage. The English were somewhat fatigued by their march, but they were greatly superior to the Scots, both in numbers and in the temper of their armour and weapons. The latter, however, were fresh and well breathed, and flushed with their previous successes, and for several hours the battle raged with the utmost fury. At length the Scots, who fought against treble their number, began to give way, when Douglas, wielding a battle-axe with both hands, and followed only by a few of his household, cut his way into the thickest of the enemy, where, being separated from his men, he was borne to the earth, and mortally wounded in his head and thigh.* But this disaster was unknown to either army, for the tide of battle was for the moment setting against the Scots, and some time elapsed before the English were again forced to give way, and the spot where Douglas fell was cleared. Sir James Lindsay, Sir John and Sir Walter Sinclair, were the first to discover him, as he lay bleeding to death. His banner lay on the ground not far from him, the bearer having fallen; and his chaplain, a priest of the name of William Lundie, afterwards Archdeacon of North Berwick, who had fought during the whole battle at his side, was found bestriding his wounded patron, and protecting him from injury with his battle-axe. "How fares it with you, cousin?" asked Sir John. "But so so," replied the earl; "yet, God be thanked, few of my ancestors have died — have died in chambers or in their beds. There has long been a prophecy that a dead Douglas should win a field.† I trust it will now be fulfilled; my heart sinks;—I am dying. Do you, Walter, and you, John Sinclair, raise my banner,‡ and cry 'Douglas!' and tell neither friend nor foe I am lying here." These were his last words. The Scottish leaders raised the banner, and with cries of "Douglas!" "Douglas!" fell afresh on the enemy; and the Scots, animated by the cry, and believing that their leader was still in the field, pressed on the English with such fury that they at length gave way on all sides. Hotspur and his brother Sir Ralph, were taken prisoners, and scarcely a man of note among the English escaped death or captivity. About eighteen hundred and sixty of their men-at-arms were left on the field, and a thousand were grievously wounded. This battle, famous in song under the name of "Chevy Chase," was fought on Wednesday, the 5th of August, 1388. Froissart, who received his account of this celebrated conflict from English and Scottish knights who were engaged in it, says, "Of all the battles that have been described in this history, great and small, this of which I am now speaking was the best fought and the most severe; for there was not a man, knight, or squire, who did not acquit himself gallantly hand to hand with his enemy, without either stay or faintheartedness." He adds, that his informants agree that it was the hardest and most obstinate battle that was ever fought.

Death of Douglas.

Defeat of the English, and captivity of Hotspur.

The day after the battle, the Bishop of Durham, having heard of the defeat of Percy, arrived at Otterburn with ten thousand men, and attempted to cut off the retreat of the victorious army. But finding them strongly entrenched in the same advantageous position, he judged it prudent to withdraw, and allow them to return to their own country without further molestation. The body of Douglas was carried by the Scottish army in solemn and sorrowful procession to the Abbey of Melrose, where they buried him in the sepulchre of his fathers, and hung his banner over his grave. Among the noble prisoners who were carried to Scotland besides the brothers Henry and Ralph Percy, were the Seneschal of York, Sir Ralph Langley, Sir Robert Ogle, Sir John Lilburn, Sir John Copland, Sir Thomas Walsingham, Sir John Felton, Sir Thomas Abingdon, and almost the whole chivalry of the north of England. Froissart highly applauds the courtesy shown by the Scots to their prisoners, and observes, that both nations were not less deserving of praise for their gentleness after a battle, than for their courage during the conflict.

Character of the conflict.

Meanwhile, the main body of the Scottish army, under the Earl of Fife, were engaged in plundering and laying waste the western counties of England, when they received the tidings of the victory at Otterburn. According to Wyntown, the earl was not a little envious at the success of the smaller division of the army, for the victory and the wealth acquired by the ransom of the noble prisoners were esteemed the most remarkable that had occurred since the field of Bannockburn.*

* See Appendix, Note XI.

† "Hosts have been known at that dread name to yield;
And Douglas dead, his name hath won the field."
HOME.

‡ Sir Walter Scott states, that in this conflict the banner of Douglas was borne by his natural son, Archibald Douglas, ancestor of the family of Cavers, hereditary sheriffs of Teviotdale, amongst whose archives this glorious relic is still preserved. The earl, at the onset, is said to have charged his son to defend it to the last drop of his blood.

* Froissart says, the ransoms were estimated at 200,000 francs. Robert III. granted to Henry Preston, for the redemption of Ralph Percy, the lands and baronies of Frondin, Aberdeenshire, the town of Fyvie, and place thereof, the town of Meikle Gaddies, and the five-mark land of Park-

Adventures of Sir James Lindsay after the battle.

Connected with this chivalric conflict there is an episode charmingly told by Froissart, which deserves insertion here, as it affords a striking illustration of the knightly manners of the age.* Sir James Lindsay, the chief of the warlike sept of the Lindsays, greatly distinguished himself in the conflict,† and was the first to reach the place where Douglas was lying. When the victory was gained, the Scots chased the fugitives for five miles from the field of battle. On their return from the pursuit, Sir David and Sir John Lindsay asked after their chief, but none could give them any news of him; whereat, says Froissart, they marvelled and grieved much, doubting not but that either he had been slain or taken prisoner. "Now," says the chronicler, "I will tell you what befel the said knight of Scotland."

Sir Matthew Redman, Governor of Berwick, and commander, in conjunction with Sir Robert Ogle, of one of the two great "battles," or divisions, in which Percy had marshalled his army, had mounted his horse to fly, very reluctantly; but still, all things considered, he alone could not recover the day. Sir James Lindsay, noticing his departure, and being mounted on a fleet charger, immediately galloped after him, lance in hand, and, after a chase of more than three English leagues, got so close to him that he might, had he chosen, have stricken him with his lance. But instead of doing so, he shouted to him repeatedly, "Ha! Sir Knight!" (for he saw well that he was one, though he knew not his name), "turn ye!—'t is foul shame thus to fly. You have only me to cope with, and if you can discomfit me, I am Sir James de Lindsay!" When Sir Matthew heard that, he pulled in his horse, and, wheeling round, drew his sword, and betook himself cheerily to his defence. Sir James aimed at him with his lance; but Sir Matthew, by writhing his body, escaped the blow, and the point of the lance was buried in the ground, and there remained fixed. Sir Matthew cut it in two with his sword. Sir James then threw the truncheon on the ground, and seized his battle-axe, which was slung across his shoulder, and assailed Sir Matthew, who defended himself bravely. Thus they pursued each other for a long time by the light of the moon, the one with the axe, the other with the sword, for there was no one to interrupt them.

During a pause in this tournay, Sir James Lindsay asked Sir Matthew, "Knight, who art thou?" to which the other replied, "I am Sir Matthew Redman." "Well," rejoined Sir James, "since we have met thus, I must conquer thee, or thou me!" and then began the battle again; and they had no other weapons, save the one his sword, and the other his battle-axe, which he used with one hand very dexterously, the Scots being accustomed thus to handle it. At last, Sir Matthew's sword flew out of his hand in a return stroke, and he stood defenceless. "Lindsay," said he, "I yield me." "Rescue, or no rescue?" asked Sir James. "I consent. You will take good care of me?" "That I will!" rejoined the knight; "and, for a beginning, since you are my prisoner, what shall I do for you?" "I wish," said Sir Matthew, "that you would allow me to return to Newcastle, and by Saint Michael's day I will render me at Dunbar, or Edinburgh, or at any port you choose in Scotland." "I am willing," said Sir James; "let it be at Edinburgh, on the day you name."*

With these words they took leave of each other, Sir Matthew returning to Newcastle, walking his horse gently, as it was much fatigued.

"Now," saith the chronicler, "I will tell you a marvellous adventure which befel the knight of Scotland,—an adventure not to be forgotten with this night of peril,—a freak of fortune such as often bechanceth in love and war. Sir James might well say, 'This morning I thought to have gained much; but, in sooth, I have lost more than enough in chasing the English.' I tell you why." Sir James had no sooner parted with Sir Matthew, than he and his 'squire (who, it appears, had followed him closely through all the vicissitudes of this eventful night) entangled themselves in the mazes of a broad heath, covered with furze and thickets of low wood, and entirely lost their road, which Sir James soon found out; but it was then too late to remedy the evil. No stars were visible, the moon had gone down, and the night was dark and gloomy. Coming at last to a path which ran, as he thought, in the right direction, he pursued it;—alas! it was the direct road to Newcastle; and he would have arrived at the gates, of his own accord, before daybreak, but for a previous rencontre with the Bishop of Durham, who had been too late for the battle, and was at that very moment returning to Newcastle by a path running, it seems, nearly parallel with the one Sir James had taken.

Sir James's horse, scenting the English horses,

hill. Hotspur, for his ransom, to the Lord Montgomery, built the castle of Penoon, in Ayrshire, belonging to the family of Montgomery, now earls of Eglintoun.

* Froissart, vol. iii. chap. cxxix. quoted in Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays—a delightful book, equally honourable to the head and the heart of its noble author.

† The old ballad of Chevy Chase bears witness to the valour of "the Lindsays light and gay," in that famous engagement:—

"The Lindsays flew like fire about,
Till all the fray was done."

* "Such," says Holinshed, "was in those days the humanity among the borderers and both nations towards their prisoners, which to this day doth continue between the inhabitants of those places. But if any do not return at the day appointed, this punishment is set upon him for a perpetual disgrace, that in the assembly of true days (to demand restitution of things and injuries done by the one nation to the other), they use that he which complaineth himself to be deceived by his prisoner (on his promise) doth carry about a hand or glove painted on a cloth, with a long staff or spear, to be seen of all men; the which is accounted a singular infamy to the deserver thereof. For they which have so broken their faith be ever after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which dishonesty they will not afford them good report or entertainment."

began to neigh, and caracole, and paw the ground, and press in that direction; and the knight, thinking they were his friends, and that he was close to Otterburn, gave him the rein; and, in unsuspecting confidence, rode into the midst of the bishop's company. The bishop, seeing the dark shadow of a horse and rider, rode forward and asked, "Who goes there?—friend or foe, herald or minstrel?" to which Sir James, still unaware of his situation, replied, "I am Sir James de Lindsay." "Ha! Sir Knight!" cried the bishop, "you are very welcome! render yourself my prisoner!" "And who are you?" asked the astonished intruder. "I am Robert de Neville, priest, and Bishop of Durham."

Sir James saw well that resistance would be useless, surrounded as he was by five hundred men, and said only, "Sith it must be so, God's will be done!" Thus they rode on to Newcastle, Sir James entertaining the bishop with the account of his chase and capture of Sir Matthew. "And where is he?" asked the bishop. "By my faith," replied Lindsay, "I have seen nothing of him since I fiancéd him; he started for Newcastle, and I was on my road to Otterburn." "In my opinion," interrupted the bishop, "you chose your road ill enough, Sir James; for, lo! this is Newcastle we are now entering." "I cannot help it," answered Sir James; "I have taken, and I am taken,—such is the fate of arms! I had fixed Sir Matthew's day for appearing at Edinburgh, but I think he need not trouble himself to take so long a journey to make his fynance." "So it seems," rejoined the bishop. With these words they entered Newcastle, and all went to their several lodgings; Sir James continuing with the bishop, as his guest and prisoner. Guards were set, for fear of the Scots, at all the gates, towers, and walls, and the bishop himself watched at the principal barrier till sunrise.

Meanwhile, Sir Matthew Redman had also reached Newcastle a little before the bishop's arrival, and, after disarming himself (as a captive knight), and putting on other clothes, he went to wait on the bishop at his lodgings, where he met Richard Heberdon, Sir James's 'squire, who told him the whole story of his master's misadventure. Greatly did Sir Matthew marvel at the news, and then bade the 'squire lead him to his master's apartment. He found Sir James leaning against the window, looking out, and very melancholy,—doubtless for the loss of his friend Douglas. The two knights recognized each other immediately by daylight, having often met before on the borders, and at the march meetings. "What has brought you here, Sir James?" was Sir Matthew's salutation. "By my faith, Redman!" replied the former, interrupting his sad thoughts, and turning to meet him, "ill luck!" and then repeated the tale already told. "I believe," he added, "there will be no need of your coming to Edinburgh to obtain your ransom, for we can finish the matter here, if my master consent to it." "We shall soon agree to that," rejoined Sir Matthew; "but you must come and dine with me, for the bishop and his men are going to attack your countrymen; I know not what success they will have, nor shall we be informed till their return." "I accept your invitation," answered Lindsay. Then, concludes Froissart, did these two knights rally each other, and bandy many blythe words of merriment; and thus said the English knight, "By my faith, little did I think to find my master, Sir James Lindsay, here!" "Such," replied the Scot, "is the chance of arms! As little thought I last night to have gained so little by chasing the English!"

The aged King of Scotland seems now to have become so unequal to the fatigues of state, that the parliament found it necessary to relieve him from a burden which he was no longer able to bear. John Earl of Carrick, the heir apparent to the throne, had been injured by the kick of a horse, and was unable, from bodily weakness, to undertake the management of affairs. The Earl of Fife, second son of the king, was therefore chosen governor of the kingdom, in a meeting of the three Estates held at Edinburgh, in 1389.* Fife was crafty, cold-blooded, and selfish, and his advancement, on the present occasion, to the high office of regent, in preference to his elder brother, seems to have whetted his unprincipled ambition, and ultimately led him to commit the most atrocious crimes to maintain his ascendancy. He possessed little genius for military affairs, and it was probably his consciousness of this defect which induced him, soon after he had been invested with his office, to seek to maintain his reputation among the fierce and turbulent nobility of Scotland by one of those absurd bravadoes which a really brave man will always carefully avoid. The Earl of Nottingham, Marshal of England, to whom the English king had intrusted the wardenship of the eastern marches, had been in the habit of reproaching the Percies for their defeat at Otterburn, and of boasting that he would overcome the Scots in a fair field, even though their numbers should double his. The regent affected to consider that his knightly honour required him to notice these foolish boastings, and having collected a numerous army, he crossed the border, and defied Nottingham to meet him in the field. The English baron, however, having entrenched himself in a strong position, declined the combat, alleging that "he had no orders to expose the lieges of his sovereign to any danger." The Scots, after remaining half a day in front of his position, with banners displayed, burned Tynemouth and returned to their own country.†

The Earl of Fife chosen regent—

—his character.

Bravado of the Earl of Nottingham.

In the summer of the same year, the English and French commissioners met at Leilinghen, between Boulogne and Calais, with the view of concluding a truce for three years. The Bishop of

* Fordun, vol. ii. p. 414.
† Ibid.; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 346.

Aberdeen, Sir Archibald Douglas, Sir John Sinclair, and Sir William Lindsay of the Byres, were sent as commissioners for Scotland, to protest against it. The treaty, however,

Three years' truce.

was agreed to, the allies of both countries being included* in its provisions, and a joint embassy of English and French knights was despatched to Scotland, and succeeded in persuading the Scottish nobles to become parties to this cessation of hostilities, to the great delight of the good old king, who had long been desirous of seeing his country enjoy the blessings of peace. Soon after this desirable event, he re-

Death of Robert II.—

tired to his castle of Dundonald, in Ayrshire, where, on the 13th of May, 1390, he died, after a short illness, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign.

In the early part of his career, Robert displayed great energy and courage in the defence of the liberties of Scotland,

—his character.

and was the main instrument in defeating the insidious designs of Edward III., when the weak and selfish son of Bruce attempted to betray the independence of his country. He had the wisdom to perceive that peace with England was indispensably necessary to the maintenance of order in his kingdom, and the development of its internal resources, and earnestly sought to carry out this judicious policy; but his lot was cast on evil days, and he appears in his later years to have lacked the energy and activity necessary to keep his rude and turbulent nobles in due subordination, and to have lost sight of the duties of his office in his fondness for retirement and ease. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that, to use the words of Buchanan, "he was a most excellent man, and in the arts of peace few kings could be compared to him. He administered justice diligently and impartially; he severely restrained robbery; he was steady in his conduct, and faithful to his word. The kingdom, which he received in turbulent times, he restored to internal tranquillity by his justice and equity, and so far recovered it from the enemy, that at the time of his death they had only three castles remaining in it." *

* Rymer, Foed. vol. vii. p. 622. It is curious to notice that John, Lord of the Isles, is mentioned among the allies of England, showing that up to this period the chiefs of the Isles were virtually independent of Scotland. A treaty, indeed, was concluded between Richard II. and the Lord of the Isles in the preceding year.

* Buchanan's History of Scotland, Aikman's edition, vol. ii. p. 62.

CHAPTER XIV.

ROBERT THE THIRD.

A. D. 1390—1424.

ROBERT II. was succeeded in the throne by his eldest son, John Earl of Carrick, who, on the day following his father's burial, was solemnly crowned at Scone, in presence of a large assembly of nobles and prelates. The name John, from its association with Baliol and other sovereigns who had borne it, was regarded with superstitious dislike by the Scots. The new monarch, therefore, took the title of Robert III., as heir to the crown of his heroic ancestor Robert Bruce. Like his father, Robert had passed the prime of life when his reign began. He had been married for upwards of thirty years to Annabella Drummond, a daughter of Sir John Drummond, of Stobhall, by whom he had one son, David, yet in his minority. Robert possessed many qualities, which, in happier circumstances, would have rendered him an eminently popular and successful sovereign. Though he had been lamed by an unfortunate accident, his person was tall and graceful, and his manners were affable and pleasing. To great amiability of disposition he added strong good sense, and a strict love of justice. The welfare of his people seems ever to have been the paramount object of all his measures as a ruler, and he wisely endeavoured to promote it by the maintenance of peace. United to other virtues suited to the fierce spirit of the times, these properties might have secured to him the respect and co-operation even of his fierce nobility and rude subjects. He was naturally, however, timid and irresolute, and his love of peace made him often weakly yield to men destitute of principle, but endowed with greater force of character. At no time remarkable for personal courage or skill in military exercise, he had been compelled by his lameness to retire early in life from the stirring scenes of the battle-field and the tournament, to the more congenial sources of enjoyment found in domestic and devotional retirement. The nobles, therefore, who viewed these amiable qualities as the evidence only of unmanly weakness, regarded him with a feeling bordering on contempt, and, calculating on impunity, prepared to renew their deadly feuds. On the retirement of the late king from public life, the sense of the nation as to Robert's incapacity for government had been testified by the appointment of the Earls of Fife and Buchan, his brothers, to the chief offices in the state. Both were likely to retain their influence over the monarch—an influence which could only tend to the dishonour of the crown and the ruin of the kingdom. With no pretensions to talent, either in the cabinet or the field, Fife was ambitious of power, and under a plausible manner veiled a crafty and cruel disposition, which scrupled at no crime, however dark, to gain its ends. Buchan was a monster of crime, who gave himself up to every species of lust and rapine, and among the miserable population of the north, whom his oppression filled with terror, was commonly termed "The Wolf of Badenoch."

Accession of Robert III.—

—his character.

The reign of Robert, however, began auspiciously, by the renewal of the truce of Leilinghen. The terms of this treaty, which secured the cessation of hostilities between Scotland and England, and placed the relations of the two kingdoms on an amicable footing, were faithfully observed by both countries; and during eight years Scotland enjoyed the unwonted blessing of exemption from the miseries of war, while her trade and agriculture revived and steadily improved. These symptoms of prosperity were greatly checked by the nobles, who, deprived of their ordinary employment of war, and unrestrained by the feeble government of the king, embroiled the country with their fierce disputes. The Wolf of Badenoch, at the head of a large force, invaded the district of Moray, in revenge of some quarrel with the bishop of that see, and, after ravaging the country, plundered and profaned the cathedral of Elgin, which he afterwards set on fire, reducing the noble edifice, with the adjoining religious houses and the town itself, to a mass of blackened ruins. Buchan had barely retired with his plunder when his natural son, Duncan Stewart, with a band of fierce keterans, commanded by three chiefs, whom Wyntown calls Duncansons, passed the mountains which divide the counties of Aberdeen and Forfar, and attacked the inhabitants, spoiling and slaying them with merciless cruelty. Sir Walter Ogilvie, sheriff of Angus,

Truce of eight years.

Atrocious conduct of the Earl of Buchan—

—and of his natural son, Duncan Stewart.

> ——"That good knight,
> Stout and manful, bauld and right,

along with Sir Patrick Gray, and Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, collected a force of about sixty men, and attacked the invaders at Gasklune, near the water of Isla.* After an obstinate contest, the Highlanders were victorious, slaying the sheriff, with his brother, Wat of Lichtoune, and many of the gentry of the county. Sir Patrick Gray and Sir David Lindsay were severely wounded, and with difficulty carried off the field. An idea of the ferocity of the Highlanders may be formed from a striking incident mentioned by Wyntown. Sir David Lindsay, armed at all points and well mounted, made great slaughter among the keterans; but having pierced one of them through the body with his spear, and pinned him to the ground, the savage mountaineer, though in the agonies of death, writhed his body up against the weapon, and collecting all his force, with a last dying effort fetched a sweeping blow with his

Combat at Gasklune and defeat of the Lowland barons.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 367, 369.

broadsword, which cut through the knight's stirrup leather and steel boot,

"Three ply or four above the foot,"

to the very bone.

"That man na straik gave but that ane,
For there he deit (died): yet nevertheless
That guid Lord there wounded wes,
And had deit there that day,
Had not his men had him away
Agane his will out of that press."*

Feuds of the nobles.

The feuds of the lowland barons were no less frequent or destructive, and the most frivolous disputes were settled by an appeal to arms. A quarrel of this kind occurred between Robert Keith and his aunt Lady Margaret Lindsay, daughter of Sir William Keith, Mareschal of Scotland, and wife of David Lindsay. The lady, who was heiress of Fermartine, or Fyvie, in Aberdeenshire, had employed some masons at her castle of Fyvie, with whom the followers of her nephew quarrelled. The rude chief took up the matter so warmly as to besiege his aunt in her own castle. She sent notice to her husband, who was then at court, and he instantly started with four hundred men to relieve his wife. Keith intercepted him near the Kirk of Bourtie, in the Garioch, where he was utterly defeated by Sir James, with the loss of upwards of fifty of his men.† In these days, indeed, every man did what seemed right in his own eyes, as if there had been no king in the land.

These outrages, of which the government took no notice, were followed by other scenes, which, though they occurred with its sanction, manifested a policy as cruel as it was disgraceful. The Highlands had long been convulsed by the quarrels of two clans, or separate confederacies of clans, called Clan Kay and Clan Chattan or Clan Quhele. The chivalry of the times seems to have suggested the determination of their disputes by a battle in presence of the king between an equal number of combatants, chosen from both clans, and including their best warriors. This project was probably recommended with the expectation that the clans would lose their bravest chiefs in the conflict, and would then be more easily managed in future. Lists were accordingly erected in the north Inch of Perth, a beautiful and level meadow, on the south bank of the river Tay, and, on the day appointed, the representatives of the rival clans, in two bands of thirty each, stood fully armed and prepared to decide in mortal conflict their long-disputed claims. The signal to advance was about to be given, when one of the Clan Chattan threw himself into the Tay, swam across the river, and fled to the woods. Robert, who had probably been persuaded against his better feelings to sanction the combat, humanely sought to avail himself of this occurrence to prevent the contest; but a burgher of Perth, named Henry Wynd, an armourer by trade, agreed for half a mark to take the place of the recreant clansman. The engagement which ensued was fierce and bloody, the Highlanders inflicting with their two-handed swords and battle-axes the most ghastly wounds, till the lists were drenched with blood, and covered with the dead or dying. At length the victory fell to the Clan Chattan; only one man belonging to the Clan Kay remained, while eleven of their adversaries were left alive, including the brave burgher, whose strength and skill are said to have contributed mainly to the result.* This terrible conflict, however, justified the expectations of its cold-blooded abettors. The fierce mountaineers, deprived of many of their ablest leaders, were compelled to remain quiet, and, for a time, ceased to scourge the lowlands with their periodical incursions.

Contest between the Clan Kay and the Clan Chattan—

—its results.

The truce between Scotland and England continued to be faithfully observed by both nations, and the animosities of centuries were gradually worn away by the amicable intercourse which now existed between the two kingdoms. The deadly contests of the battle-field gave place to gentle passages of arms between stalwart knights, who, in tilts and tournaments, maintained the honour of their respective countries, and cleared their weapons from the rust of inaction. Generous courtesy and chivalrous valour came to be regarded as the marks of a true knight, and the rude manners of the times, in the absence of higher influences, became gradually softened and refined by these friendly encounters.

Passage of arms between Sir David Lindsay and Lord Wells—

One of the most famous of these "passages of arms" took place between John, Lord Wells, an English warrior of great celebrity, and Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, first Earl of Crawford, who was so severely wounded in the combat at Gasklune. The details of this chivalrous encounter are very fully narrated both by Wyntown and Bower, and throw great light on the manners of our ancestors in these warlike times. Lord Wells having been sent ambassador into Scotland by Richard II., happened to be carousing with the Scottish nobles at a solemn banquet, when the conversation turning on valiant deeds of arms, and Sir David eagerly extolling the prowess of his countrymen, Wells exclaimed: "Let words have no place: if you know not the chivalry and valiant deeds of Englishmen, assail ye me, day and place where ye list, and ye shall soon have

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 369. Fordun (vol. ii. p. 420) says the battle was fought at Glenbreret, or Glenbrierachan, about eleven miles north of Gasklune.

† Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 371.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 373, 374; Fordun, vol. ii. p. 420. Wyntown calls the leader of the Clan Kay, Shaw Farquharson, and the chief of the victorious clan, Cristijohnson. The Clan Kay is thought to have been the Davidsons,—a branch of the M'Phersons. According to tradition, Henry Wynd, (whom the Highlanders call the *Gow Chrom*, the crooked or bandy-legged smith,) when the battle was over was not able to tell the name of the clan he had fought for, replying, when asked on which side he had been, that he was fighting for his own hand. Hence the proverb, "Every man for his own hand, as Henry Wynd fought." See Sir Walter Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather," and "Fair Maid of Perth."

experience." "Then," said Sir David, "I will assail ye." Lord Wells naming London Bridge for the place, Sir David appointed the festival of St. George for the day of combat, "be reason that he was sometime ane valiant knight," and forthwith began preparations for his expedition.* And, so important did Lindsay consider the affair, that he freighted the ship St. Mary, belonging to Dundee, to bring him from London a new suit of armour. All being ready, in the words of the Prior of Lochleven:

"A thousand three hunder and ninety year
Fra the birth of our Lord dear,
The good Lyndyssay Sir Davie
Of Glenesk the Lord mightie,
Honest, able, and avenand†
Pass'd on conduct‡ in England,
With knights, squires, and other men
Of his own retinue then;
Where he and all his company
Wes well arrayed and daintily,
And all purveyed at device;
There was his purpose to win prise."

"He was received with high honour by King Richard, and on the appointed day—both parties appearing in great state at London Bridge, cased in armour of proof, and mounted on mighty war-horses—he entered the lists against Lord Wells. The scene was splendid: the fair ladies and gallant knights of Richard's court were seated all around the king and queen—Anne of Bohemia, surnamed the Good—in the highest places of honour, while a great concourse of the common people attended, attracted by the interest of the spectacle, and the fame of the antagonists."

After the usual preliminary ceremonies, at the stirring blast of the trumpet the knights rushed at each other "on their mighty horses right eagerly," with spears sharply ground "to the death." In the first course both spears were broken; but Lindsay kept his seat so firmly that the spectators cried out that, contrary to the law of arms, he was "locked," or tied to the saddle: upon which he rode up to the royal tent, vaulted lightly to the ground, made his obeisance to the king, and, though loaded with complete armour, again sprung into the saddle "right cleverly," without touching the stirrup, or receiving any assistance. "Incontinent they rushit togidder with new spears the second time with burning ire to conquess (acquire) honour. But in the third rink" (or course), having exchanged their spears for stronger ones, "Lord Wells was doung (struck) out of the saddle with sic violence that he fell to the ground,

'Flatlings down upon the green,'

with great displeasure of Englishmen."

After this encounter on horseback, the knights commenced a desperate foot combat with their daggers, which ended in the total discomfiture of Lord Wells; for Sir David, who was a man of great personal strength, fastening his dagger between the joints of his antagonist's armour, lifted him off his feet, and hurled him to the ground, where he lay at his mercy.

King Richard, who had seen the whole affair from his "summer castelle," called out to the victor,—

"Lyndyssay, cousin good Lyndyssay!
Do furth that thou should do this day"—

meaning that if he wished to put his antagonist to death, as the savage laws of these combats, *a l'outrance*, permitted, no one should hinder him. But the victorious knight, courteously raising his foe from the ground, and leading him beneath the ladies' gallery, "presented him to the queen as his gift, wishing, like a true knight, that mercy should proceed from woman." The queen thanked him, and then gave liberty to Lord Wells. Sir David supported him in the lists till a leech arrived, "tenderly embracing him, that the people might understand he fought with na hatrent, allanerly (solely) for the gloir of victory;" and he visited him afterwards every day till he recovered from his wounds.*

—and between Sir William Dalzell and Sir Piers Courtenay.

Among the knights who accompanied Sir David on his visit to London, was Sir William Dalzell, who, according to Bower, not only excelled in wisdom, but was also of a lively wit. Happening to be at court, he there saw Sir Piers Courtenay, an English knight, famous for his tilting, and for his handsome person, who bore upon his surcoat a falcon with this motto—

"I bear a falcon fairest of flight:
Whoso prikketh at her his death is dight,†
In graith."‡

The Scottish knight appeared next day in a dress exactly similar to that of Courtenay, but bearing a jay instead of a falcon, with an inscription ingeniously contrived to rhyme to the vaunting inscription of Sir Piers.

"I bear a pyet peikand at ane pees,§
Whasa pykkis at her I sall pyk at his nees,‖
In faith."

This affront could only be expiated by a joust with sharp lances. The knights ran three courses, in two of which the helmet of the Scot, from being loosely strapped, gave way at the touch of his antagonist's lance, and he thus avoided the shock of the encounter. The Englishman, who lost two of his front teeth in the third encounter, complained bitterly of Dalzell's conduct in not fastening his helmet, and insisted, that by the law of arms it was imperative on both knights to be exactly on equal terms. "I am content," said Dalzell, "to run six courses more on such conditions, and let him who breaks them forfeit two hundred pounds." This being agreed to, the wily Scot took off his

* It appears from Wyntown, that a formal "taylyhe," (taillie,) or instrument of agreement, was drawn up and signed or sealed by both parties, binding them to the combat. This was not unusual, and the conditions of the tourney were frequently specified in such documents.

† Comely. ‡ Safe conduct.

* Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i. pp. 88—91; Wyntown's Chronicle, vol. ii. pp. 353—357; Bellenden's Boece, vol. ii. p. 470; Lindsay, in gratitude for his victory, founded a chantry of five priests "within our Lady's kirk at Dundee."

† Prepared. ‡ Armour. § Piece. ‖ Nose.

helmet, and throwing back his thick hair, showed that he was blind of an eye, which he had lost by a wound in the battle of Otterburn. He therefore demanded that the handsome Englishman should consent to the extinction of one of his eyes. As Courtenay demurred to this equalization of optical power, Dalzell demanded the forfeit, which, after much altercation, the king appointed to be paid to him, saying he surpassed the Englishman both in wit and valour.* In such rough pastimes, intermingled with sumptuous banquets, did our ancestors pass their time, when not engaged in the kindred pursuits of war and of the chase.

The feeble reign of Robert had now continued for eight years, during which the government had been chiefly conducted by his brother, the crafty and ambitious Earl of Fife. But his eldest son, David, Earl of Carrick, a youth of considerable ability, though of violent passions, began now to dispute the ascendancy of his uncle. We find the prince associated with Fife, and Sir David and Sir William Lindsay, in a march-meeting, held at Haldanestank, for the purpose of negotiating with John of Gaunt, and other English nobles, to prolong the truce and regulate the jurisdiction of the borders;† and on a subsequent occasion he was deputed to meet with the Duke of Lancaster,—afterwards Henry IV.—for a similar purpose. Shortly after, in a meeting of parliament held at Perth, on the 28th of April, 1398, the prince was created Duke of Rothesay, and at the same time the dignity of Duke of Albany was bestowed upon the Earl of Fife. It is worthy of notice, that on this occasion we find the title of duke for the first time introduced into Scotland.

Title of Duke conferred upon Prince David and the Earl of Fife.

The young prince, whose fate forms so mournful a page in the history of Scotland, was at this period upwards of twenty years of age. His handsome person, elegant accomplishments, and winning manners, rendered him the favourite of the people. The counsels of his mother, and the judicious culture of his tutor, William de Drummond, had developed the powers of a mind naturally vigorous. His acquaintance with the literature of the age gave a refinement to his character rarely met with among the rude and ignorant nobility of that age; and the sagacity and energy which he had already exhibited on various occasions, in the management of public affairs, gave high promise of future eminence.‡ But these excellencies were unfortunately marred by a love of pleasure, and a fondness for gay, dissipated companions, exceeding even the licence usually conceded to the eldest son of a king; and his excesses gave a great advantage over him to his cool and unprincipled uncle, by whom he was both feared and hated. Robert, who doted on his son with an overweening affection, was well aware of the dangers to which he was exposed from the ambition of Albany, and sought to protect him from the intrigues of that crafty and cold-blooded plotter, by entering into bonds or covenants for his defence with the most powerful nobles of his kingdom, whom he induced, by large grants of money, to become bound to give their "service and support" to defend himself and his eldest son, the Earl of Carrick, in time of peace as well as war.* These feudal bonds or agreements had hitherto been concluded between subject and subject; and their formation at this period, for the first time in the history of the country, between the sovereign and his vassals, clearly shows the great increase which had taken place in the power of the barons, and the proportional diminution in the influence of the crown since the death of Robert Bruce. Rothesay having shown his capacity for the management of public affairs, now manifested an increasing impatience of his uncle's supremacy. Queen Annabella, a woman of sense and courage, strenuously supported her son in his struggle with Albany, and, aided by her influence, and that of a strong party among the nobles, who favoured his claims, the prince at length compelled his crafty and ambitious relative to resign the office of governor.

Character of the prince.

Albany resigns the office of governor—

Immediately after this important step, a meeting of the parliament was held at Perth, on the 27th of June, 1398, for the purpose of sanctioning the transference of the office of lieutenant of the kingdom to the heir-apparent to the throne. A solemn Act was accordingly passed, in which, after an allusion to the distracted state of the kingdom, from the want of a due administration of the laws of the king and his advisers, the Estates declared, that since the king, in consequence of the sickness of his person, is not able to undergo the labour of governing the kingdom, nor to restrain "trespassers," the Duke of Rothesay shall be appointed the king's lieutenant for a period of three years, possessing all the powers and prerogatives of the sovereign, under the control of the parliament, or, in its absence, of a council of experienced and faithful men, of whom the principal are to be the Duke of Albany and

—the Duke of Rothesay is chosen by the parliament to succeed him—

—council appointed to advise him.

"Our lord the king's eldest son,
Sweet and virtuous, young and fair,
And his nearest lawful heir,
Honest, able and avenand (comely,)
Our lord, our prince, in all plesand,
Connand into literature,
A seemly person in stature."
vol. ii. p. 376.

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 423; Marmion, c. i. note viii.

† Wyntown has recorded a repartee of Sir David Lindsay on this occasion, which is interesting from its historical reference. Sir David, happening to observe that the celebrated Henry Percy, who was one of the English commissioners, was sheathed in complete armour, notwithstanding the peaceable character of the conference: "It is for fear of the English horsemen," said Hotspur, in explanation, for he was already meditating the insurrection immortalized by Shakespeare. "Ah, Sir Harry!" rejoined Sir David, in allusion to the night of Otterburn, "I have seen you more sorely bestad by Scottish footmen, than by English horse!" —Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 377.

‡ Wyntown calls him,—

* Chamberlain, Accounts, vol. ii. p. 197; Tytler, vol. iii. p. 72.

Walter Stewart, Lord of Brechin; the Bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen; and the Earls of Douglas, Ross, Moray, and Crawford; with the Constable, the Marshal, and several others of the principal nobility and clergy of the kingdom. The members of the Council were required to take an oath to give the governor "lele counsail for the common profit of the realm, nocht havande therto fede na frendschyp;" and the prince himself was to swear that he would administer the laws uprightly, maintain the old manners and customs for the people, restrain and punish all mainslayers, reifars, brennars, and all strong and masterful misdoers, and more especially that he would seize and put down all cursed or excommunicated men and heretics, and fulfil all the duties which the king in his coronation oath had sworn to perform to holy kirk and the people.

Further proceedings of the parliament.

The parliament next proceeded to make provision against any undue interference on the part of the sovereign with the prerogatives of the regent, and declared that the king shall be obliged not to "let or hinder the prince in the execution of his office by any counter-orders, as has hitherto happened; and if such were given, the lieutenant was not to be bound either to return an answer or to obey them." Care was also taken to lay down explicitly the doctrine of the responsibility of the regent and his advisers, and strict orders were issued, that whatever measures were adopted by him in the execution of his office should be committed to writing, with the date of the day, and place, and the names of the councillors by whose advice they were adopted, so that each councillor might be responsible to the general council for the advice which he had given. The foreign relations of the country were at the same time placed on a friendly footing by the despatch of an embassy to France, and the appointment of commissioners to determine the propriety of acceding to a truce with England for twenty-eight years.

The financial affairs of the country were next taken into consideration; and it was agreed to raise eleven thousand pounds for the common necessities of the kingdom, according to an equitable system of taxation, which was extended to the clergy and to the burgesses who were resident beyond the Forth, as well as to the burghers in other parts of the kingdom. The enactment which followed showed in a very striking manner the frightful state of anarchy and disorder to which the country had been reduced under the feeble government and the mal-administration of Albany. Considering, it was said, "the great and horrible destructions, herschips, burning, and slaughter, which disgraced the kingdom, it was ordained by consent of the three Estates, that every sheriff should make proclamation, that no man riding or going through the country be accompanied with more attendants than they are able to pay for; and that, under penalty of the loss of goods, no man disturb the country by such slaughters, burnings, raids, and destructions, as had been common under the late governor." The Act also declared, that, "after such proclamation has been made, the sheriff shall use all diligence to discover and arrest the offenders, and shall bind them over to appear and stand their trial at the next Justice Ayre:" if unable to find bail, they were immediately to be put to the knowledge of an assize, and, if found guilty, instantly executed. In cases where the power of the offenders rendered their arrest by the sheriff and his officers impossible, that functionary was instructed to declare the names of such, "enjoining them within fifteen days to come and find bail to appear and stand their trial, under the penalty that all who do not obey this summons shall be put to the king's horn, and their goods and estates confiscated."*

The tranquillity which followed the elevation of Rothesay to the office of governor, was destined to be of brief duration. The marriage of the prince was earnestly desired by all his friends, and especially by his mother, as the most likely means of correcting those scandalous irregularities in which he still indulged. But Albany, who contrived to obtain the management of the affair, succeeded in rendering it subservient to the advancement of his own designs, by holding up his nephew to contempt, and embroiling him with the most powerful nobles of his father's court. He made it publicly understood that the hand of the heir-apparent to the throne should be assigned to the highest bidder; and the Earl of March having offered the largest dowry, and paid down a part of the sum, his daughter was affianced to the prince.

Marriage of the Duke of Rothesay.

But the powerful Earl of Douglas, jealous of the aggrandizement of his rival, objected to the match, and by the payment of a much more splendid dowry than had been promised by March, he prevailed upon Albany to set aside the previous agreement, and to prefer his daughter to Elizabeth of Dunbar.† The only apology offered to March for this scandalous breach of faith, was the shallow pretence that the sanction of the three Estates had not been given to the proposed marriage; whilst, to consummate the injustice of this nefarious transaction, an evasive reply was returned, when the earl demanded the restoration of the sum which had been advanced by him as part of his daughter's marriage portion. March was not of a temper tamely to brook the gross insult which had been offered to his family; and on learning that the marriage of Rothesay with the daughter of Douglas had been precipitately concluded, he committed the charge of his castle of Dunbar—the key of the eastern marches—to Sir Robert Maitland, his nephew, renounced his allegiance to the Scottish king, and took refuge in England, where he entered into negotiations with Henry IV. His extensive

Disgraceful treatment of the Earl of March by Albany and Douglas.

He flees to the English court.

* MS. Record of Parliament; Tytler, vol. iii. pp. 75—79.
† Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 428.

estates were immediately seized by the Douglases, and the strong fortress of Dunbar was surrendered to them without a blow, by the weak and timid youth to whom March had intrusted it.* So great was the apprehension that this important fortress might be betrayed into the hands of the English, that the king took the field in person for its reduction; but, before he reached Dunbar, the castle was yielded to the son of Douglas. The continuator of Fordun mentions an incident which occurred during this expedition, highly creditable to the good feeling and principle of the amiable monarch. After waiting at Haddington for three days, for the arrival of various reinforcements, the royal army prepared to march, and the king's foot was in his stirrup when a poor butcher begged an audience, to complain of the conduct of an officer of the royal household, who had not paid for the meat which had been ordered for the king's table. Robert listened patiently to the statement, and as the officer could not be found, he paid the sum himself. He then ordered a proclamation to be made at the market-cross, that all debts due by his attendants should be instantly paid, and in future always observed this rule on leaving any place;—a praiseworthy example, which the legislature in vain strove to compel his nobles to follow.† The people, we are told, on this occasion remembered with pleasure a similar incident which occurred at the coronation of the kind and simple-hearted monarch, and which is thus related by Bower:—The coronation took place in harvest, and the ripe crops in the fields belonging to the monastery of Scone were trampled down and destroyed by the nobles and their followers. One of the monks, who filled the office of store-keeper, attempted to obtain an audience of the king, for the purpose of claiming some compensation; but the royal chamberlain contemptuously refused him admission. Determined, however, to obtain redress, he had recourse to the following whimsical mode of gaining the royal ear. Early on the morning after the coronation, before the king had awoke, the priest assembled the farm-servants and cottars belonging to the monastery, who, bearing an image stuffed with straw, and armed with the drums, horns, and rattles which they used in their rustic festivals, took their station under the windows of the royal bedchamber, and struck up such a peal of yells, horns, and rattles, that the court awoke with terror and dismay. The leader of the rabble rout was instantly seized and dragged before the king, who demanded the meaning of this strange uproar. "Please your Majesty," was his reply, "what you have just heard are our rejoicings when our crops are gathered in; and as you and your nobles have spared us the trouble and expense of cutting them down this season, we thought ourselves bound in gratitude to give you a specimen of our harvest jubilee." The nobles were indignant at this sarcastic exposure of their conduct, and would have punished the plain-spoken priest, but the good-natured monarch ordered an immediate inquiry into the damage done to the monastery, and not only paid the full amount, but applauded the humour and courage of the ecclesiastic.*

Amiable character of the king.

During the struggle for the supremacy between the heir apparent to the Scottish throne and his intriguing relative, an extraordinary revolution had taken place in England. The weak and dissolute Richard II. had been deposed by Henry of Lancaster, who ascended the throne under the title of Henry IV.† To the new sovereign the renewal of the truce with Scotland was a matter of great importance, menaced as he was at home by the intrigues of the adherents of the deposed monarch; but the fierce borderers, who had submitted with impatience to the restraints of the treaty, which deprived them of their accustomed occupations of war and plunder, were eager for the renewal of hostilities, and, as soon as the truce expired, they broke across the marches in considerable force, and stormed the castle of Wark in the absence of the governor, Sir Robert Gray, besides ravaging the surrounding country.‡ The northern counties of England were ill prepared to repel the marauders, in consequence of the dissensions which enfeebled the new government, and a pestilence which then raged with unusual severity; but Sir Robert Umfraville hastily collected a body of troops, and defeated the Scots at Fullhopelaw, capturing a number of their leaders.§ The border districts thus became once more the scene of predatory warfare and unsparing ravage.

Deposition of Richard II., and accession of Henry IV. to the English throne.

The borderers renew their inroads.

If the Scottish government had entertained any desire at this time to renew the truce with England, these inroads would have been easily restrained; but there is reason to believe that this renewal of hostilities took place with the connivance of the king and Albany, who regarded Henry with dislike, as a lawless usurper. It suited also the interests of France, with which Scotland had again formed an alliance, that the treaty with England should not be renewed; and various circumstances occurred to disturb the amity which had for some time existed between the two countries. Shortly after his deposition, Richard II. was reported to have died in Pontefract Castle; but an extraordinary story arose in Scotland, that the dethroned monarch had escaped from his enemies, and after many wanderings had found refuge in the Western Isles of Scotland, where he

A real or pretended Richard appears in Scotland.

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 429. † Ibid. pp. 448, 449.

* Fordun, vol. iv. pp. 1111, 1112; Tytler, vol. iii. pp. 62, 63.

† The deposition of Richard appears to have excited great surprise and indignation in Scotland. Wyntown says, it was extraordinary for us to hear that

"A crownyt king nane heretike,
Provit, convict, kend, nor knawyn,
Was thus undone among his awyn,
As ane auld abbot sa put downe
For open dilapidation."—vol. ii. p. 386.

‡ Walsingham, p. 362.

§ Rymer, Foed. vol. viii. p. 162.

was recognized by the sister-in-law of Donald, Lord of the Isles, who had known him in Ireland. It is certain that a person of weak intellect, bearing the name of Richard II., resided in Stirling Castle for the long period of nineteen years from this date, and was professedly regarded by the Scottish government as the rightful sovereign of England.* Henry, however, declared this person to be an impostor, and, indignant at this attempt to raise up a claimant to the English throne, he gave a cordial welcome to the fugitive Earl of March, and declared his determination to restore him, by force of arms, to his castle and estates. For this purpose he thought proper to revive the old claim of supremacy on the part of England, and prepared, as Lord Superior of Scotland, to conduct an expedition into that country for the purpose of chastising his rebellious vassal. While preparations for the invasion of Scotland were in progress, March, in company with Hotspur and Lord Talbot, crossed the border at the head of two thousand men, and marching through the estates which had once been his own property, they laid waste the country. After an unsuccessful assault on the castle of Hailes, they burned several villages, and, having collected a considerable booty, they encamped at Linton, where they proposed to pass the night. But Archibald Douglas, the eldest son of the earl, advancing rapidly from Edinburgh against them, they made a precipitate retreat, leaving behind their tents and plunder. They were pursued during the whole night by the Scots, who captured a considerable number of them in the wood of Colbrandspath, and continued the chase to the gates of Berwick, where they took the lance and pennon of Lord Talbot.†

March and Hotspur make an inroad into Scotland.

Soon after this, Henry began his march to Scotland, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army. On reaching Newcastle he despatched a herald to summon King Robert and the great barons of Scotland to meet him at Edinburgh, on the twenty-third of August, and there do him homage as their lord paramount.‡ A scoffing ballad was the only answer returned to this absurd demand;§ and Henry, continuing his march, reached Leith, where he met his fleet, and obtained a supply of provisions for his army. The castle of Edinburgh was held by Rothesay, the governor, and he, incensed at the insolence of the English king, sent him a defiance, and stated, that to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, he was willing to decide the quarrel by a combat of one hundred, two hundred, or three hundred nobles on each side. Henry evaded this proposal, and in answer expressed his surprise that Rothesay should think of saving Christian blood at the expense of shedding that of the nobility, who, it was to be hoped, were Christians as well as others.* Albany had in the meantime collected a numerous army, and advanced towards the capital with the apparent design of raising the siege; but on reaching Calder Moor he pitched his tents, and sent a herald to Henry to say, that if he would remain in his position for six days he should give him battle. The English monarch readily accepted the challenge, and gave his mantle and a chain of gold to the herald, in token of his satisfaction with the message he had brought.† But Albany had no intention of keeping his word, and allowed Henry unmolested to prosecute the siege of Edinburgh Castle, which was gallantly held out by Rothesay, assisted by his father-in-law the Earl of Douglas. The garrison was numerous and well provisioned, and, animated by the example of their young governor, they resolved to defend the fortress to the last extremity; on the other hand, the English troops were suffering both from sickness and scarcity of provisions. Henry, therefore, finding that nothing was to be gained by continuing the siege, prudently resolved to lead back his army into England. His movements were accelerated by intelligence of a rebellion having broken out in Wales, headed by the celebrated chieftain, Owen Glendower.

Expedition of Henry IV. into Scotland—

—his retreat—

This was the last invasion of Scotland, conducted in person by an English monarch; and although the issue of the campaign was inglorious to Henry, it is impossible not to admire the noble forbearance with which it was conducted, contrasting so honourably with all preceding and subsequent invasions of Scotland. Whatever were the motives which induced him to undertake this expedition, he disdained to stain his banner by acts of plunder and cruelty. His advance and retreat, through a country which could offer no resistance, were alike orderly. The submission of the inhabitants secured at once his protection to their persons and property, and a banner with the arms of England hung over the walls of any village, monastery, or fortalice, was a sign of inviolability, which the fiercest of his soldiers were compelled to respect. When two canons belonging to the monastery of Holyrood waited upon him, and earnestly implored him to spare their house, he replied with great courtesy, "Never, while I live, shall I cause distress to any religious house whatever; and God forbid that the monastery of Holyrood, the asylum of my father (John of Gaunt), when an exile, should suffer aught from his son! I am myself a Cumin, and by this side half a Scot; and I come here with my army, not to ravage the land, but to answer the defiance of certain amongst you who have branded me as a traitor, to see

—moderation displayed by him in this invasion.

* See Appendix to vol. iii. of Tytler's History, for a statement of the arguments in favour of the identity of Richard II. with the person who lived and died in Stirling Castle, bearing the name of that monarch; and for an answer to Mr. Tytler's remarks, see an article by Mr. Amyot, in the 23rd vol. of the "Archæologia," p. 277; Riddell's "Legal and Antiquarian Tracts;" and Lord Dover's "Dissertation on the Manners and Period of the Death of Richard the Second."

† Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 429.

‡ Rymer, Foed. vol. viii. pp. 157, 158.

§ Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 57.

* Rymer, Foed. vol. viii. p. 58.

† Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 58.

whether they dare make good the opprobrious epithets with which I am loaded in their letters to the French king, which were intercepted by my people, and are now in my possession.*

Enactments of the Scottish parliament.

At this period, (21st February, 1401,) a meeting of the great National Council was held at Scone, in which many judicious laws were passed, chiefly affecting the tenure of property, and the procedure of the criminal courts. Feudal superiors were forbidden to resume the lands held by their vassals, without due and lawful cause; nor was the resumption to be valid in any case, unless conducted according to legal forms, after a public intimation in the parish church, and an opportunity granted to the defaulter to recover his rights. Where the succession was disputed, it was to be settled by a jury before the sheriff in open court; and, with the view of preventing a common source of contention, it was enacted, that a younger brother dying childless should be succeeded by the immediate elder brother, in the possession of the lands which he had personally acquired. It was at the same time ordained, that sheriffs should have clerks, appointed by the crown, — should keep regular minutes of their proceedings, and should appear annually before the King's Exchequer Court with their accounts,—that no bail should be admitted in the case of persons accused of heinous crimes; among whom are particularly mentioned such as had been excommunicated or arrested by the order of a bishop,—that the complaints of churchmen, widows, and orphans, should be heard and judged in without delay and without requisition of securities,—that justiciary courts should be held twice a year on both sides of the Forth,—that ecclesiastical offenders should have a right of appeal, first to the conservator of the clergy, and ultimately to the General Assembly of the Church,—and that the trial by combat should be allowed only when a capital crime had been committed so secretly that ordinary sources of evidence could not be appealed to, there being at the same time some prevalent and probable suspicions attaching to the accused. Regulations were also enacted respecting "the assize of weights and measures," and the coinage of the realm, which had been greatly deteriorated. The catching of salmon within the forbidden season, the killing of hares in time of snow, and the burning of moors except in the month of March, were strictly prohibited, under heavy penalties.

Death of the Queen, the Earl of Douglas, and Bishop Trail.

Shortly after the conclusion of the war with England, the collision between the Duke of Rothesay and his uncle Albany terminated fatally for the former. The queen his mother, his father-in-law the Earl of Douglas, and the venerable Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, whose united wisdom and authority had hitherto restrained to some extent the turbulence and licentiousness of the prince, and counteracted the ambitious designs of Albany, all died within a short period of each other; and, according to Fordun, it was said commonly through the land, that the glory and honesty of Scotland were buried with these three noble persons.* Freed from their control, Rothesay broke out into those scandalous irregularities which embittered the life of his aged father, alienated the affections of all whom he ought to have conciliated, and afforded an opportunity to his cool and crafty enemy to effect his long-meditated destruction. His frank, generous, and courageous disposition, made him a favourite with the people in spite of his vices; but advancing years do not seem to have produced any favourable change in his character. He surrounded himself with gay and profligate companions, with whom he ran to the greatest excess in dissipation and riot, and he is even said to have abused the power intrusted to him as governor of the kingdom, to violate the laws and to plunder the collectors of the public revenue. He had long been the object of bitter hatred to Albany, both as the detector of his intrigues and as the great obstacle between him and the crown, and his wild and thoughtless disposition made him an easy prey to his cunning and unprincipled relative. It was also unfortunate for Rothesay that his conduct had raised against him several powerful enemies, whose desire of revenge induced them to join the conspiracy for his destruction. He was a negligent and unfaithful husband, and had in consequence roused the fierce resentment of his wife's brother, Archibald, Earl of Douglas. He had slighted, at some former period, the sister of Sir William Linsday, of Rossie, who had long meditated revenge,† while in Sir John Ramorgny he found an enemy more dangerous than either. To high talents for public business, and elegant accomplishments, unusual among the Scottish barons of that age, Ramorgny united a heart thoroughly corrupt, and an audacious and implacable disposition. He had been for some time the chosen companion of the prince, whose foibles he flattered, while he pandered to his excesses, and Rothesay, captivated by a graceful gaiety so congenial to his own nature, overlooked, or did not suspect, the consummate villany of his associate. In a moment of confidence, Ramorgny is said to have proposed to the prince the assassination of his uncle, as the easiest mode of freeing himself from his intriguing and dangerous rival. But Rothesay, who, with all his faults, was generous

Wild and reckless conduct of Rothesay.

Character and intrigues of Sir John Ramorgny.

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 430.

* Wyntown mentions, that the fourth great pestilence which devastated Scotland appeared in 1401: but it does not appear that any of these great persons fell a victim to it. The metrical historian adds,—

"The comet appeared that year,
A fair bright stern (star) and a clear,
That stern appearing signifies,
As clerks find in great treatys,
Death of princes or pestilence,
To fale or wede with violence:
And thither the beams it strikes all,
Where these casis (casualties) first shall fall."
vol. ii. p. 396.

† Fordun, vol. ii. p. 432.

and high-spirited, recoiled in horror from the proposal, and, after bitterly reproaching Ramorgny, renounced his society, while the latter, stung by the scorn of the prince, from that moment became his bitter enemy, and, joining the faction of Albany, lent all his aid to accomplish the ruin of his former patron.

A deep-laid scheme was concerted for the destruction of the unhappy prince, which was speedily carried into execution. By means of artful representations respecting the licentious conduct of his son, and the necessity of restraint, to tame his stubborn spirit, Ramorgny and Lindsay induced the aged monarch to issue an order under the royal signet to Albany, to arrest the prince and place him in temporary confinement. No time was lost in carrying this mandate into effect. Rothesay was inveigled into Fife for the purpose of taking possession of the castle of St. Andrews, till the election of a successor to the deceased prelate; and as he rode toward that place, accompanied by a slender retinue, he was seized near Strathtyrum by Ramorgny and Lindsay, and conveyed a prisoner to the castle of St. Andrews until Albany and his council, who were assembled at Culross, should determine the place of his confinement. Shortly after, Albany and Douglas, with a strong body of followers, arrived at St. Andrews, and, mounting the unfortunate prisoner on a cart-horse, and covering his dress with a russet cloak, conveyed him to the royal palace of Falkland, and thrust him into a dungeon, where he soon after died. The manner of his death is one of those vexed questions in history, on which, amid conflicting statements, it is difficult to speak with certainty. The account generally adopted by modern historians may be given in the words of Tytler:* "For fifteen days, the unhappy prince was suffered to remain without food, under the charge of two ruffians, named Wright and Selkirk, whose task it was to watch the agony of their victim till it ended in death. It is said, that for a while the wretched prisoner was preserved in a remarkable manner by the kindness of a poor woman, who, in passing through the garden of Falkland, and attracted by his groans to the grated window of his dungeon, which was level with the ground, became acquainted with his story. It was her custom to steal thither at night, and bring him food, by dropping small cakes through the grating, whilst her own milk, conducted through a pipe to his mouth, was the only way he could be supplied with drink. But Wright and Selkirk, suspecting from his appearance that he had some secret supply, watched, and detected the charitable visitant, and the prince was abandoned to his fate. When nature at last sunk, his body was found in a state too horrible to be described, but which showed that, in the extremity of hunger, he had gnawed and torn his own flesh. It was then carried to the monastery of Lindores, and there privately buried, while a report was circulated that the prince had been taken ill and died of dysentery." According to the same authority, Albany, loudly accused of his nephew's murder, demanded the judgment of the parliament; and, after a public examination by the great council (which is pronounced to have been "a solemn farce") regarding the causes of Rothesay's death, was acquitted, receiving, at the same time, a full remission drawn up under the king's seal.*

Plot against the Duke of Rothesay—

—his imprisonment and death.

—controversy respecting the mode of his death—

To this tragic story, the enmity of Albany to the ill-fated Rothesay, and the death of the latter while his prisoner, doubtless lend countenance; but it derives no support from any authentic record, and is therefore, in all probability, to be classed among those cases in which history has been sacrificed to effect. It appears for the first time in the pages of Hector Boece, whose fertile fancy found congenial employment in embellishing with fictitious horrors a story in itself sufficiently tragic. Wyntown, who was a contemporary historian, narrates simply the fact of the death and burial of the prince, without a word as to the perpetration of a murder.† Bower, the continuator of Fordun, who could be influenced by no fears of Albany's vengeance, such as are supposed by some to have constrained the silence of Wyntown, expressly states that the prince died of dysentery, adding merely the remark, as if it were an idle popular rumour, that a report arose of his having died of hunger.‡ The death of Rothesay, in short, whatever were the ulterior designs of Albany when he placed him under restraint, may be easily accounted for by disease, superinduced by irritation and confinement, working on a constitution enfeebled by a long course of vicious indulgence.

—unsupported by trustworthy evidence.

By the death of his nephew, and the increasing infirmities of the aged and bereaved monarch, Albany became once more governor of the kingdom. In spite of the truce between England and Scotland, the borderers in both countries continued to wage war with their accustomed ferocity. The Earl of March was naturally indignant to see his vast patrimonial estates in the hand of his rival, Douglas, and, assisted by the Percies, he made several destructive inroads upon the eastern marches. The men of the Merse were attached to the cause of their exiled chief, and no longer showed their usual alacrity in making incursions

Albany regains the office of governor.

* History, vol. iii. pp. 106, 107

* Lord Hailes, who has printed this deed in his remarks on the History of Scotland, observes, that the pardon taken out by Albany and Douglas was as broad and comprehensive in its terms as if they had actually been guilty of the murder which they denied. The deed contains a mysterious allusion to the motives of the persons who executed the mandate for the prince's confinement, and which are expressly said to be concealed for a sufficient reason. See Appendix, Note XII.

† Vol. ii. p. 397.

‡ "The prince was kept in the castle by John Selkirk and John Wright, until, having wasted away by dysentery, or, as others will have it, by hunger, he died on the seventh of the kalends of April."—Vol. ii. p. 431.

on the English border; and by the advice of the Earl of Douglas, the barons of Lothian agreed to assemble their followers, for the purpose of conducting a series of expeditions into England, and to intrust the command, by turns, to the bravest amongst them. Their first raid was successful, but in the second, led by the younger Hepburn, of Hailes, the Scots, having penetrated far into Northumberland, were intercepted on their return by Percy and March, at a place called West Nesbit, in the Merse, three miles south of Dunse.*

Defeat of the Scots at West Nesbit.

A fierce conflict ensued, in which the Scots, though greatly inferior in numbers, being well armed and mounted, made an obstinate resistance, till borne down by the Master of Dunbar, who, in the heat of the conflict, joined his father and Percy, with two hundred fresh soldiers from the garrison of Berwick. The gallant leader of the Scots was slain, and the Haliburtons, Cockburns, Lauders, and other brave knights, and the flower of the chivalry of the Lothians, either shared his fate or were taken prisoners.†

The Scots invade England.

Douglas, incensed at this disaster, collected an army of ten thousand men, and, accompanied by Murdoch, Albany's eldest son, the Earls of Moray and Angus, Fergus M'Dowall, of Galloway, with a body of his fierce and half-armed vassals, and many other Scottish barons, invaded England, and laid waste the country as far as the gates of Newcastle, without opposition. The English monarch was at this juncture engaged in suppressing the rebellion of Owen Glendower; but the charge of the borders had been intrusted to the veteran Earl of Northumberland, and his son the renowned Hotspur; and these experienced leaders, along with the Earl of March, who possessed an intimate knowledge of border warfare, collected a powerful army, and resolved to intercept the Scots on their return to their own country, when burdened with spoil and lulled into security by the apparent terror of the English. This prudent policy was attended with complete success. Douglas had reached Wooler on his march homeward, when he received intelligence that Hotspur, at the head of a powerful army, barred his way, and was advancing to attack him. The Scottish leader immediately drew up his men on a neighbouring eminence, called Homildon Hill. The courage of Douglas cannot be questioned, but his errors as a general were many and grave. The position which he selected

Battle of Homildon Hill.

was completely commanded by various eminences, especially by one directly in front, and of which his enemies, by a strange fatality, were allowed leisurely to take possession, and form in order of battle. The dense ranks of the Scottish spearmen were thus exposed, without the power of resistance, to the fatal shot of the English archers, who composed a large portion of Percy's army, while the obvious movement of dispersing them, by means of a body of light cavalry, seems not to have been thought of. Hotspur, with characteristic impetuosity, proposed an immediate charge on the Scots with his men-at-arms, but March, who was destined on this occasion to prove the evil genius of his country, seized his bridle-reins, and suggested that the bowmen should first advance and try the effects of their archery. The scenes which followed were painfully similar to those which marked the disastrous battle of Halidon Hill. Marching to the front, the English archers poured their volleys, thick as hail, upon their foes, whose ranks, says an ancient writer, were so closely wedged together that a breath of air could scarcely penetrate their files, making it impossible for them to wield their weapons.* The Scots, most of whom were clad in light armour, fell in hundreds; the knights found even their chain-mail no defence against the deadly shafts of the bowmen, and dropped fast from their horses, which, wounded and ungovernable, rushed madly hither and thither, increasing the confusion and trampling the wounded to death.

The Scottish archers attempted to restore the fight to more equal terms; but at no time able to cope with their enemies in the use of the bow, and distracted by the confusion and carnage around them, their arrows fell short of the mark, or effected but little damage. In this extremity, a brave knight, Sir John Swinton, exclaimed, "Why stand we here to be shot like deer, and marked down by the enemy? Where is our wonted courage? Are we to be still and have our hands nailed to our lances? Follow me, and let us, at least, sell our lives as dearly as we can." This gallant proposal won the admiration of Sir Adam Gordon, a young border noble, whose family had long been at feud with that of Swinton, and, throwing himself from his horse, and kneeling at his feet, he begged his forgiveness and the honour of knighthood from his hand. "For of hand more noble," he exclaimed, "can I never receive that honour." Swinton granted his request, and, after having hastily performed the ceremony, tenderly embraced his late foe. The two knights then remounted their horses, and at the head of a hundred horsemen charged fiercely on the English host; but, unsupported by their countrymen, the little band, with its gallant leaders, were speedily overpowered and slain. Douglas, whose movements were tardy and irresolute, now made a final effort to retrieve the day by heading his men-at-arms in a desperate charge. This step only completed the overthrow of his already broken host. The English archers, as they slowly fell back upon the cavalry, poured on their advancing foes the same close and deadly discharges; and when the Scots wavered, and at last fled, they flung aside their bows, and with their knives slew or captured many of the enemy. The victory of Homildon Hill was chiefly remarkable as won entirely by the skill of the English archers: of the men-at-arms composing the army of North-

* The spot is still called Slaughter Hill.

† Fordun, vol. ii. p. 433.

* Ancient MS Chron.; Tytler, vol. iii. p. 112.

umberland, scarcely one couched a lance or drew a sword. The loss of the victors was trifling; that of the Scots, in addition to those who fell in the conflict, included fifteen hundred who were drowned while attempting to cross the Tweed in their flight. Besides Douglas himself, who was wounded in five places, Murdoch, the eldest son of Albany, the Earls of Moray and Angus, and eighty nobles and knights, belonging to the chief families of Scotland, were taken prisoners. Besides Swinton and Gordon, Sir John Livingston of Callender, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, Sir Roger Gordon, Sir Walter Scott, Sir Walter Sinclair, and many other knights and squires were left on the field of battle.*

Total defeat of the Scots.

Henry IV. received the tidings of the victory at Homildon with the liveliest satisfaction; but in consequence of his own imprudence, it led to events which placed his throne in imminent danger. By the laws of chivalry, the captive taken in war was entirely at the disposal of the victor, to ransom or hold him prisoner at pleasure; but in violation of this acknowledged right, Henry transmitted orders to the Earl of Northumberland and his son, that none of the Scottish prisoners should be admitted to ransom, or allowed to depart until they should receive further instructions upon the subject. The Percies viewed this interference of the king with great indignation. They had been mainly instrumental in securing the elevation of Henry to the throne; and their late success, while it rendered the conduct of the monarch more irritating, augmented the sense of their power, and determined them on revenge. A conspiracy was accordingly set on foot, the object of which was the dethronement of their ungrateful sovereign. Meanwhile, as a pretext for assembling their forces, and as a blind to their ultimate designs, they announced their intention to invade Scotland, and reduce the country as far as the Frith of Forth. They accordingly marched toward the borders, and laid siege to a small tower called Cocklaws, about three miles to the south of Kelso. The captain of the fortalice agreed to surrender at the end of six weeks, if not relieved by the King of Scotland or the governor, and a messenger was despatched avowedly for the purpose of communicating this convention to Albany, but in reality with the view of inducing him to support the Percies in their conspiracy against King Henry. Albany readily entered into the views of the insurgents, and agreed to invade England in person, at the head of a numerous army. Douglas, with the majority of the captive Scottish knights, had already been gained over to the enterprise; and secret promises of aid from various parts of England gave confidence to the conspirators. The rebellion of Owen Glendower in Wales precipitated their movements. Leaving Scotland, Percy and Douglas hastened to the south, where, on being joined by the Earl of Worcester, they marched upon Wales. Notwithstanding the secrecy and celerity of their proceedings, the English monarch had been apprised of their purpose by the Earl of March, who not only refused to join the confederacy, but warned Henry of the danger which menaced him. He had time, therefore, to assemble a powerful force, and hastened, by forced marches, to intercept the northern insurgents before they could form a junction with Glendower. The two armies, equal in numbers and valour, encountered at Shrewsbury. The conflict which ensued was protracted for three hours, and raged with varying fortune. The fierce charges of Hotspur and Douglas more than once placed the life of Henry in great danger, and nearly decided the battle. But the valour of the Prince of Wales—afterwards Henry V.—sustained the courage of the royal troops; and the death of Hotspur, who fell pierced through the brain with an arrow, was the signal for the rout of his army. The Scottish auxiliaries were nearly all slain, and Douglas, in attempting to escape, was once more wounded and taken prisoner,—thus justifying the name of Tine-man, *i. e.* Lose-man, generally applied to him by his countrymen. Albany, in the mean time, ignorant of these occurrences, had collected an army of forty thousand men, and was hastening to the assistance of the Percies; but on reaching the border, he received intelligence of their defeat in the battle of Shrewsbury, and immediately retracing his steps, he disbanded his army, and turned to employments more congenial to his character.*

Unjust and imprudent conduct of Henry IV.

Conspiracy of the Percies.

Battle of Shrewsbury.

Death of Hotspur.

The government of Albany was as weak and vacillating in peace as it was inglorious in war. His main object was to insure the continuance of his own power, and to weaken and destroy the authority of the king, and the respect due to the royal family. With this view he connived at the encroachments of the nobles on the patrimony and rights both of the sovereign and the people, and allowed their lawless outrages to pass with impunity. A striking instance of the weakness of the law, and the gross partiality of Albany's administration, occurred shortly before the overthrow of the Percies. Sir Malcolm Drummond, brother of the late queen of Scotland, and husband of Isabella, Countess of Mar in her own right, was suddenly surprised in his own castle by a band of ruffians, who cast him into a dungeon, where he soon after died, in consequence of the barbarities inflicted on him. This lawless outrage was universally ascribed to Alexander Stewart, a natural son of the notorious Wolf of Badenoch, brother to Albany, who was the leader of a band of Highland freebooters, and emulated the rapine and bloodshed of his father. Shortly after the murder of Drummond, this ferocious chief, accompanied by a strong body

Albany's weak and partial administration.

Murder of Sir Malcolm Drummond.

* Walsingham, pp. 407, 408 Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 433—435; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 401.

* Fordun, vol. ii. pp. 435—438; Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 405, 406.

of Ketherans, attacked and stormed the castle of Kildrummie, in which the widowed countess had taken up her residence, and either by violence or persuasion induced her to marry him. These shocking deeds excited universal horror, even in that unscrupulous age; and for the purpose of somewhat veiling their atrocity and silencing the clamour for redress, Stewart presented himself at the gate of Kildrummie Castle, and there, in the presence of the Bishop of Ross and the assembled tenantry and vassals, surrendered the keys of the fortress into the hands of the countess, to be disposed of at her pleasure. The lady then declared that she freely chose Stewart for her husband, and that she conferred on him the earldom of Mar and all her possessions. This infamous transaction was legalized and sanctioned by the government, and the king's name was affixed by Albany to a charter, confirming the earldom to this lawless intruder.*

State of the relations between Scotland and England.

Meanwhile the relations of the Scottish government with England continued in a somewhat precarious condition. The absence of those turbulent barons, who had been taken prisoners in the recent battles, tended not a little to the promotion of peace between the two countries; but on the other hand, the reports, which, from time to time, proceeded from Scotland with regard to Richard II. being still alive in that country, and which, whether true or false, Albany took care not to contradict, led to various plots against the government of Henry IV. and exasperated his mind against the Scottish regent. There can be no doubt that Albany was a party to the formidable conspiracy of the Earl of Northumberland, the father of Hotspur, and Scrope, the Archbishop of York, in 1405. After its detection and failure, the Earl, with his grandson, and Lord Bardolf, found refuge in Scotland, where they were kindly received by the regent; and it appears that soon after, the English king had received intelligence of an intended invasion of the Scots, to be led, as he expresses it, "by his common adversary, Robert Duke of Albany, the pretended governor of Scotland."† At this juncture, however, an event occurred which materially altered the feelings with which the Scottish governor and the English monarch regarded each other.

The aged and feeble king of Scotland had long been almost entirely secluded from public affairs, and though deeply anxious for the safety of his only surviving son, James Earl of Carrick, now about fourteen years of age, yet, in the midst of age and infirmities, wholly unable to take effective measures for his security. A few remaining friends of the family, however, watched over the safety of the heir to the throne, and devised means for his protection against the unprincipled ambition of his uncle. The youthful prince was committed to the charge of Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, a prelate of high honour and integrity, and distinguished for his loyalty and his love of letters. Under the care of this eminent scholar, and in company with young Henry Percy, who had found an asylum in the castle of St. Andrews, James was carefully trained in all the accomplishments befitting his rank, and speedily acquired great proficiency both in learning and in the exercises of chivalry. Still, however, apprehensions for the prince's safety continued to be felt both by his aged father and the friends of his house, and it was resolved to send him for a season to France, as the surest means of protecting him from his uncle's intrigues.* His departure was hastened by the discovery of a new proof of the baseness and treachery of Albany. His eldest son, Murdoch, and the Earl of Douglas, were still prisoners in England, along with the other captives taken at Homildon; and it appears that the governor had entered into secret negotiations with Henry to procure their release by surrendering to his vengeance the old Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf, who had sought the protection of the Scottish court. This villanous project was discovered by Sir David Fleming, of Cumbernauld, an intimate friend of Northumberland; and the two unfortunate exiles sought safety in flight. The friends of the royal family feeling assured that a country subjected to the sway of such a governor was no fit residence for the youthful heir to the throne, made all haste to send him to a place of greater security. The necessary preparations being at length completed, the vessel which was to convey him to France was sent to the Bass, and the prince, accompanied by the Earl of Orkney, who was appointed his governor, proceeded to North Berwick, under the protection of Sir David Fleming, and a strong party of the gentlemen of Lothian, who attended him to the ship. On their return they were attacked at Lang-Hermandston by James Douglas, of Balveny, uncle to the earl, in revenge for the conduct of Fleming in facilitating the escape of Percy, and the conveyance of the prince to a place of safety; and after a fierce struggle Fleming and several of his companions fell, and the rest were made prisoners.†

Prince James is committed to the care of Bishop Wardlaw—

—resolution to send him to France.

Skirmish at Lang-Hermandston.

Meanwhile the vessel in which James had embarked was captured off Flamborough Head by an English cruiser, and the prince and his attendants were carried to London, 13th March, 1405, and committed to the Tower. As a truce at that time subsisted between the kingdoms, the capture of James was a flagrant breach of the law of nations, and must ever remain a deep stain on the character of the English monarch. But Henry

The prince is treacherously captured by the English,

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 403, 404. Sutherland Case, by Lord Hailes, chap. v. p. 45.
† Rymer, Foed. vol. viii. p. 414.

* Fordun, vol. ii. p. 439.
† Walsingham, pp. 416, 417. Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 413.

was deaf to all considerations of justice and honour; and to the remonstrances against the cruelty of his conduct, he replied by the heartless witticism, "Had the Scots been grateful they ought to have sent the youth to me, for I understand French well."* This new disaster completely broke the spirit of the poor old King of Scotland, and was probably the cause of his death. He died, as it is commonly believed, of a broken heart, on the 4th of April, 1406, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and Albany immediately obtained the object of his ambition,—the sole and unfettered government of Scotland.

Death of Robert III.—

The leading features in the character of Robert have been already pointed out, and require little additional description. His personal appearance, in spite of his lameness, was noble and dignified, and was rendered peculiarly venerable in advanced life by a flowing beard, which age and sorrow had bleached to a silvery whiteness. His manners were grave, but sweet and affable, and his disposition was affectionate and confiding, though credulous and easily duped. He was eminent for his piety and humility, and possessed in a high degree all the virtues of domestic life. But his personal excellences cannot counterbalance his faults as a king. "It was his great misfortune, it has been justly said, that, like others of his devoted line, his merits were not of a kind suited to the part he was called upon to perform in life." Timid, indolent, and irresolute, he was totally destitute of the energy and activity necessary to hold the reins of government among a fierce and warlike people like the Scots; and he weakly shrunk from the difficulties of his position, and, abandoning his authority to his brother, left his kingdom a prey to all the evils which the unscrupulous ambition of the regent, and the unrestrained licence of his nobles, could inflict. During his life he resolutely declined to erect a monument for himself, according to the custom of the age, and after the example of his father and grandfather, saying, in answer to the remonstrances of his queen on this subject, that it little became a wretched man and the vilest of sinners to erect a proud tomb for his miserable remains, and that he would cheerfully be buried in the meanest shed on earth, could he thus secure rest to his soul in the day of the Lord.* His remains were conveyed, however, to the abbey church of Paisley, and interred before the high altar with every mark of respect.

—his character.

* Walsingham, p. 375; Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 415, 416.

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 440.

REGENCY OF ALBANY.

The death of Robert, as might have been anticipated, produced no change in the administration. The parliament assembled at Perth, and, after declaring that James, Earl of Carrick, was lawful king of the realm, though unjustly detained in England, made choice of Albany as regent of the kingdom, until the freedom of the monarch could be procured.* In the peculiar position of the country, an alliance with France was obviously a matter of great importance. Commissioners were accordingly despatched to the French court, to renew, if possible, the league, offensive and defensive, between the two countries.† In this they were successful; the growing jealousy of France regarding the ambitious designs of Henry IV. rendering the friendship of the Scots in the highest degree desirable.

Nomination of Albany as regent by the parliament at Perth.

Alliance with France.

Meanwhile, the harmony between England and Scotland continued undisturbed, as it was evidently the interest of the rulers of both countries to remain at peace. Henry, occupied with the conquest of France, sought to secure the neutrality of the sister kingdom in the coming struggle, while the residence of the captive king, and many of the nobles at his court, gave him an influence in the national councils of which he was not slow to avail himself. Though the unjustifiable imprisonment of James had excited general indignation in Scotland, the regent and his party did not participate in this feeling. It became now, indeed, the main object of the diplomacy of Albany to secure at once the detention of James in England, and the liberation of his son Murdoch, and of Douglas, and the other nobles who were either friendly to him, or might be gained over to support his views. He felt himself completely in the power of the English monarch, who could at any moment, by restoring the young king to liberty, peril his authority, and destroy his hopes. His only safe course, therefore, was the maintenance of friendship with Henry, and happily for the welfare of the nation, the selfish designs of the regent gave to the country a brief breathing-time of peace, during which it began to recover, though slowly, from the effects of wasting inroads and internal misgovernment. The friendly dispositions of Albany were met on the part of Henry by a policy alike just and conciliatory. Besides endeavouring to restrain the piracies of the English cruisers who infested the coasts of Scotland, and provoked reprisals on the part of the armed navy of the Scots, he sought to promote kindly intercourse between the two countries by repressing the lawless habits of the borderers, and readily granting letters of safe conduct to such of the nobles or merchants of Scotland as were desirous of visiting his kingdom. Negotiations also were resumed for the freedom of the

Policy of Albany and of Henry IV.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 418.

† Records of the Parliament of Scotland, pp. 137, 138.

Scottish prisoners. In these, with strange significancy, the name of James was not mentioned.

The Earls of Douglas and March return to Scotland.

Henry listened with favour to the overtures of Albany, in so far as they related to the liberation of Douglas, who was permitted to return for a year to Scotland, on the payment of a thousand marks, and the delivery of thirteen hostages, belonging to the first families in the kingdom, as a guarantee for his faithful observance of the terms of leave.* The earl succeeded ultimately in obtaining his freedom, on payment of a large ransom. About the same period, George Dunbar, Earl of March, the great rival of Douglas, made his peace with the government, and returned to his own country. The fierce feud between these two powerful nobles had been gradually moderated during their residence at the court of England, and now terminated in complete reconciliation. March was not unwilling to return to Scotland. The hope of recovering his possessions by English aid had long since vanished, while the chief authors of his wrongs were either dead, or disposed to treat him with kindness. Henry IV. had rewarded his important services by the grant of extensive estates in England, and viewed with favour the residence in Scotland of a powerful noble strongly attached to his cause. Albany was anxious to secure the aid of his great influence to the government, and Douglas, who, during the exile of March, had occupied his estates, now agreed to restore the whole of these immense possessions, with the exception of the lordship of Annandale, and the castle of Lochmaben;† and the earl, after ten years' absence, resumed his place in the councils of the nation. The presence and friendship of these two potent nobles exerted a salutary influence on the government, besides securing the defence and promoting the peace of the borders, where the petty chiefs, in the absence of their superiors, had indulged, without restraint, their habits of outrage and plunder.

Expiry of the truce, and capture of Jedburgh by the Scottish borderers.

The truce with England expired about this period, and the Teviotdale borderers immediately recommenced hostilities, and stormed and took the castle of Jedburgh, which had remained in the hands of the English since the battle of Durham. In accordance with a policy recommended by the authority of Robert Bruce, it was resolved to demolish this strong fortress, which, in the hands of the enemy, had subjected the surrounding districts to incessant annoyance. The fortifications, however, were found to be unusually strong, as the mortar, hardened by time, had converted the walls into one solid mass, and their removal promised to be attended with great labour and expense. The destruction of the building was considered as so important, that, in a parliament held at Perth, it was proposed to defray the cost by levying a tax of two pennies on every hearth in Scotland. But Albany, desirous of popularity, opposed the plan, declaring that, during his administration, no such tax ever had been, or ever should be, imposed; nor would he now merit the maledictions of the poor by a contrary course. He therefore gave orders that the sum required should be defrayed from the common customs of the country.* It deserves to be recorded, as an example of the regent's peculiar talent in availing himself of favourable opportunities to strengthen his power, that this display of generosity, which cost him nothing, probably did more to exalt him in popular esteem, than any of the few acts in his administration from which the nation derived real benefit. The reduction of Jedburgh Castle by the Scots, was followed by a series of petty enterprises, which tended still farther to weaken the English influence in Scotland. Fast Castle, built on a bold and almost inaccessible promontory, overhanging the German Ocean, had been occupied by an English pirate and freebooter, named Holder, who continued to fill the neighbourhood with the terror of his deeds. In spite, however, of the strength of the fortress, and a desperate defence by the garrison, Patrick Dunbar, son of the Earl of March, succeeded in capturing it, and crushing the nest of robbers to whom it had so long given shelter.† The town of Roxburgh, also, which still remained in the hands of the English, was attacked by Gawin Dunbar, March's second son, in company with Archibald Douglas of Drumlanrig, and given to the flames. To revenge these losses, Robert Umfraville, Vice-Admiral of England, entered the Forth with ten ships, and after capturing fourteen vessels loaded with grain and merchandise, swept the adjoining coasts with his fleet, inflicting everywhere heavy damage. The grain thus acquired proved a seasonable supply to England, at that time afflicted with partial famine, and procured for Umfraville the expressive surname of "Robin Mendmarket."‡ Farther hostilities between the two countries were arrested by proposals for a renewal of the truce, and as Henry and Albany were favourable to the object, a treaty was concluded for a year. While negotiations were in progress, the presumptuous hopes of Albany were sufficiently indicated by the language which he adopted in his letters to the English king. He styled himself regent, "by the grace of God," and the people, "our subjects of Scotland."§ Henry, however, prudently took no notice of this assumption, as his own title to the throne was less valid than that of Albany to the regency of Scotland. The truce, though brief, was fortunate for Scotland, now on the eve of one of those great domestic quarrels which, at different periods, not merely endangered the throne, but the civilization of the country, in the contests between Saxon and Celt.

Fast Castle is taken, and Roxburgh burnt by the Scots.

Sir Robert Umfraville captures fourteen Scottish ships.

Harl. MSS.; Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 87, note 4. Fordun, vol. ii. p. 444.

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 444.
† Ibid.
‡ Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 90.
§ Rymer, Foed. vol. viii. p. 635; Ibid. p. 91.

Rebellion of the Lord of the Isles—

The Western Islands had been for many ages governed by a race of rude, but powerful chiefs, who, far removed from the seat of government, assumed, as Lords of the Isles, the state of petty kings, and made war, or formed alliances, as independent sovereigns. During the vigorous administration of Robert Bruce, they had been compelled to do homage, as vassals to the Scottish crown; but during the "troublous times" of his successors, they found it easy to resume that independence of which they had been deprived. Donald of the Isles, the present chief, laid claim to the earldom of Ross, which included the island of Skye, and a large portion of the north-west coast of Scotland. His pretensions were not without a show of justice, and, supported as they were, by an army of savage clansmen, excited in the government serious alarm for the result.

—causes of his discontent—

The ancient line of Ross terminated in Euphemia, who married Sir Walter Lesley. A son and daughter were the fruit of this union—Alexander, who became Earl of Ross in right of his mother, and Margaret, who was wedded to Donald of the Isles. Alexander married Isabel, daughter of the Duke of Albany, by whom he had an only daughter, also named Euphemia. This lady having formed the resolution of retiring into a convent, proposed to resign the earldom of Ross in favour of her maternal uncle, John, Earl of Buchan, the second son of the regent. This proposal, however, was strenuously resisted by Donald of the Isles, who contended that Euphemia by her religious vows was dead in law, and could make no valid disposition either of title or estate, both of which, he held, belonged lawfully to himself in right of his wife.* The pretensions of the island chief, as might have been expected, were summarily repelled by the regent; but Donald, confident in his strength, incited by the greatness of the stake, and desirous to impress the English monarch, whose alliance he courted, with a favourable idea of his power, resolved to enforce his claims by an appeal to arms. At the head of ten thousand Highlanders he crossed to the mainland, and seized on the disputed earldom, the inhabitants of which readily submitted to his authority. Having taken Dingwall, where he encountered a brave but unsuccessful resistance from a chief named Black Angus, Donald marched through Moray, Strath-bogie, and Garioch, plundering and laying waste the whole country—his army receiving constant accessions from the Highlanders, who were induced either by force or the hope of plunder to follow his banner. Emboldened by success, he threatened not only to give the town of Aberdeen to sack and flame, but to make a desert of the country as far as the banks of the Tay.† His progress, however, was arrested by Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, whose military fame and knowledge of Highland warfare eminently qualified him to stop the desolating march of Donald and his savage hordes.

—he ravages the northern districts—

—is opposed by the Earl of Mar—

In his earlier days, Mar had been the leader of a band of Highland freebooters, and had raised himself to rank and opulence by means worthy of his descent as the son of the Wolf of Badenoch.* Amidst all his rudeness and ferocity, however, there must have been something noble in his disposition, for, after his elevation to the dignity of the earldom, a great change took place in his character; and he obtained high renown both in Scotland and England on account of his valour and skill in the exercises of chivalry. His restless spirit and love of fame carried him abroad in quest of distinction; and, according to Wyntown, during a three months' residence in Paris he kept open house, and was highly honoured for his wit, virtue, and bounty.† From the court of France he proceeded to Bruges, and joined the army which the Duke of Burgundy was leading to the assistance of his brother, John of Bavaria, the bishop elect of Liege—"a clerk nocht clerklike appearing,"—who was in danger from a rebellion of the people of his diocese. The subsequent victory at Liege was mainly owing to the skill and courage of Mar, who slew in single combat Sir Henry Horn, the leader of the insurgents. On his return to his own country, he exerted himself vigorously to repress the disorders of the northern counties; and at a recent period, when the coasts of Scotland were ravaged by the English cruisers, he manned a fleet at his own expense, and made reprisals on the enemy. "It was a singular chance," says Sir Walter Scott, "that brought against Donald, who might be called the King of the Gael, one whose youth had been distinguished as a leader of their plundering bands; and no less strange, that the islander's claim to the earldom of Ross should be traversed by one whose title to that of Mar was so much more challengeable."

—character of the earl.

As soon as Mar took the field against the Lord of the Isles, the lowland gentry of Aberdeenshire, Mearns, and Angus flocked to his standard. Sir Alexander Ogilvy, sheriff of Angus, brought up the principal gentlemen of that district: Sir James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee, and hereditary standard-bearer of Scotland, Sir Alexander Irving of Drum, Sir Robert Maule, Sir William Abernethy, nephew to Albany, and many other knights, joined Mar at the head of their retainers,

* Sutherland Case, by Lord Hailes, chap. v. sect. 7.
† Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 444.

* See ante, p. 249.
† "Door and yett (gate) baith gart he,
Ay stand open that men might se,
Enter all time at their plesance,
To eat or drink or sing or dance;
Of all nations generally
Commended he was gretumly
Of wit, virtue, and largess,
With all that he with known was."
Vol. ii. pp. 424, 425.

while the town of Aberdeen sent out a gallant body of burgesses under Sir Robert Davidson their provost. The two armies encountered at the village of Harlaw, on the water of Ury, about ten miles north-west of Aberdeen. Mar's forces were immensely outnumbered by those of his opponent, but this disproportion was to a considerable extent compensated by their martial skill, and the superiority of their arms and armour. Animated by the old and deep-rooted hostility between the Gael and the Saxons, the armies joined battle with the most inveterate fury. The Constable of Dundee and Sir Alexander Ogilvy, who commanded the van of Mar's army, cut their way through the dense masses of the Islesmen, and hewed them down in hundreds with their ponderous maces and battle-axes till they were worn out by the slaughter. But the places of the slain were instantly supplied by fresh warriors, who, finding that their weapons made little impression on their mail-clad adversaries, seized and stabbed their horses, and then crowding around the fallen riders, succeeded in despatching them with their daggers. In this way fell the Constable of Dundee, with the Sheriff of Angus, the Provost of Aberdeen, and the flower of the lowland barons. Mar himself and a small number of the survivors obstinately continued the struggle till nightfall terminated the desperate conflict. The victory might be considered doubtful, but the advantage remained with the lowlanders. The island lord retreated during the night, leaving on the battle-field the chiefs of Maclean and Macintosh, with upwards of nine hundred men. On the side of Mar were slain, Sir James Scrymgeour, Sir Robert Davidson, Sir Alexander Ogilvy, with his eldest son, Sir Alexander Irving of Drum,* Sir Robert Maule, Sir Thomas Moray, Lesley of Balquhan with six of his sons, and above five hundred men-at-arms, including the principal gentry of the district.† The loss of their provost, and his brave band of burgesses, was so much regretted by the citizens of Aberdeen that a municipal regulation was adopted, that the chief magistrate should not, in his official capacity, go beyond the limits of the immediate territory of the burgh. This bloody engagement, which is commemorated both in the music and in the poetry of Scotland,‡ was fought on the 24th of July, 1411, and may be said to have terminated the struggle for superiority between the Celtic and the Saxon races. The northern clans continued, indeed, to annoy the lowland districts by their occasional forays; but these proceeded rather from the love of plunder than from any serious intention to overturn the government. The heirs of those who fell in this battle were exempted by the governor from the feudal fines usually exacted from those about to enter upon possession of their estates.*

Battle of Harlaw.

Great loss on the part of Mar, and dubious issue of the conflict.

The issue of the battle of Harlaw was so indecisive that the regent, suspecting that Donald would recruit his forces and renew his invasion of the northern counties, resolved to anticipate his movements by occupying the disputed territory, and, if necessary, to carry the war into the dominions of the island chief. Accordingly, with unwonted courage and activity, he collected an army, and about the end of autumn marched in person to the castle of Dingwall, in Ross-shire, which he took and garrisoned. Donald, however, retreated to his own country, where, during the winter, he found shelter in his wild fastnesses. But on the return of summer, Albany resumed operations with such vigour and success that the island lord was compelled to renounce all claims to the earldom of Ross, to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Scottish crown, and to give hostages for his future obedience. The successful termination of this contest was followed by a truce with England for six years, from the 17th of May, 1412.†

Vigorous measures of Albany.

Submission of the Lord of the Isles.

Truce with England.

Meanwhile, Murdoch Stewart, the eldest son of Albany, still remained a prisoner in England, and the governor now manifested an increasing anxiety to procure his liberation, evidently with the view of transferring to him the government at his own death. Negotiations for this object had been carried on with little interruption for years, during which Henry IV., desirous of a peace with Scotland while prosecuting his schemes on France, contrived to amuse the regent by promises which he never meant to fulfil. The death of Henry, which took place on the 20th of March, 1413, produced no change in the relations between the two countries. One of the first acts of the new monarch, indeed, seemed to indicate the existence of a hostile feeling towards his Scottish prisoners. On the day following the death of Henry IV., orders were issued that James, King of Scotland, and Murdoch, Earl of Fife, should be committed to the Tower;‡ but there is reason to believe that this was merely an act of precaution lest the captives should attempt to make their escape, in the belief that they were freed from their parole by the death of the sovereign to whom it had been given. After a brief confinement they were liberated; and that his friendly intentions might not be suspected, Henry even dismissed without ransom some of the less distinguished prisoners. On the

Death of Henry IV.

* According to tradition, the chief of the Macleans and Irving of Drum sought out one another by the armorial bearings on their shields, and met and killed each other. Irving was buried on the field, and the place of his interment was long marked by a cairn, called Drum's Cairn.

† Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 445.

‡ See "The Battle of Harlaw," in Laing's Early Metrical Tales—probably the most ancient Scottish historical ballad of any length now in existence. A tune of the same name, adapted to the bagpipes, was long extremely popular, and, within the remembrance of man, the first which was played at *kirns* and other rustic festivals.

* See Tytler, vol. iii. Illustrations, letter (C).

† Rymer, Foed. vol. viii. p 786.

‡ Ibid. vol. ix. p. 2.

accession of Henry V., Albany renewed his efforts for the freedom of his son, while he skilfully veiled his designs by affecting an anxiety for the speedy return of James. Three separate embassies were despatched to the court of England, urging the release of the young monarch, and offering high terms for his ransom; but these, with another in which the regent stipulated solely for the liberation of Murdoch, issued only in a truce to last till June in the following year.* Circumstances, however, brought about what a long course of persevering negotiation had failed to accomplish. In spite of the truce, and the anxiety of both governments to maintain peace, the borders continued to be the scene of fierce and destructive forays. The Earl of Douglas, in revenge of some incursion, broke into Cumberland and burned Penrith, while the English borderers retaliated by giving Dumfries to the flames. A general desire began to be expressed in England for the restoration of the great family of Northumberland, whose eminent services in defending the borders were now specially needed, in consequence of the absence of Henry in France. Henry Percy, the son of the celebrated Hotspur, had been left in Scotland by his grandfather, the Earl of Northumberland, and though retained by the Scottish court as a prisoner, the young nobleman had been treated with great kindness, and liberally educated by the Bishop of St. Andrews. Negotiations were now entered into between the English government and Albany for his release, which terminated in the exchange of Henry Percy for Murdoch, the son of the regent.† The return of Percy was hailed with joy by the English people, to whom his chivalrous family had long been dear. That of Murdoch seems to have been regarded with little interest, save by Albany, who saw in it the first and chief step to the realization of his ambitious schemes. Its malignant influence on the liberation of James became quickly apparent. The young monarch was now of age, and, as the nobles who visited England brought back the most flattering accounts of his character and accomplishments, his subjects were eager to procure his freedom. A new treaty was accordingly begun with Henry for his ransom, and the English monarch relaxed so far as to consent that James should visit Scotland for a limited time, on giving sufficient hostages as security for the payment of a hundred thousand marks, in the event of his failing to return at the expiry of the term of leave. The negotiation had proceeded so favourably that the Bishop of Durham, and the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were appointed to receive the oaths of the king and his hostages, while commissioners, nominated by the Scottish council, and consisting of the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the Earls of Crawford, Douglas, and Mar, Murdoch Stewart, Albany's eldest son, and his brother John, Earl of Buchan, were furnished with letters of safe conduct through England to arrange a final settlement. Henry, however, for some reason which cannot now be ascertained, suddenly recalled all his previous concessions, and the Scottish king saw his fondly cherished hopes of freedom perish on the very eve of being realized. The correspondence of Albany with the Duke of Orleans, then a prisoner in England, gives strength to the suspicion that the interruption of the treaty was mainly owing to his insincere and selfish policy.* So long as his son remained a prisoner in England, it suited his interest to cultivate friendly intercourse with the English court; but as the main object of his administration was to prevent the return of his nephew, in order to gain this base end, he did not hesitate to inflict on the two countries all the miseries of war. Under the erroneous impression that the whole available force of England was with Henry in France, he collected a powerful army, and laid siege to the castle of Roxburgh; but on the approach of the Dukes of Bedford and Exeter, at the head of an army of forty thousand men, he precipitately abandoned the siege, and retreated into the interior of the country. This inglorious expedition received from the Scots the contemptuous appellation of "The Foul Raid"—that is, the dishonourable inroad.†

On the retreat of Albany, the savage warfare of the borders was renewed with even more than its wonted havoc and devastation. Sir Robert Umfraville, governor of Berwick, invaded Scotland by the eastern marches, and burned the towns of Hawick, Selkirk, Jedburgh, Lauder, and Dunbar, besides reducing the surrounding country to a smoking desert. The imbecility of the regent seems to have paralyzed the courage and activity of the Scots, who submitted, with the helplessness of despair, to the wild havoc and insolent demands of the English soldiers. So inglorious was this campaign to Scotland, that the surprise of the castle of Wark, by William Haliburton, of Fast Castle, was the only instance of successful reprisal: and even that advantage was speedily lost, for the stronghold was retaken by Sir Robert Ogle, and the Scottish garrison put to the sword.‡

The events of the continental war, however, afforded the Scots ample opportunities of redeeming the disgrace which had been brought upon them by the selfish policy and military incapacity of Albany. Henry V. carried on hostilities in France with such vigour and success, that the whole northern provinces of that kingdom submitted to his arms, and the Dauphin, reduced to the greatest distress, resolved to solicit the assist-

Negotiations of Albany for the liberation of his son—

—their success.

Unsuccessful attempt to obtain the release of James I. (A.D. 1416.)

Albany's selfish policy—

—his inglorious expedition into England.

Inroad of Sir Robert Umfraville.

* Foed. vol. ix. p. 5; Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 96.
† Foed. vol. ix. p. 323; Ibid.

* Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 97, note 2.
† Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 449; Foed. vol. ix. p. 307.
‡ Fordun, a Goodal vol. ii. p. 458.

ance of Scotland in the struggle. He therefore despatched an embassy to the regent, requesting aid in his declining fortunes, according to the terms of the treaties frequently ratified between the two countries. With this request the Scottish parliament was induced to comply, and Sir John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, the second son of Albany, was sent with an army of seven thousand men to the assistance of their ally. The Scots were conveyed in transports furnished by France; and though Henry sought to interrupt or capture the fleet, they reached Normandy in safety, where they joined the army of the Dauphin, which was then about to attempt the reduction of Languedoc.* Albany did not live to witness the result of this new scheme to embroil still farther the two kingdoms. He died at Stirling, on the 3rd of September, 1419, in the eightieth year of his age, having virtually governed Scotland for thirty-four years, though his actual regency extended only over fourteen years. In spite of his vices, amongst which we must number deep dissimulation, entire selfishness, and unscrupulous ambition, his administration had been far from unpopular. His pacific policy, the result partly of constitutional timidity, and partly of the necessities of his position, secured for Scotland a happy exemption from those wars which for many years had exhausted the resources of the country, and retarded all social improvement. The people regarded him as their friend, the nobles had profited largely by his munificent gifts out of the spoils of the royal revenues, and his well-timed liberality to the church procured for him at his death the grateful eulogies of the clergy.†

French embassy to Scotland.

Seven thousand Scots sent to the assistance of France.

Death of Albany at Stirling—

So firmly had Albany consolidated his power, that, on his death, his son Murdoch assumed the vacant regency without opposition. This quiet transfer of the government from father to son, must have taken place with the approbation of the higher barons; but it does not appear that Murdoch's assumption of the authority and name of governor was sanctioned by any meeting of parliament, or any council of the nobility. The new ruler speedily betrayed his incapacity for the dangerous elevation to which he had been raised by his party, rather than by the choice of the people, or his own fitness for the office. He possessed neither the ambition of his father, nor the craft by which it was supported. Indolent, good-natured, and vacillating, he was little qualified, even as a legitimate ruler, to govern a people so rude and fierce as the Scots, far less to retain an authority, the assumption of which, in the circumstances of the case, was undoubtedly an act of treason. Under such a governor, the deadly feuds of the nobles were resumed with impunity, the people soon ceased to fear the law, or to expect its protection, and the country was turned into one scene of rapine and outrage. In the words of an old monkish chronicler, whose melancholy history is preserved in the Cartulary of Moray, "In those days there was no law in Scotland, but the great man oppressed the poor man, and the whole kingdom was one den of thieves. Slaughters, robberies, fire-raisings, and other crimes went unpunished, and justice was put into banishment beyond the kingdom's bounds."* To add to the distractions of the unhappy country, it was visited by a contagious disease resembling a fever and dysentery, the result of ungenial seasons. Great numbers of all ranks perished by this disorder, including, among other noble victims, Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney; James Douglas, Lord of Dalkeith; and George Dunbar, Earl of March, whose talents and experience rendered his death at this juncture a calamity to his country.†

—his son Murdoch succeeds him as governor—

—his feeble administration.

Meanwhile the band of Scottish warriors in France had won great renown under the leadership of the Earl of Buchan. The Dauphin intrusted to the Scots the defence of the province of Anjou, as the Duke of Clarence had been sent by Henry V. to attempt its reduction. On the 22nd of March, 1421, Clarence had just sat down to dinner, when he learned from some prisoners that the force of Buchan was encamped in his vicinity at Baugé, a village about twenty-two miles east of Angers. Instantly springing from the table, the duke exclaimed, "Let us attack them, they are ours; but let none follow me but the men-at-arms." He made a rapid march to Baugé, with the hope of surprising the Scots, but a small advanced body of the French soldiers, under Sir Robert Stewart, of Railston, and Sir Hugh Kennedy, threw themselves into the church, and resolutely defended it, thus affording time to their allies to form themselves in order of battle before they were charged by the English. The river Coesnon separated the two armies, and Clarence, distinguished by the richness of his armour, and a golden coronet, which he wore over his helmet, rode fiercely forward to take possession of the bridge, while the Scottish knights on the opposite bank rushed down to dispute the pass. In the encounter which followed, Clarence was unhorsed, and wounded in the face by Sir William Swinton; and as he strove to re-

Exploits of the Scottish auxiliaries in France—

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 459.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 466; and Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 418—421. The latter descants in glowing terms upon his goodly person and lofty stature, his strength, wisdom, chastity, sobriety, affability, his piety, hatred of Lollards and heretics, and liberality to the church.

* "The auld times o' rugging and riving through the hale country, when it was 'ilka ane for himsell and God for us a,'—when nae man wanted property if he had strength to take it, or had it langer than he had power to keep it. It was just he ower her and she ower him, whichever could win uppost, a' through the east country here, and nae doubt through the rest o' Scotland in the self and same manner." —Scott.

† Fordun, vol. ii. p. 460.

gain his steed, he was felled to the earth and slain with the mace of the Earl of Buchan. The Earl of Kent, and the Lords Gray and Ross, with fourteen hundred men, fell along with their leader, while the Earls of Huntingdon and Somerset, with many other nobles, were taken prisoners. For this service the Dauphin rewarded Buchan with the office of Constable of France, and conferred upon Sir Robert Stewart, of Darnley, the lordship of Aubigny, in France.*

—victory of Baugé gained by them.

The important services rendered by the Scottish auxiliaries, which seemed to peril his conquests in France, made Henry anxious to detach them, if possible, from the service of the French. With this view he succeeded, by the promise of an annual payment of two hundred pounds, in obtaining the promise of the services of the Earl of Douglas, who engaged to assist him in his French campaign with two hundred knights, and two hundred mounted archers.† The weakness of Murdoch's government is strikingly indicated by this conduct on the part of Douglas, though an excuse has been found for it in the desire entertained by this powerful noble to induce the English monarch to permit the return of the captive king to his own dominions. Henry followed up his alliance with Douglas by a stroke of policy even more dexterous. He determined to take the Scottish king with him to France, in the expectation that the Scots would abandon the service of the Dauphin, rather than fight against their rightful sovereign. With the view of inducing James to enter cordially into this scheme, Henry promised to permit him, at the conclusion of the campaign, to revisit Scotland for a limited period, on giving a sufficient number of hostages for his return.‡ The young king willingly consented to perform all the duties of knightly service to the English monarch, but refused to command his subjects to abandon the service of the Dauphin, alleging, with justice, that the orders of a captive sovereign could possess no authority. Henry did not live to ascertain the result of his policy, or to fulfil his promise to James. He died in the midst of conquest, redeeming, by the wisdom and noble deeds of his manhood, a youth of profligacy and folly.

Henry V. carries the Scottish king with him to France.

Death of Henry.

On the death of the English king, the prospects of James began to brighten. The Duke of Gloucester, who became regent of England, and the Duke of Bedford, who was intrusted with the government of the conquered provinces of France, viewed with favour the liberation of the Scottish monarch, from the conviction that his release, on generous terms, was likely to secure the permanent goodwill of a powerful ally, already well disposed to England by courteous treatment, and the friendships which, during his long exile, he had formed with many of its nobles. Meanwhile, among the people of Scotland, the desire for the return of their king became earnest and universal. Duke Murdoch himself grew weary of exercising a feeble sovereignty over a disorderly people and a headstrong and unbridled nobility, and determined to rid himself of a burden too heavy for him to bear. He was so far, indeed, from being able to restrain the haughty and turbulent nobles, that he could not control his own household; and his determination to procure the release of his nephew is said, by tradition, to have been precipitated by a flagrant insult offered to him by Walter, his eldest son. Murdoch, like the other nobles of the age, indulged in the amusement of hawking, and possessed a falcon of peculiar excellence, which he highly valued. His son Walter had often solicited the gift of this bird, but in vain; and at last, irritated by repeated refusal, the young man seized the falcon as it sat one day on his father's wrist, and brutally wrung its neck. Murdoch, whose feelings were deeply wounded by this gross insult, uttered the ominous words, "Since thou wilt give me neither reverence nor obedience, I will fetch some one whom we must all obey." *

Negotiations for the return of James I.—

—they are countenanced by the regent—

Availing themselves of this favourable conjuncture of circumstances, the friends of James resumed negotiations with the privy council of England for his speedy return to his kingdom. It was ultimately agreed that a meeting of commissioners, from both countries, should take place at Pontefract, on the 12th of May, 1423, when, in presence of the young king, and with his consent, the conditions of his freedom were to be definitely arranged. On the day named, the conference assembled, and matters were at length brought to a satisfactory issue. The terms of the treaty were, upon the whole, lenient to Scotland, and indicated the friendly disposition of the English court. In lieu of a demand for ransom-money, which the unjustifiable seizure of James in his childhood could not war-

—terms of the treaty.

* Boece, quoted in Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 102.

* Fordun, vol. ii. p. 461; Monstrelet's Chronicle, by Johnes, vol. v. p. 263. The exploits of the Scottish forces in France do not properly belong to the History of Scotland, but it may be proper to mention briefly the ultimate fate of their expedition. Shortly after the battle of Baugé, the Earl of Buchan returned to Scotland to recruit his forces, and succeeded in persuading his father-in-law, the Earl of Douglas, to break off his agreement with the English king, and to bring to the aid of France an auxiliary force of five thousand men. But the usual bad fortune of Douglas, which procured him the name of Tyne-Man, continued to attend him. He was completely defeated at Crevant, in the year 1423, by the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, mainly in consequence of the same neglect of military tactics which caused the loss of the battle of Homildon. The Scots received a still more fatal overthrow near the town of Verneuil, 17th August, 1424. An unfortunate dispute which took place between Douglas and the Viscount of Narbonne, the French general, respecting the order of battle, prevented the Scots from co-operating cordially with their allies. The consequences were most disastrous. Douglas and Buchan were slain, along with the greater part of the Scottish knights, and the auxiliary force under their command was almost totally annihilated.—See Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 463; and Monstrelet's Chronicle, vol. vi. pp. 48, 49.

† Foed. vol. x. p. 123.

‡ Rymer, vol. x. p. 125.

rant, the English commissioners required the payment of forty thousand pounds, to defray the expense of his maintenance and education. The debt was to be liquidated by yearly instalments of two thousand pounds; and James not only promised upon his oath to pay the sum, but, as additional security, hostages were required from the first families in Scotland, and the towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen became bound, by a separate deed, to secure payment of the money to the English treasury.* The English commissioners were also instructed to request the immediate departure of the Scots from France, and to procure the assent of the Scottish privy council to the marriage of James with an English lady of high rank. During his residence at the court of England, the young monarch had won the affections of Johanna Beaufort, a daughter of the Earl of Somerset, niece of Richard II., and granddaughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster;

Marriage of James to the daughter of the Earl of Somerset—

and now awaited the formal consent of the Scottish council to their union. The high rank, great beauty, and accomplishments of the lady readily secured the necessary sanction, and they were married at the church of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, with all the pomp befitting the occasion.* By all parties the union was viewed with lively satisfaction. It promised to unite more closely the two countries, and to convert a truce, which had just been concluded for seven years, into a permanent peace. It lessened, also, the heavy obligations which Scotland had contracted to secure the freedom of her king, as James received next day, in the name of dowry with his bride, a discharge for ten thousand pounds,—the fourth part of the original sum which had been agreed on.† The necessary arrangements being now completed, the royal pair set out for Scotland, attended by a numerous and brilliant retinue. They were met at Durham by three hundred of the principal nobles, barons, and gentry of Scotland, from whom, in terms of the treaty, twenty-eight persons were selected as hostages for the national faith.‡ On crossing the borders, James gave his solemn assent to the treaty, on the Holy Gospels, at Melrose Abbey, and, amid universal acclamations, took possession of the throne from which the misfortunes of his early life had so long detained him.

—his return to his own kingdom.

* Rymer, Foed. vol. x. p. 303.

* Rymer, Foed. vol. x. p. 322.

† Ibid. p. 323.

‡ A statement of the annual rent of their estates is set down in the schedule containing their names. See Appendix, Note XIII.

CHAPTER XV.

JAMES THE FIRST.

1424—1437.

THE character of James the First presented a striking contrast to that of his father and grandfather. His natural talents were of the highest order, and they had been cultivated with the most sedulous attention. During his long and unjustifiable detention in England, he had enjoyed advantages which almost repaid him for his captivity. Henry IV. had made the only possible amends for his cruel injustice in detaining him a prisoner, by bestowing the most anxious care upon his education, and under the eye of this monarch the youthful prince acquired every knightly accomplishment. He was carefully instructed in the various arts and sciences of that period, as well as in all the warlike exercises and observances of chivalry; and, from his great strength and agility, few could compete with him in manly and martial feats. He was, according to the learning of the day, an accomplished scholar, a poet, and a musician, and possessed an intimate acquaintance with the fine arts of architecture, painting, and horticulture. His education in England had afforded him a favourable opportunity of studying the science of government, and he had the advantage of being instructed in the art of war by Henry V., one of the greatest captains of the age, whom he accompanied in his French campaigns. On his return to his own dominions he was in the prime and vigour of manhood, and his character, formed in the school of adversity, was one of great power. It required, indeed, a sovereign of no ordinary ability and wisdom to wield the reins of government in Scotland at this period, and James brought to the task remarkable shrewdness and sagacity, combined with indomitable courage, and the power of concealing his plans till they were ripe for execution.

Character of James I.

The youthful monarch found his kingdom a scene of lawless excess and rapine —a condition to which it had been reduced from the want of a firm hand to restrain oppression and enforce the laws. Since the death of Bruce, the power of the aristocracy had been greatly on the increase, while that of the crown had proportionally lost ground; and the object of James, as can be clearly discerned through the history of his brief reign, was to restore the legitimate authority of the crown,—to rescue the commons from oppression and plunder,—to give security to property, and encouragement to the industry and pacific arts of his people,—and to compel his rude and turbulent barons to renounce their ideas of individual independence, and to become quiet and peaceable subjects. It is stated by Bower, that when he first entered his kingdom, and was made fully acquainted with the violence and rapine which everywhere prevailed, he exclaimed with great vehemence, "Let God but grant me life, and throughout my dominions I shall make the key keep the castle, and the bush secure the cow, though I myself should lead the life of a dog to accomplish it."* He persevered in this difficult and dangerous task with unwavering resolution and a courage bordering on rashness; and it must be admitted, that in his efforts to depress and crush the feudal oppressors of his people, he sometimes lost sight both of justice and of mercy.

Condition of the country.

On entering his kingdom, James proceeded to Edinburgh, where he held the festival of Easter, and a month later, he and his queen were solemnly crowned in the abbey church at Scone. Murdoch, Duke of Albany, as Earl of Fife, exercised his ancient hereditary right of placing the sovereign on the throne,† and the excellent Bishop Wardlaw, his early instructor, anointed the young monarch and placed the crown upon his head. A truce for seven years having been previously concluded with England, James had full leisure to proceed with the arduous work of internal reform, and in a parliament held at Perth, only five days after his coronation, the manifold disorders of the kingdom were brought under review, and measures adopted for their correction.‡ In this important national council the ancient freedom and established privileges of the church were confirmed; it was decreed, that the king's subjects should maintain thenceforward a firm peace throughout the realm; and the barons were forbidden, under the highest penalties of the law, from making war against each other, or from travelling with a more numerous retinue than they could maintain; and, in order that these and other enactments might be duly executed and justice done to the "commons of the land," it was ordained, that efficient administrators of the law should be appointed throughout all the realm. Treason and rebellion were declared to be punishable with forfeiture of life, lands, and goods. Severe penalties were denounced against sturdy beggars or "thiggars," who traversed the country in formidable bands, "sorning" on the people and devouring their substance; but an exception was made in favour of "royal beggars," who were to wear a certain token, to be furnished by the sheriff, or the aldermen and bailies, as an attestation that they were unable to support themselves in any other way. It was enacted, that the "great customs," which had been very much diminished in value by the improvident grants of Albany, should remain in the hands of the king for the support of his royal estate; and that the mines of gold and silver discovered in the kingdom should, under certain restrictions, become the property of the sovereign. It was also decreed, that gold and

Coronation of James and his queen at Scone.

Enactments of his first parliament.

* Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 511.

† See ante, pp. 38, 155.

‡ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 2—8.

silver should not be carried forth of the realm, except upon payment of a duty of forty pence upon every pound exported. Stranger merchants were enjoined to expend the money which they had received for their goods either in the purchase of Scottish merchandise, or in the payment of their personal expenses. It was determined, that the current coin of the realm, which, as we have seen, had been greatly depreciated, should be called in, and a new coinage issued of equal weight and fineness with the money of England. A duty was imposed upon oxen, sheep, and horses, and on the skins of harts and hinds, of does, roes, martins, otters, and foxes purchased for exportation, and upon herrings sold in the market. The clergy were forbidden to pass over the sea, or to send procurators upon any foreign errand without an express licence from the king; or to purchase any pension payable out of any benefice, religious or secular, under the penalty of forfeiting the same to the crown. Severe enactments were made against the killing of salmon within the interval between the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady and the Feast of St. Andrew in the winter, and all *yaires* and *cruves* for the taking of fish were ordered to be put down for three years, on account of the destruction of the spawn which they occasion. For the protection of agriculture, rooks were ordered to be destroyed, in consequence of the mischief which they occasion to the corn; and the burning of moors from the month of March till the corn was cut down, was prohibited, under a penalty of forty shillings, or in default of payment, imprisonment for forty days. The long residence of the king in England had impressed him with the vast superiority of the English archers, and the importance of encouraging the practice of the long-bow among his subjects, and it was accordingly provided, that all the Scottish youth, above twelve years of age, should be regularly trained to the practice of archery.*

Such is a brief outline of the regulations enacted by James at the commencement of his reign, for the equal administration of justice, and the reformation of the disorders of his kingdom; and it must be admitted, that, making due allowance for the circumstances of his age and country, they reflect great credit on his legislative talents, and were on the whole well fitted to gain the object in view. But there were two other measures enacted in this parliament which were highly unpopular. The first was the issuing of orders to the different sheriffs throughout the realm, to inquire what lands belonged to the crown under the last three monarchs, and to summon an inquest, who, after having examined the proper evidence, were enjoined to return a verdict under their proper seals, adjudging the lands to belong to the crown.† To facilitate the recovery of those lands which had been alienated from the royal patrimony, it was declared that the king might summon his tenants and vassals to exhibit their charters and holdings. This attempt to compel the restoration of the crown lands, which had been shamelessly dilapidated during the weak reign of the king's father and grandfather, and the unprincipled administration of Albany, excited great dissatisfaction among the nobility, many of whom had shared largely in the royal spoils. The second measure was the imposition of a large subsidy for raising the sum due to England for the maintenance of the king; of which, says Sir Walter Scott, it is only necessary to say that it was a tax, and was therefore unpopular, and the more so as it fell on a poor country, in which, moreover, direct taxation was at that time wholly unknown. The tax consisted of twelve pence in the pound upon all rents, lands, and goods, corn and cattle, whether belonging to clergy or laity, and was to continue for two years.* Auditors, or chief receivers, were appointed to superintend the levying of this subsidy, who, in the first year, collected about fourteen thousand marks;† but, in the second year, such was the universal dissatisfaction which this impost created, that the attempt to collect it was prudently abandoned.

Inquiry ordered respecting the dilapidations of the crown lands.

Tax upon the whole lands of the kingdom.

The disorders of the kingdom, however, were too deeply rooted to be eradicated by mere legislation, however judicious, and James soon proceeded to take other and more effective steps to vindicate the authority of the laws, and to humble the power of the feudal aristocracy. The regency of Albany and of his son Murdoch was naturally and justly regarded by him as little else than a long usurpation. He was mortified that Albany,—against whom, as the alleged murderer of his brother, and the main cause of his own protracted captivity, he entertained the deepest resentment,—should have escaped his merited punishment, and the royal vengeance fell with a proportionably heavier force upon Murdoch, his son and successor, and the members of his family. But as the administration of Albany and his son appears to have been popular among the community, and the adherents of the family were numerous and powerful, James was compelled to proceed with great caution. At the commencement of his reign he had ordered into custody Walter, the eldest son of Duke Murdoch; and at the same time,—probably to conceal his designs, he had arrested Malcolm Fleming, of Cumbernauld, and Thomas Boyd, of Kilmarnock.‡ Shortly after, the Earl of Lennox, father-in-law to Duke Murdoch, and Sir Robert Graham, a man of a peculiarly fierce and daring disposition, were also committed

Measures adopted by the king for the destruction of the house of Albany.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 2—8.
† Ibid. p. 4.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 4.
† This would give nearly two hundred and eighty thousand marks, or about three millions sterling, of modern, as the income of the people of Scotland at this period, besides the yearly value of the lands, and cattle employed by landholders in their own husbandry, which were specially exempted from the tax.
‡ Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 481.

to prison. Several months were suffered to elapse before any further steps were taken by the king to carry out his schemes; and he seems to have sedulously employed the interval in gaining over to his views the whole body of the clergy, and many of the most influential among the barons. Having, with the utmost secrecy, matured his plans, he prepared to inflict signal vengeance on the powerful house of Albany, for the wrongs which he had sustained through their means, and to strike terror into those proud nobles, who had so long set all law at defiance, that they appear never to have dreamed that they would be expected to yield the slightest obedience to the recent parliamentary enactments. They soon found, to their cost, that they had now to deal with a sovereign who would no longer allow the laws to remain a dead letter. The blow was struck at last with a suddenness and vigour, which filled the boldest of them with dismay. A parliament was assembled at Perth, on the 12th of March, and for eight days was quietly engaged in passing enactments against the dissemination of heretical opinions, the formation of leagues or confederacies among the nobles, and the circulation of false reports which tended to create discord between the king and his subjects, and in ordering due inquiry to be made, whether obedience had been given to the statutes passed in the former parliament. On the ninth day, however, the king suddenly arrested Murdoch, the late regent; his second son, Alexander; and the Earls of Douglas, Angus, and March, with upwards of twenty other nobles of the highest rank, among whom were Hay of Errol, Constable of Scotland; Lindsay, of Glencsk; Hepburn, of Hailes; Hay, of Yester; Maxwell, of Caerlaverock; Scrymgeour, Constable of Dundee; Alexander Ramsay, of Dalhousie; Sir John Montgomery; Ogilvy, of Auchterhouse; Stewart, of Rosyth; and Sir John Stewart, of Dundonald, commonly called the Red Stewart.* Immediately upon the arrest of Albany, the king took possession of his castles of Falkland and Doune; in the latter he found Isabella his wife, whom he shut up in the castle of Tantallon. Murdoch himself was confined in the fortress of Caerlaverock, while his eldest son, Walter, was committed to the strong castle of the Bass.†

Parliament assembled at Perth, 12th March, 1424.

Imprisonment of Duke Murdoch and twenty-six of the nobles.

Owing to the loss of many of the original records of this reign, which might have thrown light upon the measures adopted by the king, it is impossible to state with certainty what were the motives which led to the imprisonment of so many of the most powerful nobles of the kingdom, whose estates were separated over various parts of Scotland, or what was the precise nature of the specific charges which were brought against them. It is probable that the persons arrested were the principal allies of the house of Albany, or had shared most largely in the spoils of the royal patrimony during the regencies, and that the object of the king in this display of vigour was to prevent any insurrection in favour of the late governor, and to compel his adherents to leave him to his fate. There can be little doubt that they had all rendered themselves amenable to public justice by their disregard of the recent statutes, enjoining them to dismiss their armed followers, and to produce their charters, or to surrender the crown lands, or rents, which they had usurped. Immediately on the arrest of Albany and his associates, the parliament was adjourned to meet at Stirling, upon the eighteenth of May. On the twenty-fourth of the month, Walter Stewart, the eldest son of Albany, was brought to trial, in a court held in the palace of Stirling, and presided over by the king himself. All record of the trial has perished; but it is stated in an ancient chronicle, that the noble prisoner was tried for robbery.* Of the twenty-one nobles and barons who composed the jury, there were seven, the Earls of Douglas, March, and Angus; Sir John de Montgomery; Gilbert Hay, of Errol; Sir Herbert Herries, of Terreagles; and Sir Robert Cunningham, of Kilmaurs, who had been seized by the king, when he imprisoned Albany and his sons.† The object of this strange proceeding was, probably, to give an appearance of impartiality to the trial, while, as the verdict was decided by a majority of voices, there was a sufficient number of the assured friends of the king upon the jury to secure the condemnation of the prisoner. It is scarcely necessary to add, that Walter Stewart was found guilty, and condemned to death, and instantly beheaded.

Trial and condemnation of Walter Stewart, eldest son of Albany—

—he is executed.

On the following morning, Duke Murdoch himself, his second son Alexander, and his father-in-law the Earl of Lennox, were tried before the same jury. The nature of the charges brought against them is unknown; but they were all found guilty, and executed on the Heading Hill, before Stirling Castle, within sight of the stately palace of Doune, which Albany had erected for his residence; their immense estates were at the same time confiscated to the crown.‡ The other nobles, who had been apprehended along with Albany and his sons, were set at liberty immediately after this signal example of judicial vengeance. James, the youngest son of Albany, was the only member of this devoted house who escaped the destruction in which the rest of his family were involved. When his father and brothers were arrested he escaped to the Highlands, and, burning with the desire of revenge, he collected a band of freebooters, and, assisted by Finlay, Bishop of Lismore or Argyle, his father's chaplain, attacked and

Trial and execution of Albany, his second son, and his father-in law.

Fate of Albany's youngest son.

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 482.

† Ibid. p. 483. Chronicon Jacobi Primi Regis Scotorum, pp. 3, 4—published by the Maitland Club.

* Cupar MS., quoted in Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 115.

† Chronicon Jacobi Primi, p. 5.

‡ Ibid. The Heading Hill is immediately to the north of the castle of Stirling.—See the view in this work of the scene of the Battle of Stirling from the ramparts of the castle.

burned the town of Dunbarton, and slew the king's uncle, Sir John Stewart of Dundonald, along with thirty-two men. The perpetrator of this audacious act succeeded in regaining his Highland fastnesses; but so hot was the pursuit that was instituted, by the king's command, against him and his accomplices, that he was compelled to take refuge in Ireland, whence he never returned. Five of his band, however, fell into the king's hands, and were torn in pieces by wild horses, and their quivering limbs suspended upon gibbets.*

James's extreme severity.

So horrid a punishment, and the exterminating severity exhibited to all connected with the house of Albany, admit of no justification; and it is impossible to believe that the king in this instance carried along with him the feelings of the people. Duke Robert, the founder of the house of Albany, and the great offender against the royal family, whom he had in every way deeply injured, had escaped the vengeance of his nephew, and had long before been summoned to answer for his crimes before a higher tribunal. Yet even he, though a usurper and a murderer, had evidently been a popular ruler;† and his weak and vacillating son, who was compelled by circumstances to assume an office which he speedily renounced, was an object of commiseration rather than of abhorrence. The lofty stature and commanding presence of Duke Murdoch and his sons, and the venerable appearance of the Earl of Lennox, who had reached his eightieth year,‡ together with the respect naturally paid to fallen greatness, excited a deep feeling of compassion in the breasts of the people; and even among those who admitted the justice of the sentence, the recollection of the faults of the sufferers was lost in sympathy for their misfortunes. James had undoubtedly received great provocation, and the long and galling captivity, in which his youth had been wasted through the selfish intrigues of Albany, and the frightful state of disorganization in which he found his kingdom on his return, in consequence of the misgovernment of that crafty usurper, had excited in his mind a thirst for vengeance which could be satisfied with nothing short of the ruin of every member of the family. But it is impossible to deny that the retribution which he exacted was cruel and excessive; and there was a craftiness and unrelenting severity in the whole process of their punishment, which excited deep and general indignation. It is no doubt true, that the condition of the country rendered necessary the adoption of strong measures, and that an iron hand was needed to quell the disorders which had arisen during the administration of Albany and his son. And it is easy to see that it was the object of James not merely to gratify his revenge upon his hereditary enemies, but to exhibit to the turbulent and ferocious nobility of his kingdom, who had been trained up in open disregard of all law human and divine, a memorable example of stern and inflexible justice, without respect of person or place. The punishment, however, was generally regarded as excessive, and therefore in a great measure failed to produce the intended effect. Instead of striking a wholesome terror, it excited a vindictive spirit of revenge in the bosoms of many of the nobility, which ultimately brought the monarch himself to an untimely grave.

The fate of Albany and his family excites public sympathy.

Reflections on the policy adopted by James.

Having given this severe and sanguinary lesson the next efforts of James were addressed to the internal administration of his kingdom; and the parliament proceeded to the enactment of several statutes for the regulation of trade and agriculture, and the proper administration of justice. "Weapon-schawings," or general musters of all who were capable of bearing arms, were ordered to be held four times a year, in every sheriffdom within the realm, for the purpose of military exercise, and the inspection of their weapons. Penalties were enacted against those who stole green wood, or stripped the trees of their bark under cover of night, or broke into orchards to purloin the fruit—a proof, it has been justly said, of the improved attention of the nobles to the inclosure of their parks and the ornamental woods around their castles. It was declared that all complaints which could not properly be determined by parliament should be brought before the district judge, who was enjoined to administer justice without fraud or favour, as well to the poor as to the rich; and it was humanely provided that "gif thar be ony pur creatur, that for defalte of cunnying or dispens, can nocht, or may nocht folow his caus, the king for the lufe of God sall ordane that the juge before quhame the causs suld be determyt purway, and get a lele and wyss advocate to folow sic creaturis caus. And gif sic caus be obtenyt, the wrangar sall assythe the party skathit, and ye advocatis costis that travale. And gif the juge refusys to doe the law evinly, as is befor saide, ye party plenzeand sall haf recours to ye king, ye quhilk sall sa rigorusly punyst sic jugis, yat it be ane ensample till all utheris." It was declared to be the intention of the sovereign to pardon any injury done to person or property, on condition that reparation was made to the injured party; but the Highlanders were excepted from this rule, on the ground that before the king's return they had been so accustomed to rob and murder each other, that it was impossible to ascertain correctly the extent of the damage done, or to obtain compensation from the rude and turbulent inhabitants of the northern districts; and, finally, the parliament passed a stringent statute against Lollards and heretics, directing the bishops to search them out and bring them to punishment according to the laws of the church.*

Proceedings of the parliament.

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 483.

† See ante, p. 256, note.

‡ Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 483.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8.

In his efforts to correct the internal disorders of his kingdom, James experienced no interruption from without. He was at peace with England, and his marriage with Jane Beaufort, the niece of Cardinal Beaufort, had, from her near relationship to the English monarch, strengthened the ties between the two countries. France was the ancient ally of the Scots, and the Netherlands profited too largely by their trade with Scotland not to be anxious to preserve the most friendly relations. It appears that, during the captivity of the king, the Flemings, as allies of England, had treated the Scottish merchants with great arrogance, and had even issued letters of marque against them, and James had, in consequence, ordered the Scottish trade to be transferred to Middleburgh, in Zealand. As this step had entailed great loss upon the Flemish merchants, an embassy was sent from the States of Flanders to solicit the return of the trade. The king received the ambassadors at St. Andrews, where, at the time of their arrival, he was engaged in keeping his birthday, attended by the Earls of Douglas, Mar, Moray, Angus, and other barons, and on the offer of enlarged privileges for the merchants of Scotland, and compensation for the injuries they had received, he agreed that the staple of the Scottish commerce should be restored to Flanders.*

Renewal of commercial intercourse with Flanders.

Although James was well aware of the importance of maintaining pacific relations with England, in order that he might direct his undivided attention to the affairs of his own kingdom, he had no great reason to be satisfied with the generosity or friendship of the English court; and while he carefully avoided every thing that might lead to a violation of the truce between the two countries, he was strongly inclined to maintain the ancient alliance with France. On the other hand, the French monarch, Charles VII., whose affairs were in a most precarious condition, regarded the assistance of Scotland as an object of so great importance, that, in 1425, he sent over an embassy, consisting of the Archbishop of Rheims, the Primate of France, and John Stewart, of Darnley, the Constable of the Scottish auxiliaries, to negotiate a marriage between Louis the Dauphin, and Margaret, the eldest daughter of the King of Scotland. The proposed alliance was cordially agreed to by James, and it was determined that the betrothment of the young couple should take place in five years. Accordingly, in 1429, the Archbishop of Rheims and Lord Darnley again visited Scotland for the purpose of carrying out this contract of marriage.† It was stipulated, that instead of a dower, James should send six thousand men to the assistance of the French monarch, and that in return the princess should receive an income as ample as had ever been granted to any queen of France. In addition to this, the county of Xaintonge and the lordship of Rochfort were to be assigned to the Scottish king, and all former alliances between the two countries were to be renewed and solemnly ratified.* The six thousand Scottish soldiers were to be sent over to France as soon as the transports for their conveyance should arrive. But the extraordinary successes of the Maid of Orleans, which occurred soon after the conclusion of the treaty, rendered it unnecessary for the French monarch to require the promised aid. The marriage contract, however, remained in force, and the bridal took place in 1436.

Proposal of a marriage between the Dauphin of France and the daughter of James.

Having thus strengthened his kingdom by renewing commercial intercourse with the Netherlands, and drawing closer the ancient ties of alliance with France, James resolved to complete these amicable arrangements by a settlement with the Norwegians, who had heavy claims for the arrears of an annuity granted to them by Alexander III., in return for their surrender of the sovereignty of the kingdom of Man and the Western Isles. Accordingly, in 1426, an embassy was despatched to Bergen, consisting of William, Lord Crichton, the Chamberlain of Scotland, and two other envoys, for the purpose of adjusting the debt due to Norway; and a treaty was concluded by them with Eric, King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, in which the ancient alliances between these countries and Scotland were renewed and confirmed, mutual freedom of commercial intercourse conceded, and all damages and defaults on either side cancelled and forgiven.†

Treaty concluded with Denmark.

For several years after this, James continued to occupy himself with zealous efforts to promote the improvement of his kingdom, to remedy the abuses of the government, and to encourage the industry of his people. His great principle,—and it was one worthy of so wise a prince,—seems to have been a determination to govern the country through the medium of his parliament. Of these convocations of the national legislature, which had been rarely held under the regency of the two Dukes of Albany, no fewer than thirteen were assembled during his brief reign, which, dating from his return in 1424, lasted only thirteen years. The series of legislative enactments which were from time to time adopted by these various meetings of the three states, comprehending the subjects of agriculture, commerce, foreign and domestic manufacture, the regulation of weights and measures, the police of the country, its defence against invasion both by land and by sea, the administration of justice, and even the constitution of the supreme government, afford a striking illustration of the internal condition of the country at this remote era, and are, on the whole, highly creditable to the sagacity

Frequency of the meetings of parliament.

Important legislative measures.

* Scotichron. vol. ii. pp. 487, 509.
† Ibid. p. 484. Chronicon Jacobi Primi, p. 6.

* MS. in Harleian Coll., quoted in Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 122.
† Scotichron. p. 509.

and enlightened views of James and his counsellors.

In a parliament convoked at Perth, upon the 11th of March, 1425, it was declared, among other provisions for the regulation of trade and commerce, and the government of the country, that all merchants trading with foreign countries should, along with their usual cargoes, bring home a supply of harness, and armour, and arms; that "weaponschawings," or military musters, should be held by every sheriff four times a year, and that the various classes of the people should attend, properly armed according to their estate; that all the subjects of the realm must be governed by the laws enacted by the parliament, and not by any particular laws, or any privileges or customs of other countries; and, for the due administration of justice, a new court, known by the name of the SESSION, was instituted, in which it was ordained, that the Chancellor, and certain discreet persons of the three estates, should sit three times in the year, for the hearing and decision of all causes which may be determined before the king's council. It was also decreed that no man who had accused another, should sit upon the jury at his trial; that none should practise in the courts held by the king's justiciars, or their deputies, except persons of sufficient learning and discretion; that the prelates, barons, and freeholders, should attend the parliament in person, and not by procurators; that the sheriffs were to prevent all ships and galleys from sailing to Ireland without special licence, because the rebels against the king had taken refuge in that country; and the Irish were forbidden, under similar restrictions, to come to Scotland, as they might be spies for the English; that, in order to support the regular inns in villages and burghs, all travellers on foot or horseback should rendezvous in these hostelries, and not take up their residence with their acquaintances and friends; that stout and idle vagabonds should be compelled to labour for their living; that prayers and collects should be regularly offered up by all priests, religious and secular, throughout the kingdom, for the health and prosperity of the king and queen, and their children; that six wise and able men, learned in the law, should be chosen from each of the Estates, for the purpose of examining the books of the statutes, and "to mend the lawis that nedis mendying;" that a public record should be kept of all charters, and infeftments, and confirmations of ancient rights and privileges; and that all the statutes and legislative enactments should be transcribed in the king's register, and copies given to the different sheriffs, who were to distribute them among the prelates, barons, and burgesses, and to publish and proclaim these statutes in the chief and most notable places in the sheriffdom, so that in time coming no man should have cause to pretend ignorance of the laws.* This last enactment was peculiarly necessary, both to remove the extreme ignorance of the laws, which in that rude age existed among all classes of the community, especially in the more remote districts of the country, and to take away all apology from the nobles and barons, who had no desire to make themselves acquainted with those new regulations, which diminished their power over their vassals, and who not unfrequently, as the statute hints, pretended ignorance of the law as a cover for their disobedience. The framers of the statutes were, indeed, in many cases, the most notorious violators of the laws which they had helped to make; and it was justly remarked by Buchanan, that in Scotland one great Act of Parliament was wanted, namely—a decree to enjoin the strict observance of the others.

State of the Highlands.

It appears, that at this period the disorders in the Highlands and islands of Scotland had reached a height which imperatively demanded the interference of the king, to preserve those districts from a state of total anarchy. The chiefs in these remote provinces, emboldened by the impunity which they had enjoyed during the regency of Albany and his son, scarcely acknowledged even a nominal dependence upon the Scottish crown. Living in their secluded and almost inaccessible fastnesses, and surrounded by their numerous vassals and serfs, over whom they ruled with absolute authority, they set all law and authority at defiance, and made war upon each other, and robbed and murdered at their pleasure. All the evils which, during the captivity of the king, had grown up in other parts of the country,—the unbridled licentiousness, lawless rapine, oppression of the poor, private feuds, spoliations, murders,—had developed themselves, with such frighful rankness, in the northern provinces, that the whole country beyond the Grampian hills seemed about to relapse into a state of absolute barbarism. As soon as the king had succeeded in repressing the general habits of violence and lawlessness in the lowlands of Scotland, he determined to take vigorous measures for the introduction of law and order into the more remote districts of his dominions. It would appear that the various fortalices and places of strength beyond that part of the Grampian range called the Mounth, had been allowed to fall into decay,—doubtless in consequence of the extreme insecurity of life and property. To remedy this evil,—to promote the good government of the lands by wise polity,—and to cause the produce of the soil to be consumed on the territory where it was grown,—it was determined by the parliament, in 1426, that the owners of lands beyond the Mounth, upon which, in "auld tymes," there were castles or fortalices, should be compelled to rebuild or repair them, and either themselves to reside therein, or to procure friends to take their place.* To set an example, the king commanded the strong castle of Inverness to be repaired; and

Rebuilding of the castles beyond the "Mounth."

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 10, 11.

* Acts of the Parliament, vol. ii. p. 13.

having summoned his parliament to meet him there, he marched northward, at the head of a powerful army, accompanied by his principal nobles and barons.* The chiefs of the marauding clans were summoned to attend the meeting of parliament, and, whether constrained by terror or the hope of impunity, they did not venture to disobey. But, on entering the hall of the parliament, upwards of fifty of the principal heads of the clans were instantly seized, ironed, and cast into prison. Among the most noted of these, mention is made of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, and the Countess of Ross, his mother; Angus Dow, or Duff, with his four sons, who could bring into the field four thousand men of the clan Mackay, from Strathnaver; Kenneth More, with his son-in-law, Angus of Moray and Makmathan, the leader of two thousand men; Alexander Makreiny, of Garmoran, and John Macarthur, each of whom commanded a thousand ketherans; along with John Ross, William Lesley, and James Campbell.† According to Bower, James was so overjoyed to see these ferocious chiefs caught in the toils prepared for them, that while the officers were binding the prisoners, he repeated some monkish Latin rhymes, exulting over the merited doom which awaited them.‡ Two of these chiefs, Alexander Makreiny and John Macarthur, were immediately beheaded for acts of robbery and oppression; James Campbell was hanged for the murder of John, a former Lord of the Isles; and the rest were confined in different prisons. Of these, several whose crimes had rendered them especially obnoxious were afterwards put to death; others were banished, and the remainder were set at liberty, with an admonition to abandon their evil courses. Of the last-mentioned class was Alexander of the Isles, the successor of Donald, who fought at Harlaw. This powerful chief, like his predecessors, had affected the state of an independent monarch, and had, on various occasions, entered into an alliance with England against his own sovereign; while the remote position of his insular dominions, the immense number of his vassals, and the superiority of his naval force, enabled him frequently to brave with impunity the authority of the Scottish crown. James seems to have been unwilling to proceed, in the first instance, to extreme measures against this ocean lord,—probably on account of his youth, and his connexion with the family of Lesley, a house of hereditary loyalty,—and after a short confinement he dismissed him without punishment, upon his promise to abstain from his habits of lawless turbulence,—detaining, however, his mother, the heiress of the ancient family of Lesley, as a hostage for his fidelity. But, no sooner did the king return to his southern dominions, than the haughty chief, goaded into a paroxysm of fury by the indignity of the arrest to which he had been subjected, collected a force amounting to ten thousand men, invaded and laid waste the mainland, and burnt the town of Inverness.*

Vigorous measures adopted by James to reduce the Highlands to order.

Arrest of the Highland chiefs—

—their punishment.

Clemency shown to the Lord of the Isles—

—rebellion of this prince.

Immediately on receiving intelligence of this outrage, the king assembled an army, and marched with the utmost haste to the Highlands, where, in some marshy ground near Lochaber, he overtook the forces of the island chief. The sudden and unexpected appearance of the royal banner struck terror into the minds of the marauders, and two powerful tribes, the Clan Chattan and Clan Cameron, deserted the standard of their leader, and went over to the royal army.† Weakened and dispirited by this defection, the insurgents were entirely routed, and the Lord of the Isles, completely humbled, sent an embassy to sue for peace. But the king sternly refused to enter into any negotiations with a fugitive and an outlaw; and Alexander, reduced to despair, and driven from one place of retreat to another, was compelled at last to throw himself upon the royal clemency. Having travelled secretly to Edinburgh, he presented himself, upon a solemn festival, before the high altar in the church of Holyrood, clothed only in his shirt and drawers, and holding his naked sword in his hand by the point, he offered the hilt to the king, in token of unconditional submission; and falling upon his knees, in presence of the queen and the nobles of the court, implored the royal mercy. James granted him his life, at the intercession of his royal consort, but committed him a prisoner to the castle of Tantallon, under the charge of his nephew, the Earl of Angus.‡ The island lord ultimately received a free pardon, and was restored to his castles and estates.

—he is defeated by the king, A.D. 1428—

—and throws himself upon the royal mercy.

A striking anecdote of this period, related by Bower, will serve to show the cruelty and ferocity of those Highland ketherans, whom James found it necessary to punish with such unbending rigour. A petty chief, called McDonald, leader of a band of freebooters in Ross-shire, had plundered a poor widow of two of her cows. Provoked at this act of robbery, she exclaimed that she would never wear shoes again till she had carried her complaint to the king in person. "It is false," answered the brutal savage, "I 'll have you shod myself before you reach the court;" and with a barbarity almost incredible, he caused two horse shoes of iron to be nailed to the poor woman's naked feet, after which he thrust her forth wounded and

Anecdotes illustrative of the ferocity and lawlessness of the northern chiefs.

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 488. † Ibid.

‡ "Ad turrim fortem ducamus caute cohortem;
Per Christi sortem meruerunt hi quia mortem."

Which has been thus translated by Sir Walter Scott—

"To donjon tower let this rude troop be driven,
For death they merit by the cross of heaven."

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 489. † Ibid.
‡ Ibid. p. 490.

bleeding on the highway. The widow, however, being a woman of high spirit, determined to keep her word, and, as soon as her wounds were healed, she travelled on foot to Perth, where the court was then held, and sought out the king, acquainted him with the cruelty which had been exercised on her, and in proof of her statement showed her feet, still seamed and scarred by the inhuman treatment she had received. Her story excited the deepest indignation in the breast of the king, and he immediately caused the robber chief to be arrested and brought to Perth. He was tried and found guilty of the atrocious crime imputed to him, and condemned to be executed. He was then clad in a linen shirt, upon which was painted a representation of the cruel deed for which he was to suffer, and, after being paraded in this ignominious dress through the streets of the town, he was dragged at a horse's tail, and hanged on a gallows.*

There is another story, related by the same historian, which shows that James was equally strict in vindicating his authority, and the respect due to the royal person, among his lowland barons. A nobleman of high rank, and nearly related to the king, having quarrelled with another baron in the presence of the court, forgot himself so far as to strike his adversary on the face. James ordered the hand with which the offence had been committed to be instantly extended on the council table, and unsheathing his cutlass, gave it to the noble who received the blow, and commanded him to strike off the hand of the offender, threatening him with death if he refused. In this posture the unhappy culprit remained for a considerable time, while the queen, and the prelates and nobles of the court, implored forgiveness, and at length, with great difficulty, obtained a remission of the sentence. But the offender was immediately banished from court.†

Parliamentary enactments.

Meanwhile, the great council of the nation assembled from time to time, and passed a series of important enactments for the regulation of the manufactures, the commerce, and the agriculture of the kingdom, and the impartial administration of civil and criminal justice to all classes of the community. In a parliament held at Perth, on the first of July, 1427, an unwise attempt was made to fix the wages of mechanics, and to prescribe the quantity of the various kinds of grain which were to be sown by the farmers and husbandmen. The deacons of the trades had previously to this been enjoined to confine themselves strictly and simply to their duty of ascertaining, by an inspection every fifteen days, whether the workmen were sufficiently expert in their business, and were forbidden to alter the laws of the craft, or to punish those who had offended against them. It was now declared that the provisions regarding the appointment of deacons were henceforth annulled, as they had been found productive of grievous injury to the realm; that no deacon should be permitted after this to be elected, whilst those already holding this office were prohibited from exercising their functions. The cause and object of this enactment are involved in considerable obscurity; but taken in connection with the attempt made by this parliament to fix the prices of the various kinds of labour, and the declaration that the meetings of the deacons of the crafts had led to conspiracies, it seems probable that there may at this period have existed combinations amongst the various workmen on subjects connected with their trade.*

Regulations regarding the administration of justice.

The speedy and impartial administration of justice appears to have largely occupied the attention of the legislature. Regulations were made for the choice of an oversman, or umpire, in the settlement of disputes by arbitration, and it was declared, that all persons who should be appointed judges for the determination of causes, should be obliged to take an oath, that they would decide the questions brought before them to the best of their knowledge, and without fraud or favour.† Disputes regarding the property of Scottish merchants dying in Zealand, Flanders, or other parts of the continent, were declared cognizable by the ordinary judge within whose jurisdiction their testaments were confirmed. The litigants in any plea were commanded to attend the court accompanied only by their councillors and "fore-speakers," and such sober retinue as befitted their estate, and not with a multitude of armed followers; and it was strictly forbidden to interpret the statutes contrary to the real meaning, as understood by those who framed them. It was made incumbent on all clergymen who were desirous of passing beyond the seas, to show good cause for their expedition, and to make faith that they should not be guilty of any kind of simony; and heavy penalties were denounced against those who were convicted of the crime of "barratrie," or the purchasing of benefices by money.‡

Other Acts were passed at the same time, respecting the hunting and slaughter of wolves; the catching of fish by cruves or wattled machines, the freighting of cargoes in foreign vessels, and forbidding, under a penalty of forty shillings, the killing of partridges, plovers, blackcocks, greyhens, and muircocks, between "lentryn and August." Lepers were strictly prohibited from taking up their residence within the bounds of any town, or mixing indiscriminately with the inhabitants; and no person smitten with this loathsome disease was to be allowed to enter any burgh, except thrice in the week, at certain prescribed periods, for the purpose of purchasing food.

At this period, an important innovation was made in the constitution of the Scottish parliament, which is of peculiar interest, as containing the first embryo of the principle of representation.

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 510; Tytler, vol. iii. pp. 220, 221.

† Fordun, a Hearne, vol. iv. pp. 1334, 1335; Ibid.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 13, 14.

† Ibid. p. 13. ‡ Ibid. p. 16.

The smaller barons and free-tenants appear to have regarded attendance on the meetings of the national council as an intolerable and expensive grievance, and repeated injunctions were issued that all the barons and freeholders should attend the meeting of the Estates in person, and fines were inflicted upon those who were absent without "a legitimate excuse." Now, however, it was determined by the king, with consent of his council, that the smaller barons or freeholders needed not come hereafter to parliaments, nor general councils, provided that two or more "wise men" were sent as commissioners from each shire. These representatives were to have the privilege of electing the speaker of the parliament, whose duty it should be to bring forward all cases of importance involving the rights and privileges of the commons; and the expenses of the commissioners, and of the speaker, were to be defrayed by their electors, who owed suit and presence in the parliament or council.*

Principle of representation introduced.

In a subsequent meeting of parliament, held at Perth, on the 26th of April, 1429, a sumptuary law was passed, regulating the dress of the various ranks of the community, and prescribing the different kinds of armour and arms to be worn respectively by the knights, burgesses, and yeomen.† All barons and lords possessing estates within six miles of the sea, in the western and northern counties, and opposite the isles, were enjoined to furnish a certain number of galleys, according to the terms of their tenures; an enactment evidently suggested by the great inconvenience experienced from the want of a fleet in suppressing the recent rebellion of the Lord of the Isles.‡ It was declared, that in the event of any vessels being wrecked upon the coasts of Scotland, the laws regarding the appropriation of their cargoes should depend upon the law respecting wrecks in the country to which such vessels belonged. All Scotchmen who should travel to England without the king's leave were declared traitors; and it was enacted, that all advocates or fore-speakers, and the litigants themselves, if they happened to be present, should swear before they were heard, that "they trow the cause is gude and lele that they shall plead."

Laws regulating dress, armour, arms, and ships.

On the 16th of October, 1430, to the great joy of the nation, the queen was delivered of twin sons; the eldest of whom, named Alexander, died in infancy; the second succeeded his father, in 1437, by the title of James II. This auspicious event was celebrated with great public rejoicings, and, at the baptism of his sons, the king conferred the honour of knighthood upon them, and upon the youthful heirs of the Earls of Douglas and Abercorn, of the Chancellor, Lord Crichton, and others of the principal nobility.*

Birth of two royal princes.

The truce with England was now about to expire, and as James and the guardians of the English monarch, Henry VI., were equally anxious to maintain amicable relations between the two kingdoms, commissioners from both nations were appointed to negotiate for a renewal of the armistice; and a truce was concluded for five years, from the 1st of April, 1431. Various regulations were at the same time adopted, for the purpose of restraining the ravages of the turbulent borderers, and guarding against aggressions, or violations of the truce, by the subjects of either kingdom.†

Renewal of the truce with England.

In spite of the vigorous measures which James had adopted for the repression and punishment of the ketherans in the Highlands and islands, these remote districts still continued in a state of anarchy and rebellion. In the year 1431, Angus Duff, the chief of the powerful clan of the Mackays, and Angus of Moray,—both of whom had shortly before been released from the prisons to which they had been consigned on their arrest at Inverness,—met in hostile array in Strathnaver, in the wild province of Caithness, with twelve hundred men on each side; and so fierce and obstinate was the conflict, that hardly thirty of the whole were left alive.‡ About the same period, the turbulent inhabitants of the isles, undismayed by the imprisonment and submission of their chief, rose again in rebellion, and choosing for their leader Donald,—called Balloch, or the Freckled,—the cousin-german of the Lord of the Isles, they invaded Lochaber, laying waste the district with fire and sword; and encountering, at Inverlochy, the Earls of Mar and Caithness, who were stationed there, with a superior force, for the protection of the western coast, totally defeated them, with great slaughter. The Earl of Caithness, with sixteen of his squires, and many other knights, were left dead on the field; while the Earl of Mar with great difficulty made good his retreat.§ But James, with his characteristic promptitude and vigour, assembled an army for the purpose of inflicting exemplary vengeance on Donald and his accomplices; and marching northwards, took up his residence in the castle of Dunstaffnage. His arrival struck terror into the minds of the insurgent chiefs, who hastened in crowds to make their submission and to entreat pardon. By their means, it is said that three hundred of the most noted robbers were seized and executed; and Donald Balloch, having fled to Ireland, was there slain, and his head sent to the king.‖

Disturbed state of the Highlands.

Rebellion of Donald Baliol—its suppression.

Three hundred thieves hanged.

* Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 15, 16.
† Ibid. pp. 17, 18.
‡ Ibid. p. 19.

* Chronicon Jacobi Primi, pp. 9, 10.
† Rymer, Foed. vol. x. p. 482; Tytler, vol. iii. pp. 236, 237.
‡ Chronicon Jacobi Primi, p. 11.
§ Ibid.
‖ Tytler, vol. iii. pp. 239, 240.

At this period Scotland again suffered severely from the ravages of the plague. This fearful scourge first broke out at Edinburgh in the month of February, 1430, and continued to rage in various parts of the country throughout the two following years. The severity of this awful visitation was greatly aggravated by the inclemency of the weather; not only the domestic cattle, but even the beasts of the chase, having perished through the intensity of the cold. Amid this combination of calamities the minds of the common people were bewildered and agitated by superstitious terrors, which were augmented by an eclipse of the sun, which occurred on the afternoon of the 17th of June, 1432, and for half an hour caused a darkness as deep as midnight. It was long remembered in Scotland by the name of the Black Hour.*

Visitation of the plague.

Total eclipse of the sun.

As the affairs of the English continued to decline on the continent, and the French steadily gained ground, the guardians of Henry VI. became anxious to prevent the impending completion of the marriage treaty between France and Scotland, and to detach James, if possible, from his French alliance. For this purpose Lord Scrope was sent as an ambassador to the court of the Scottish king with offers so remarkably advantageous, that some doubts were entertained of their sincerity. His proposals were a firm and lasting peace, with the restitution of Roxburgh and Berwick, together with all the fortresses and possessions that had anciently belonged to the kingdom of Scotland. When these propositions were submitted to the general council of the three Estates at Perth, the whole body of the temporal barons, and the majority of the prelates and higher churchmen, expressed an anxious desire for peace with England, and gave it as their opinion, that the terms offered ought to be accepted. But a party among the minor clergy, headed by the Abbots of Scone and Inchcolm, strenuously contended, that since the king had entered into a treaty of marriage and alliance with the court of France, he could not conclude a lasting peace with England without a violation of his honour, and a formal breach of a contract which he had solemnly sworn to maintain inviolate, and which, having been ratified by the Pope, could not be infringed without a high crime. It was also asserted, that no reliance could be placed on the good faith of the English, and that their only object in making these proposals was to sow dissensions among the Scots, and to excite division between them and their French allies; and that, however liberal they might be in their promises, they had no intention of fulfilling the offers which they now made. These arguments were stoutly controverted by John Fogo, the Abbot of Melrose, who maintained that it was more advantageous to the kingdom to be at peace with the English, who were their near neighbours, than with the French, who lived at a distance. Lawrence of Lindores, the persecuting inquisitor, denounced the arguments of Fogo as savouring of heresy. The controversy grew lengthened and warm, and in the heat of the discussion the English proposals were altogether lost sight of, and the negotiation unfortunately fell to the ground.*

Advantageous proposals of the English government—

—their discussions in a general council—

—their rejection.

Meanwhile James steadily prosecuted his plan of humbling the nobility and diminishing their exorbitant power. The Earls of March, on whom the generosity of David I. had bestowed a princely estate, along with the castle of Dunbar, one of the most important fortresses in the kingdom, had been long remarkable for their dubious fidelity to Scotland, and seem to have thought themselves at liberty to renounce or return to the allegiance of that country at their pleasure. The position of their principal residence on the eastern marches enabled them, whenever they thought proper, to give free admission to the English into the interior of the country. Hence it was a common saying in Scotland, that March held the keys of the kingdom at his girdle; and the successive heads of this powerful and ambitious house had on many occasions abused their power to the serious injury of the nation. We have seen that the father of the present earl had renounced his allegiance to Robert III., and for a number of years had shown himself the zealous and unrelenting foe of his native land. In the year 1408, however, he had made his peace with Albany, and had obtained the restoration of his estates, which had been confiscated in consequence of his rebellion. He survived his return to his own country for fourteen years, and was succeeded by his son, who commanded the English troops in the skirmish at West Nesbit, so fatal to the chivalry of Lothian, but does not appear to have been otherwise implicated in his father's intrigues. The king, however, in the prosecution of his scheme for the depression of the feudal aristocracy, had resolved to deprive the Earl of March of a power which was too great for any subject to hold with safety to the realm; and having prepared the way for the execution of his design, by obtaining from the three Estates, in 1431, a declaration that the governor during his regency had no power to alienate any lands, which, by the decease of a bastard, might have fallen to the crown,† he committed the Earl of March a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, and took possession of the fortress of Dunbar, the chief seat of the family.

The king pursues his plan for diminishing the power of the nobles—

—his designs against the Earl of March—

A parliament was then assembled at Perth, on the 10th of January, 1434, apparently for the purpose of deciding this important question; and a

* Fordun, a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1307; Tytler, vol. iii. pp. 240, 241.

* Chronicon Jacobi Primi, pp. 13, 14.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 20.

committee, consisting of three of the clergy, three of the barons, and three of the burgesses, was appointed to hear and report all causes during the session.* The case between the king and the Earl of March was solemnly discussed by their respective advocates, or prolocutors, and after a long debate the parliament decided that the Duke of Albany had exceeded his power as regent, in granting a pardon and the restoration of his estates to the Earl of March; and that, in consequence of the forfeiture of that noble, all title of property to the lands of the earldom of March and lordship of Dunbar belonged of right to the crown, and might immediately be resumed.† James instantly followed up this decision by taking possession of the forfeited estate, and delivering the keeping of the castle of Dunbar to Sir Walter Haliburton, of Dirleton; but at the same time he conferred upon March the title of Earl of Buchan,‡ with an annuity of four hundred marks out of the revenues of that northern earldom. If James expected in this way to conciliate the powerful family whom he had so tyrannically deprived of their inheritance, he was disappointed, for the Earl scornfully rejected the proffered compensation, and, indignant at the injustice with which he had been treated, abandoned his native country, and, along with his eldest son, retired to England. There can be no doubt that, although this extraordinary proceeding called forth no remonstrance, or open resistance, it excited strong dissatisfaction and apprehension in the minds of the great body of the nobles and barons; and that the harshness, if not injustice, of the act which deprived the house of March of the estates which they had possessed for twenty-six years without challenge, contributed greatly to swell the tide of discontent against the policy of the king. There is reason to believe that many of the nobility began now to regard their sovereign with fear and hatred, and he appears to have entertained some apprehensions that his measures might arouse a spirit of vindictive revenge; for before the dismissal of the parliament, he required all the members of the three Estates to give written pledges of adherence and fidelity to their sovereign lady the queen.§

—the Earl is deprived of his title and estates—

—he is created Earl of Buchan—

—and retires in resentment into England.

About this period a considerable property accrued to the crown by the death of Alexander Stewart, the celebrated Earl of Mar, and the antagonist of Donald of the Isles in the bloody battle of Harlaw. This powerful noble was, in his early days, as we have seen, the turbulent leader of a band of Highland freebooters; but, afterwards, became one of the most experienced and sagacious leaders of the day, and acquired a brilliant reputation in the continental wars. He was the natural son of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, the fourth son of Robert II., and upon his death, his immense estates, by the old Scottish law of bastardy, reverted to the crown.* The house of Erskine regarded the earldom of Mar as their rightful inheritance; but James, in accordance with his usual policy, refused to acknowledge their claim; and it was not till the reign of Queen Mary that its justice was admitted. The loyalty of the Erskines induced them to acquiesce in the king's decision, with a mere protest in reservation of their rights; but there can be little doubt that the effect of this procedure was to strengthen the hostile feeling which was rapidly gaining ground among the nobility, as they saw their importance in the national scale steadily decreasing with the increase of the royal authority.

The earldom of Mar reverts to the crown.

A breach of the truce with England, which occurred at this time, afforded an opportunity for the manifestation of this hostile spirit. Sir Robert Ogle, an English border baron, for some cause which is now unknown, at the head of a considerable force made an inroad into the Merse, and ravaged the country around Paxton. But he was encountered by the Earl of Angus, near Piperden, defeated, and taken prisoner, with nearly the whole of his party.† James violently remonstrated with the English regency against this unprovoked infraction of a truce which had continued uninterrupted since his accession to the throne; but his demand for immediate redress was treated with neglect. His indignation at this wanton outrage was greatly increased by a most discreditable attempt, on the part of the English government, to intercept his daughter, the Princess Margaret, on her way to France. The Dauphin, to whom she was betrothed, having now attained his thirteenth year, while the princess herself was ten years old, it was resolved to complete their marriage. With this view the youthful bride was sent to the court of France, accompanied by the Bishop of Brechin; Sir Walter Ogilvy, the treasurer; Sir John Maxwell, of Calderwood; Sir John Campbell, of Loudon, and many other nobles and knights, together with a hundred and forty youthful squires, and a guard of a thousand men-at-arms. The fleet which was appointed to convey the princess and her train, consisted of three large ships and six barges, and was commanded by William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney.‡ The English government, probably irritated at the rejection of their proposals for a permanent treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, sent out a fleet of one

Lord Robert Ogle makes an inroad into Scotland—

—he is defeated at Piperden.

The Princess Margaret is sent to France, A.D. 1435—

—the English attempt to intercept her.

* Bower, the Abbot of St. Colm and the continuator of Fordun, was one of the clerical members of this committee.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 23.

‡ The Earl of Buchan, high constable of France, who fell at the battle of Verneuil, in 1424, left an only daughter, to whom the title of right belonged; but James, by an arbitrary stretch of power, treated it as having reverted to the crown.

§ Acts of the Parliament, vol. ii. p. 28.

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 500. † Ibid.

‡ Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 485.

hundred and eighty vessels, to intercept the princess upon her passage to France. But while they were watching for the appearance of the Scottish fleet, a number of Flemish merchantmen hove in sight, laden with wine from Rochelle, which they pursued and captured. Almost immediately after, however, a Spanish fleet came up, and, after a fierce struggle, recaptured the prizes, and put the English to flight. During these contests, the princess and her suite arrived in safety at Rochelle, where she was received by the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Bishops of Poictiers and Xaintonge. The marriage was soon after solemnized at Tours, in the presence of the King and Queen of France, and a magnificent assemblage of the nobility of both kingdoms.* It is mentioned by Bower, to the credit of the king, that though he was by the feudal law entitled to a subsidy from his people on this occasion, he refused to oppress them by the imposition of any general tax, and contented himself with the voluntary contributions of the principal clergy and nobility.†

Indignation of James at the perfidious conduct of the English—

James was naturally indignant at the dishonourable and perfidious conduct of the English government in attempting to intercept his daughter during the existence of a truce; and this flagrant breach of the law of nations, which must have reminded him of the treachery by which he had himself been made a prisoner, determined him to keep no farther measures with men whom no engagements could bind. He therefore issued a declaration of war against England, and having summoned the whole array of his kingdom, he commenced the siege of Roxburgh Castle, August, 1436. After remaining fifteen days before the fortress, it was on the eve of being surrendered, when the queen suddenly arrived in the camp, and James, apparently in consequence of some information which she had communicated, immediately raised the siege, disbanded his army, and returned to the north.‡ It has been conjectured, with great probability, that this sudden step was taken in consequence of the king having received information of a conspiracy against his life; and a Scottish encampment, filled with feudal retainers, who regarded revenge as a sacred duty, and fidelity to the command of their lord as of paramount obligation, was certainly no safe residence for a monarch at enmity with his nobles.

—he renews the war—

—his abrupt dismissal of his army.

About two months after this abrupt dismissal of his forces, the king held his last parliament at Edinburgh, on the 22nd of October, 1436. Various enactments were passed respecting the administration of justice, and the regulation of trade; which, however, were calculated to fetter, rather than to encourage the commerce of the country. It was declared, that jurymen should swear that they had received no bribe, and that trespassers might be accused at the instance of the king, though no private prosecutor should appear. To secure the importation of bullion, it was decreed, that exporters of wool were to bring home and deliver to the master of the mint, three ounces of bullion for every sack of wool, nine ounces for a last of hides, and three ounces for such quantity of other goods as paid freight equal to an ancient measure called a *serplaith* — the delivery of the silver to be regulated by weight or measure, and not by value. It was also declared, that no person should be permitted to remain in a tavern after nine o'clock at night; that gold, silver, or jewels, should not be exported out of Scotland; that no Scotchman should buy wine of certain Flemings in Scotland; that no English cloth should be purchased by Scottish merchants; and that English traders should not be allowed to export articles of Scottish trade or manufacture, unless such were specified in their letters of safe conduct.*

Last parliament of James—

—its enactments.

While James was thus actively engaged in promoting the best interests of his kingdom, and all seemed secure and prosperous, his active and useful career was suddenly cut short by a dark conspiracy among the nobles of his court. Although considerable obscurity hangs over the ramifications of the plot which ended so fatally to the king and country, there exists no doubt, that it owed its origin to indignation at the fate of Albany and his family, and to those deep feelings of feudal revenge which had been long cherished by the friends of that unhappy house. The chief promoters of the conspiracy were the king's uncle, Walter Stewart, Earl of Athole; his grandson, Sir Robert Stewart; the king's chamberlain, and Sir Robert Graham, brother of Sir Patrick Graham, of Kincardine. Athole, who appears to have possessed some portion of the haughty and unscrupulous ambition of his brother, the first Duke of Albany, had long aspired to the crown.† He contended that Robert III. was born out of lawful wedlock, and that he, as the eldest surviving son of Robert II. and Euphemia Ross, was the lawful heir of the throne. His ambitious hopes are said to have been stimulated by the predictions of a Highland seer, who had prophesied that Athole should be crowned in this same year; and he was thus induced, both by the love of power, and the desire of revenge upon the oppressor of his house, to join a plot against the life of his nephew and sovereign. Sir Robert Graham, who was the principal agent in the execution of the bloody enterprise, was a man of the darkest and most determined character, and had both personal and family injuries to avenge upon the king. He was, originally, one of

Conspiracy formed against the king—

—its leaders—

—their character and motives.

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 501.
† Ibid. p. 502.
‡ Chronicon Jacobi Primi, p. 15.

* Acts of the Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 23, 24

† "Inveteratus comes Athol iæ qui a longo tempore callide ad coronam aspirabat."—Chronicon Jacobi Primi. Contemporary Account, p 52.

the supporters of the house of Albany, and, along with the other principal adherents of that powerful family, was committed to prison on the return of James from his captivity in England—an insult not likely to be forgotten by a person of Graham's fierce and vindictive character.

Enmity of Sir Robert Graham to the king.

Two years after this event, another transaction occurred, which seems to have still further exasperated his haughty and revengeful spirit. David, Earl of Strathern, the eldest son of Robert II. by his second wife, Euphemia Ross, died during the regency of Albany, leaving an only daughter, married to Patrick Graham, son of Sir Patrick Graham, of Kincardine, who, in right of his wife, assumed the title of Earl of Strathern. As the transmission of feudal dignities by female succession was the acknowledged law of Scotland, there can be no doubt that his claim was well founded. But James, in the prosecution of his schemes for lessening the power of the nobility, resumed the possession of this powerful earldom, under the pretext that it was limited to heirs male, and ought to have reverted to the crown on the death of Earl David, his uncle. As some recompense, however, for the injury thus done to the family whom he had dispossessed of their lands and dignity, he conferred the life-rent of the earldom upon Athole, brother of Earl David, and he created the new earldom of Monteith in favour of Malise Graham, the son of Patrick, Earl of Strathern.* The youthful baron was at this time absent in England; but his uncle, Sir Robert Graham, remonstrated, though without effect, against this invasion of his rights, and, indignant at an act so arbitrary and unjust, he determined upon revenge: and, in the existing state of feeling towards the king, on the part of many of the nobility, he had no difficulty in obtaining accomplices to aid him in his dark designs.

A very minute and interesting account of the progress and accomplishment of the plot against the king, is contained in a contemporary narrative entitled "The Dethe of the King of Scotis," which was first published by Pinkerton in his History of Scotland.† Few stories, it has been justly said, either in history or in fiction, can compete with the horrors of this grim chronicle. According to this ancient narrative, many of the nobles were strongly dissatisfied with the rigorous proceedings of the king, in limiting their power and punishing their excesses; and the people were also discontented at the imposition of taxes, to which they had long been strangers. In this state of affairs, and probably in the year 1434, after the confiscation of the estates of the Earl of March, "many of the lords of the land, dreading sore of the harm that might betide them, drew them to counsel how they might withstand and resist the king's tyranny." ‡

Contemporary narrative of the plot.

* Sutherland Case, by Lord Hailes, chap. v. p. 57; Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 134.

† It has now been published by the Maitland Club, along with the Chronicon Jacobi Primi.

‡ Contemp. Account, printed for the Maitland Club, p. 49.

Their object in the first instance seems to have been merely to limit the royal authority, and to regain the power which they had lost; and Graham, whom the chronicler terms "a man of great wit and eloquence, wonderfully subtle, witty, and expert in the law," offered to represent their grievances to the king, in the next meeting of parliament, if the rest of the nobles would second his remonstrance. His proposal was agreed to; but instead of detailing their complaints with respect and moderation, the natural fierceness and audacity of his character caused him to break out into a violent denunciation of the tyrannical conduct of the government, concluding with an attempt to arrest the sovereign in the name of the Estates of parliament. Approaching the royal seat, and laying his hand upon the king, he exclaimed with great vehemence, "I arrest you in the name of all the three Estates of your realm here assembled in parliament; for as your people have sworn to obey you, so are you bound by your oath to keep your people, and to govern by law, so that you do them no wrong, but in all right maintain and defend them." Then, turning to the assembled barons and prelates, he said, "Is it not thus as I say?" But the barons who had promised to support him were so confounded by the arrogance and temerity of his conduct, that none of them dared to utter a word, whilst the king, indignant at his presumption and audacity, ordered the traitor to be instantly arrested. The command was promptly obeyed, and Graham, after a sarcastic expression of contempt for the cowardice of his associates, was hurried to prison, and shortly after had his estates confiscated, and was banished from the court.*

Graham's audacious attack upon the king—

—he is banished, and his estates confiscated—

Enraged at the failure of his plans, and the ruin which had overwhelmed him, this bold, bad man retired to the recesses of the Highlands — the country of the wild Scots, as the chronicler terms it—meditating revenge; and he had even the audacity to send a letter to the king, in which he formally renounced his allegiance, and defied him as a tyrant who had ruined him and his wife and children; and he declared, that if ever he could find opportunity, he would slay him with his own hand as his mortal enemy. On this new proof of his desperate audacity, a royal proclamation was issued, offering a large sum of money to any one who should bring in the person of Sir Robert Graham dead or alive.†

—he renounces his allegiance—

—a price set upon his head.

Shortly after this, the last parliament of James was held in Edinburgh, and Graham found means from his Highland retreat to communicate with Athole and the other leaders of the conspiracy, and to arrange with them the details of the scheme for the murder of the king. The execution of the plot he offered to take upon himself; and it was settled, that in the

Progress of the conspiracy.

* Contemporary Account, pp. 50, 51. † Ibid.

event of its success, the crown should be conferred upon Sir Robert Stewart, the grandson of the Earl of Athole, and next heir to the throne after James and his young son. The accession of Stewart to the conspiracy was a matter of primary importance, as "he did ever abide in the king's presence, full familiar about him at all hours, and most privy above all others; and was a full gentle squire, and right amiable, whom the king entirely loved as his own son."* The inferior agents in the plot were certain retainers of the house of Albany, who were eager to exact a deep and terrible revenge for the destruction of that unfortunate family.

The king resolves to keep his Christmas at Perth—

The preparations of the conspirators were now nearly completed, while the king seems to have been totally unconscious of his danger. If he had ever entertained any apprehension of a design against his life, his suspicions appear to have vanished; and on the approach of Christmas, he determined to keep the festival at Perth,—a step which greatly facilitated the schemes of the traitors, by bringing their victim to the immediate vicinity of the district in which Graham had taken refuge. They accordingly resolved to avail themselves of the favourable opportunity thus afforded them for the execution of their bloody enterprise. Some surmises respecting their nefarious project seem, in some way or other, to have got abroad, and various intimations were made to the king of the impending danger. As the monarch and his suite were on their road to Perth, and were approaching the Frith of Forth,—then called the Scottish Sea,—a Highland woman, who laid claim to the character of a prophetess, presented herself before the royal cavalcade, and cried out with a loud voice, "My lord king, if ye pass this water ye shall never return again alive." James was struck with her appearance and language,—for shortly before, says the chronicler, he had read a prediction that in the self-same year the King of Scots should be slain,—and, halting for a moment, commanded one of his knights to inquire of the woman what she meant. She replied, that her information came from one Huthart;† but, either from carelessness or treachery, the knight remarked, that no attention should be paid to the woman's words, for she was but a drunken fool, and wist not what she said.‡ The king, therefore, proceeded on his journey, and having crossed the Frith, rode on to Perth, and took up his residence in the monastery of the Dominicans or Black Friars. The Christmas festivities were kept up by the court with great spirit and splendour, and day after day passed away in feudal pastimes and revelry. The king himself, wholly unsuspicious of his approaching fate, was remarkably gay and cheerful. One day, when engaged in playing at chess with a young knight, whom he was accustomed to call in jest the King of Love, he told him of the prophecy which declared that a king should that year be slain, and warned him to look well to his safety, "for ye wot well, Sir Alexander," said he, "that thar be no more kings in this realm but you and I, and I let you wit that I shall ordain for my sure keeping sufficiently."* On another occasion, Christopher Chambers, formerly a squire in the household of Albany, who had been admitted as an accomplice in the plot, being seized with remorse, three several times approached the royal presence intending to warn the king of his danger, but his heart failed him, and he ultimately abandoned his design. "And thus," adds the chronicler, "as it was said by the old wise fathers, many years before we were born, what thing is destined to any person, be it late, be it soon, at the last ever it cometh."†

—he is warned by a Highland woman.

Meanwhile the conspirators had completed their plans, and fixed on the night between the twentieth and the twenty-first of February for the execution of their bloody enterprise. On this fatal evening the king, and the nobles and ladies of his court, were occupied until long past midnight with the common amusements of the period,—the game of chess and of the tables, the reading romances, the harp, and the song. The treacherous Athole was among the company at supper, and remained till a late hour. At this moment a last effort to save the king was made by the Highland prophetess, who had followed the court to Perth, and now knocked at the door of the chamber, and so earnestly implored admission that the usher informed the king of her wishes. But his evil destiny prevailed; he bade her return on the morrow, and she quitted the monastery, declaring that they should all repent that they would not allow her now to speak with the king.‡

The night of the 20th of February fixed for the murder.

Manner in which the king spent the evening—

About an hour after this, James called for the *voidee*, or parting cup—the signal for retiring to rest,—and the company dispersed. Sir Robert Stewart, the chamberlain, was the last to leave the apartment. To facilitate the entrance of the conspirators, he had previously destroyed the locks, and removed the bars of the doors of the royal bedchamber, and the outer room adjoining, which communicated with the passage; and about midnight he had placed wooden boards and hurdles across the moat, which surrounded the garden of the monastery, to enable the murderers to enter without alarming the warder.§ The king was standing before the fire, in his nightgown and slippers, talking gaily with the queen and her ladies of the bedchamber, when there was a great noise and clashing of arms heard, and torches flashed up from the garden. The threatened vengeance of the traitor Graham in-

—treachery of his chamberlain.

* Contemporary Account, p. 52.

† Sir Walter Scott conjectures that *Huthart* might either be the same with Hudikin, a Dutch spirit, or with the Red-capped demon, so powerful in the case of Lord Soulis, and other wizards. See "Demonology and Witchcraft," p. 41.

‡ Contemporary Account, p. 53.

* Contemporary Account, p. 53.

† Ibid. p. 54. ‡ Ibid. p. 55. § Ibid.

stantly darted on the king's remembrance, and the queen and the ladies flew to secure the door of the chamber; but to their consternation they found the locks destroyed and the bolts removed. James thus became aware that a plot had been laid for his destruction, and calling to the women to keep the door as long as they were able, he attempted to force the windows; but they were barred with stanchions of iron, and resisted all his efforts. At last, in utter despair, he seized the tongs of the fire-place, and wrenching up one of the boards of the floor, let himself down into a small vault below the apartment and then concealed the aperture by replacing the board. This vault, which was used as a common sewer, had formerly had an opening into the outer court, for the purpose of cleaning the apartment, and the king might in this way have effected his escape; but it had unfortunately been built up only three days before, by his own orders, because when he played at tennis in the courtyard the balls had repeatedly rolled into the vault through that aperture.* Meanwhile the conspirators burst open the doors, and having slain Walter Straiton, a page, whom they met in the passage, rushed towards the king's bedchamber. The queen and her women endeavoured to barricade the door, and according to tradition, a young lady, named Catherine Douglas, heroically thrust her arm into the staple from which the bolt had been removed. But it was instantly broken, and the assassins rushed into the room with naked weapons, throwing down and wounding some of the ladies as they ran shrieking into the farthest corner of the apartment. The queen, who had nothing on but her kirtle and mantle, was paralyzed with horror, and stood rooted to the spot without power of speech or motion, whilst one of the villains, in his brutal fury, attacked, wounded, and would have slain her, had it not been for a son of Graham's, who interposed, and said, "What will you do, for shame of yourself, to the queen? She is but a woman. Let us go and seek the king." The conspirators now perceived that James had escaped them, and they sought him in every part of the chamber, and of the adjoining apartment, and diligently examined every place of probable concealment, but without success; and after a fruitless search they dispersed, to extend their scrutiny through the other rooms and remoter parts of the monastery.

Heroic conduct of Catherine Douglas.

So much time had now been gained, that it seemed exceedingly probable that assistance would arrive in time to save the king's life; but unhappily he became impatient of his confinement, and having heard no noise for some time, and thinking that the conspirators were gone, he called to the ladies to bring the sheets from the bed, to draw him up from his uncomfortable place of concealment. In their attempt to effect this, Elizabeth Douglas, one of the queen's women, fell down beside the king, and at this moment Thomas Chambers, one of the assassins, who knew all the corners of the monastery, suddenly recollected the vault beneath the bedchamber, and feeling satisfied that the king must be there concealed, returned to the apartment.* He at once discovered where the floor had been broken, and, raising the plank, perceived by the light of his torch the king, and the lady who had fallen into the vault; upon which he called to his fellows with savage merriment, "Sirs, the bride is found for whom we have sought, and carolled all night."† Sir John Hall, another of the traitors, then leaped down with a dagger in his hand; but the king, who was possessed of great bodily strength and activity, seized him by the throat, and by main force threw him under his feet. Hall's brother, who next descended, met with the same fate; and so violently did the king grapple with the murderers, that the marks of his gripe were visible on their throats for weeks afterwards. But they were armed with large knives, while James was wholly weaponless, and in the struggle to wrest their weapons from them, his hands were severely cut and mangled. Sir Robert Graham now came to the assistance of his associates, and James, worn out with the mortal contest, and finding no further defence possible, earnestly implored his mercy. But Graham replied fiercely, "Thou cruel tyrant, thou never hadst mercy upon thine own noble kindred, nor upon any one else; therefore no mercy shalt thou have here." Then said the king, "I beseech thee that for my soul's salvation thou wilt let me have a confessor." "Thou shalt have no confessor but this sword," replied the assassin, and ran the unhappy prince through the body, who instantly fell down, and continued faintly to implore mercy, and to offer half his kingdom for his life. And yet it is said that when the blood-thirsty ruffian saw the king lying bleeding under his feet, he was so much moved by the piteous spectacle that he was about to come up, leaving him still breathing; but his associates above threatened him with instant death if he did not complete the horrid deed; upon which Graham, with the assistance of the two Halls, fell on the king with their daggers, and slew him by repeated wounds.‡

The murder.

This atrocious murder being thus consummated, the assassins sought for the queen, fearing her revenge; but she had fortunately made her escape. By this time the alarm had been given, and the citizens and the nobles, who were quartered in the town, hearing the tumult, hastened to the spot with torches and weapons. The traitors on their approach fled in great haste, and were seen crossing the moat by Sir David Dunbar, brother of the Earl of March, who pursued and slew one of their number, after being himself severely wounded.§ The principal conspirators, however, succeeded in

* Contemporary Account. p. 56.

* Contemporary Account, p. 58. † Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 59. There were sixteen wounds in his breast alone.

§ Ibid. p. 60. "As he fought with them in their fleeing, they cut off three of the fingers of his one hand, and sore wounded him upon his head."

making their escape to the Highlands, expressing their great regret that they had not killed the queen along with her husband, dreading her active and inexorable vengeance.* And not without good reason, for so zealous and unwearied were her efforts to trace and apprehend the murderers, that in less than a month they were all taken and brought to justice.

Capture of the murderers—

They had undoubtedly committed a crime of no ordinary atrocity; but the refined and complicated tortures inflicted upon them were shocking to humanity, and must have contributed in no small degree to defeat the end contemplated in their punishment. Sir Robert Stewart and Christopher Chambers were first taken and brought to Edinburgh, where, after a full confession of their guilt, they were tortured, and then beheaded with an old rusty axe, on a high scaffold raised in the midst of the market-place, and their heads fixed upon the gates of Perth. The aged Earl of Athole, who was apprehended by the Earl of Angus, was next brought to trial and condemned. He admitted that his grandson had proposed such a conspiracy to him; but affirmed to the last, that he exerted every effort to dissuade him from engaging in it, and believed he had succeeded.† As Easter was approaching, the cross on which his grandson had been tormented was taken down, and he was tied to a pillar in the city, with a paper diadem upon his head, thrice inscribed with the name of traitor; his head was then struck off, encircled with an iron crown, and fixed upon the top of a spear. Shortly after, the arch-conspirator, Graham, was captured in the wilds of Mar, by two Highland chieftains, John Stewart Gorm and Robert Duncanson, and conveyed to Stirling. His remorseless courage supported him to the last, amid tortures the very relation of which makes the blood run cold and the heart sicken. He boldly contended, in the presence of the court, that he had a right to act as he had done, and that, having renounced his allegiance, under his hand and seal, and defied the king as his mortal enemy, it was lawful for him to slay him wherever they met; and if they did him justice they would allow him to go free, seeing, said he, he did no wrong nor sin, but only slew God's creature, his enemy. The contemporary chronicler, who seems to have had a friendly feeling towards him, says, "This same Sir Robert Graham, with manly heart, and well advised, as a man well instructed in law and letters, said these words standing at the bar before the judges:—'I doubt it not, that ye shall see the day and the time that ye shall pray for my soul, for the great good that I have done to you and all this realm of Scotland, that I have thus slain and delivered you of so cruel a tyrant, the greatest enemy Scots or Scotland could have, considering his unquenchable covetousness in his youth, against all nature—his tyranny immeasurable, without pity or mercy to friend or foe, to high or low, to poor or rich.'"*

—they are tortured and executed.

Audacious defence of Sir Robert Graham.

"These things," continues the old chronicler, "will be rehearsed in Scotland many a year hereafter; for he was a man of great heart and manhood, and full discreet, and a great scholar of laws, positive, and canon, and civil both; and yet," he adds, in sorrow, "he was condemned."

"This was the sentence:—there should be brought a cart, in the middle of which there should be set fast a tree, upright, longer than a man; and with that same knife that he slew the king withal, was his hand all upon high nailed fast to that tree. That done, the hangman was commanded with that same knife to cut off that hand from the arm. After that, he was nailed, naked as he was first born of his mother, drawn through the town, and the tormentors on every side of him, with hooked instruments of iron, fire hot, all red and glowing; they pinched and twinched his thighs, his legs, his arms, his sides, his back, his shoulders, his neck, his womb, and over all his body, that was still sick and piteous to look upon. With the unsupportable pain of torment, he cried then piteously, with deadly voice, for the pains and passions he so suffered, saying to them, that they did that torment against the laws. 'This that ye have done to me is only by the rigour of unmeasurable tyranny. All the world may clepe you Scotch tyrants, for human nature will not suffer nor endure the painful and tyrannic tormenting that ye put me unto. I doubt me full sore, that, if ye continue thus your torments upon my wretched person, that by the pain ye shall constrain me to deny my Creator, and if I so do I call you before God, the high and chief Judge of all mankind after their deserts at the universal doom, that ye be the very cause of the loss of my soul.'"

The miserable wretch was reserved for another day of agony; but it is necessary to draw a veil over the horrid scene. He was at length beheaded, and the dreadful tragedy terminated with the execution of Thomas Hall, "who, it was known," says the contemporary chronicler, "was the principal and the final cause of the king's death. And thus ends this sorrowful and piteous chronicle."

James I., who was thus cut off in the prime of life, and in the midst of his wise and energetic measures for the improvement of his kingdom, was by far the ablest sovereign that had occupied the Scottish throne since the days of King Robert Bruce; and it may be doubted whether any of his successors have equalled him, either in the vigour of his talents, or the extent and variety of his accomplish-

Character of James I.—

* Contemporary Account, p. 60.

† The Contemporary Account assigns the chief part in the conspiracy to Graham, but Buchanan and the other Scottish historians represent that audacious man as Athole's tool.

* "The evil spirit which had seduced him," says Sir Walter Scott, "and seemed to speak by his mouth, proved a false prophet: the immortality which his memory obtained was only conferred by a popular rhyme to this effect—

'Robert Graham
That killed our king,
God give him shame.'"

ments. His natural abilities, indeed, were of the highest order, and had been early called forth into maturity, both by assiduous cultivation, and by the stern lessons of adversity. His protracted residence in England enabled him to study the science of government to the best advantage, and he acquired in this school a knowledge of the art of administration, which he could hardly have learned in his own kingdom. The enlarged and sagacious character of his political views is proved by the courage with which, undeterred by threatened danger, he uprooted time-honoured abuses, and introduced the most extensive and beneficial changes into the constitution of the country. The introduction of the principle of representation in the meetings of the three Estates of the realm, and the frequency and regularity with which they were assembled—the publication, for the first time, of the Acts of Parliament in the language of the common people—the steps taken to give the utmost publicity to the statutes passed by the legislature —the institution of the Court of Session, and the numerous enactments of his reign for the maintenance of law and order, and the due administration of justice to all classes of the community, vindicate his claim to the character of a wise and good sovereign, and show his enlightened and deep anxiety to promote the welfare of his subjects. "James sought to found the basis of his power on the affections of his people. He attached the lower orders to him by the reformation of abuses, the temperate and equitable administration of justice, the encouragement of the arts of peace, and the promotion of every thing that could diffuse comfort, competency, and innocent enjoyment through the humblest ranks of society. He mingled occasionally among the common people in disguises; visited their firesides; entered into their cares, their pursuits, and their amusements; informed himself of their mechanical arts, and how they could best be patronized and improved, and was thus an all-pervading spirit, watching with a benevolent eye over the meanest of his subjects."* As might have been expected, James was highly popular with the great mass of the nation, who felt the benefits they enjoyed from his vigorous and equitable administration, and willingly took refuge under his protection from the grievous oppression of the feudal barons. But his turbulent and factious nobility regarded him with very different feelings; and, it cannot be denied, that in his laudable efforts to curb their exorbitant power, to strip them of those dangerous immunities which they had usurped during the anarchy of the preceding reigns, and to punish those who had been guilty of flagrant offences, he displayed an inflexible severity, which sometimes bordered on cruelty. But the evils of the feudal system had, during the feeble sway of his predecessors, and the long usurpation of Albany, grown up to a rankness which could be repressed only by the adoption of the most vigorous measures, while the long exile of James in a foreign land, through the unprincipled ambition of his uncle, and the state of anarchy in which he found his kingdom on his return, made revenge appear almost in the light of a duty, and may account for, if it cannot justify, the unrelenting rigour with which he pursued his uncle's family to utter ruin.

—his affection for the common people—

—severity towards his nobles—

The personal accomplishments of James were of a very high order. He was well learned, we are told, "to fight with the sword, to joust, to tourney, to wrestle, to sing, and dance. He was an expert mediciner, right crafty in playing both of lute and harp, and sundry other instruments of music, and was expert in grammar, oratory, and poetry." He was an eminent calligrapher, illuminator, and painter in miniature. Gardening was a favourite amusement with him, as it was with his predecessor the good King David I., and he took great pleasure in planting shrubs and trees, and in grafting.* He contributed greatly to improve the national music of Scotland, and wrote several poems, both serious and comic, which bear the stamp of original genius, and are remarkable for a grace and elegance which were previously unknown to Scottish writers. In person, James was rather below the middle size, but possessed of such strength and activity, as to excel in the games of chivalry, and in all the manly exercises of the age.

—his personal accomplishments—

This excellent prince perished in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign, and was buried in the church of the Carthusians at Perth. He left one son, James, his successor, and five daughters, of whom, Margaret, the eldest, inherited her father's love of literature and taste for poetry. But her husband, the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI. of France, was notorious for his duplicity and falsehood, his mean malignity and gross licentiousness, and her lot was singularly wretched. She was neglected and contemned by her infamous husband, and is believed to have fallen a victim, in her twenty-second year, to a base calumny, invented by one of his unworthy courtiers.† Her sister Eleanor, who married Sigismund, Duke of Austria, was equally fond of literature, and translated the romance of Ponthus et Sidoyne into German for the amusement of her husband. James's remaining daughters were Isabel, married to Francis, Duke of Bretagne; Mary, to the Count de Boucquan, son to the Lord of Campvere; and Jane, to the Earl of Angus, and subsequently to the Earl of Morton.

—his children.

* Washington Irving.

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 514.

† "Her accuser," says Pinkerton, "was proved to be a 'scoundrel' and 'common liar;' qualities which, doubtless, recommended him to the special protection of Louis.' History, vol. i. pp. 199—201, and note (8). For the character of Louis see Introduction to Quentin Durward.

CHAPTER XVI.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

A.D. 1370—1436.

The ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland had now become completely assimilated, in the general outline of its constitution, to the other churches which acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. The provincial councils of the clergy appear to have been regularly assembled, but their acts are imperfectly recorded, as they contain little or nothing of much interest. The following passage gives in brief compass a comprehensive view of the privileges enjoyed by the Scottish church at this period. "The clergy seem to have possessed an exemption from tribute and war, and from the sentence of a temporal judge; a judicial authority in the spiritual causes of tithes, testaments, matrimonial, and heretical affairs; freedom to let land and tithes; submission to no foreign church but the Pope alone; a power of holding provincial councils for the regulation of the national church. In benefices, the pontiff had only the right of confirmation and deprivation, and the purchase of any benefice at Rome was strictly prohibited. The bishops were elected by the chapter, and the royal recommendation seems seldom to have intervened. Abbots were chosen by the monks alone; the secular clergy were named by the proprietors of the lands. These clergy were either parsons (rectors) or vicars. Many were in the appointment of the bishops and of the collegiate bodies whose chapters they formed. Hence the lay patronage was much confined. Many sees and abbeys were opulent; but James III. seems to have been the first monarch who seized and made a traffic of the nomination."*

Privileges of the Scottish clergy.

As might naturally be expected, in an age when the great mass of the people were immersed in gross ignorance, superstitious notions and usages were widely prevalent in Scotland at this period. The virtue of the mass,† and of the relics of saints, the adoration of images and of the cross, the efficacy of indulgences and the importance of confession, of processions, and of pilgrimages, were zealously inculcated by the priests, and credulously believed by the people.

Superstitious usages.

Immense numbers of pilgrims travelled to the various shrines of saints and martyrs, not only in Scotland and England, but even on the continent. If, however, we may credit the statements of contemporary writers, the extreme frequency of these pilgrimages did not originate wholly in religious zeal. A graphic description of what the fashionable pilgrimages of the time really were, is given by William Thorpe, one of the early followers of Wycliffe, in his defence before Archbishop Arundel:—"Examine," he says, "whosoever will, twenty of these pilgrims, and he shall not find the man or woman that knows surely a commandment of God, nor can say their Pater-noster and Ave-Maria, nor their creeds readily in any language." "The cause," he affirms, "why that many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimages, is more for the health of their bodies than of their souls, more to have riches and prosperity of this world than to be enriched with virtues in their souls, more to have here worldly and fleshly friendship than to have friendship of God and of his saints in heaven." Such persons as thus spend much money in seeking and visiting the bones of this or that saint, do that, he contends, which is in direct disobedience to the command of God, inasmuch as they waste their goods partly upon hostellers (or inn-keepers) many of whom are women of profligate conduct, partly upon rich priests that already have much more than they need. "Also," he concludes, "I know well, that when divers men and women will go thus after their own wills, and finding out one pilgrimage, they will ordain with them (arrange with one another) before to have with them both men and women that can well sing wanton songs, and some other pilgrims will have with them bagpipes; so that every town they come through, what with the noise of their singing, with the sound of their piping, with the jangling of their Canterbury bells, and with the barking out of dogs after them, they make more noise than if the king came thereaway with all his clarions and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a month in their pilgrimage many of them shall be an half-year after janglers, tale-tellers, and liars."* The most noted Scottish pilgrimage appears to have been Whithern, in Galloway, and great numbers of pilgrims resorted to this shrine from England, and even from foreign countries. Rabelais mentions the frequent pilgrimages to St. Triegnan, which is supposed to be a corruption of St. Ninian, the founder of the bishopric of Whithern.†

Pilgrimages.

Character and conduct of the pilgrims.

It was at this period that the doctrines of Wycliffe appeared for the first time in Scotland. The disciples of this great reformer had already become very numerous in England, where they had undergone a fierce persecution at the hands of the Romish hierarchy. Great numbers were condemned to the stake, and others suffered prolonged imprisonment, whipping, and similar punishments. Some of these zealous opponents of papal errors soon penetrated into the northern division of the island, either in search of a refuge

First appearance in Scotland of the doctrines of Wycliffe.

* Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 173.

† Even the learned Bower, the continuator of Fordun, relates with all gravity an example of the virtue of the mass in saving three monks of his monastery who were bringing ale in a boat that was lost.

* Foxe's Acts and Monuments. Pictorial History of England, vol. ii. pp. 145, 146.

† Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 175, note (1). St. Ringan is the Scottish corruption of St. Ninian.

from the persecution of their enemies, or, more probably, from an ardent desire to propagate the truth. They were usually termed Lollards, probably from the German reformer, Walter Lolhard, who was burnt at Cologne, in 1322, for his preaching against the mass, extreme unction, the efficacy of penance, and the authority assumed by the pope. The English and Scottish Lollards were the zealous opponents of the pretensions of the Romish hierarchy, and appear to have held nearly the same doctrines with Luther and his followers in the next century. A very distinct account of their creed is given in a petition which they presented to the House of Commons in 1395, in which they maintain, that "the possession of temporalities by the clergy is contrary to the law of Christianity, and destructive of faith, hope, and charity; that the Romish priesthood is not that established by Christ; that outward rites of worship have no warrant in Scripture, and are of little or no importance; that the celibacy of the clergy is the occasion of scandalous irregularities in the whole church; that the pretended miracle of transubstantiation tends to make people idolatrous; that exorcisms and benedictions pronounced over wine, bread, water, oil, salt, &c., have more in them of necromancy than of religion; that the clergy, by accepting secular places under the government, become hermaphrodites, attempting at the same time to serve both God and Mammon; that prayers made for the dead are more likely to be displeasing than otherwise to the Almighty, inasmuch as for one among other reasons, they are probably, in most cases, offered for persons (more especially the founders of monasteries and other such pernicious endowments) who have already been consigned to punishment for their evil lives, and are beyond the reach of mercy; that pilgrimages and prayers made to images, are nearly akin to idolatry; that auricular confession is a highly objectionable practice; that priests have no power of absolution for sin; that to take away the life of man, either in war or by sentence of a court of justice, is expressly contrary to the spirit and precepts of Christianity; and, lastly, that certain trades ought to be put down, as both unnecessary and the occasion of a great deal of sin, especially those of the goldsmith and the sword-cutler, both of which, though they might be tolerated under the Mosaic dispensation, were not lawful under that of the New Testament."*

Opinions held by the Lollards.

It was not at all unnatural that the clergy should regard with the greatest alarm the spread of doctrines like these, which struck at the very root of the papal system; but the measures which they adopted for their suppression were in the highest degree unjustifiable and impolitic. In the year 1407, John Resby, an English priest, of the school of Wycliffe, who had preached the tenets of the reformer with great boldness and zeal, was apprehended on a charge of heresy, and brought before a clerical council, presided over by Laurence of Lindores, an eminent doctor of theology. He was charged with no fewer than forty heretical opinions, the principal of which were, that penance and auricular confession are of no avail; that the pope is not the vicar of Christ; and that he was not to be esteemed pope if he was a man of wicked life. Resby made a courageous and eloquent defence; but, as was to be expected, he failed to convince his ecclesiastical judges, by whom he was found guilty, and barbarously condemned to the flames. This intrepid witness for the truth was accordingly burnt at Perth along with his books and writings.* The conduct of the clergy, in thus kindling the flames of religious persecution, was abetted, if not instigated, by Albany, whose zeal for the purity of the Romish faith, and hatred of Lollards and heretics, are gratefully commemorated by Wyntown.† The execution of Resby is the first example of persecution for religious opinions which is recorded in Scottish history, and, as has invariably been the case, this cruel attempt to quench the doctrines of the reformers served only to strengthen their hold on the popular mind. The blood of the martyr proved the seed of the church. His little treatises, explaining and defending the opinions for which he suffered, were carefully preserved by his disciples, who held secret meetings for the discussion of those doctrines which they had been taught by their instructor, and which they resolutely maintained, although they were afraid openly to avow them. Bower tells us, that there were still in his day some unhappy persons, instigated by the devil, by whom the writings of Resby were carefully preserved, and their pernicious heresies cherished, in accordance with the scriptural text, that "stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant." It is certain that the new opinions continued steadily to gain ground in Scotland, for an Act was passed for their suppression by the parliament which assembled at Perth in 1424, after the return of James I. from England. This statute directed that the bishops should make strict inquisition within their respective dioceses for all Lollards and other heretics, in order that they might be punished according to the laws of the holy church; and that, if necessary, the civil power should be called in for that purpose, in aid of the ecclesiastical.‡

Trial and execution of John Resby.

—spread of his doctrines.

Statute against the Lollards.

It does not appear, however, that any person was brought to the stake in Scotland, for heresy, after the death of Resby, till the year 1433, when Paul Crawar, a Bohemian, was burnt at St. Andrews, on the 23rd of July. Crawar, who is admitted by his enemies to have been a

Paul Crawar is condemned and burnt for heresy—

* Wilkin's Concilia, vol. iii. p. 221. Pictorial History of England, vol. ii. p. 141.

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 442, 443.

† "He was a constant Catholic,
All Lollard he hated and heretic."
Vol. ii. p. 419

‡ Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. p. 7.

person of great learning and of remarkable acuteness and dexterity in argument, had been sent by the reformers of Prague to open a communication with their brethren in Scotland. He was a physician by profession, and his recommendatory letters spoke highly of his eminence in the healing art; but he appears to have followed this profession principally for the purpose of obtaining a favourable opportunity to disseminate his religious opinions. There can be no doubt that he made many converts, and that the disciples of Wycliffe in Scotland had by this time greatly increased in number, for, in the account given of the trial of the Bohemian, he is spoken of as an emissary to a numerous body sharing the sentiments of himself and his countrymen. The zeal and success with which he propagated his doctrinal views excited the alarm and indignation of the clergy, and he was seized and brought before Laurence of Lindores, the same cruel and bigoted inquisitor who sat in judgment upon Resby. From the exposition of his opinions given by Bower, it is evident that Crawar held, on most points, the tenets of Wycliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague. He affirmed that purgatory was a cunningly-devised fable, the efficacy of pilgimages an imposition, and that the doctrines of transubstantiation, the power of the "keys," and priestly absolution, were vain devices of human invention. He strenuously asserted the right of the laity to the free perusal of the Holy Scriptures; and, what was probably regarded as the most obnoxious of all his heretical opinions, he asserted, that, in temporal matters, the spiritual should be subordinate to the civil, and that magistrates had a right to try and punish ecclesiastics who had been guilty of criminal offences. In the celebration of the Lord's Supper, Crawar and his followers rejected the unauthorized rites of the Romish church, and closely followed the example of the primitive Christians. They commenced the service by the Lord's Prayer, after which they read the history of the institution of the ordinance, as contained in the New Testament, and then proceeded to distribute the elements, using common bread, and a common drinking cup or goblet.* When brought before the ecclesiastical court, the Bohemian reformer courageously avowed the opinions which he held, and supported them by the most cogent arguments, and by apposite quotations from the sacred volume. But his powerful reasoning and profound knowledge of the Holy Scriptures availed him nothing in his contest with his remorseless persecutors. He was condemned to the stake, and underwent the cruel sentence with a courage and composure which had a powerful influence on the minds of the people. The perpetrators of this atrocious act, and their apologists, have endeavoured to blacken the memory of their victim by imputing to him a denial of the resurrection of the dead, and affirming that his followers recommended a community of goods, and lived gross and licentious lives,—the very calumnious accusation which the heathen writers brought against the disciples of Christ in the early ages of Christianity.

—his doctrines.

It may excite surprise that a sovereign so sagacious and enlightened as James, should have countenanced or permitted these cruel proceedings; but the clergy were his most powerful auxiliaries in his deadly struggle with the feudal aristocracy, and he had been trained in a bad school for the acquirement of correct opinions respecting religious freedom and toleration. The sanguinary persecutions of the Lollards, which took place in England during the reigns of Henry IV. and his son,* who scrupled at nothing to gain the favour of the clergy, must have exercised a most injurious influence on the mind of the youthful monarch, accustoming him to witness scenes of suffering and cruelty, and to see human lives sacrificed without scruple, for the accomplishment of selfish objects. Accordingly, on his return to his own country, he appears to have adopted the policy of his instructors without any misgiving, and to have unhesitatingly lent himself to the support of the clergy in their unscrupulous attempt to exterminate the doctrines of the reformers. In other respects, James's love for the church was shown in a way more in accordance with his general character. Though he is said to have grudged the liberal donations which his predecessor David I.,—that "sore saint for the crown," —bestowed upon the church, and his own income, in consequence of the dilapidation of the royal revenues during his captivity was too limited to permit him to become the founder or benefactor of religious houses, he clearly perceived that, amid prevailing ignorance and barbarism, the clergy were the best instruments he could employ in promoting the education and civilization of the people. He therefore sought to cultivate their friendship, and availed himself of their great influence in the prosecution of his plans for the diminution of the power of the nobility and the general improvement of the country. Immediately after his return from England, with the view of conciliating the clergy, an enactment was passed by the parliament, commanding all men to honour the church, declaring that the clergy should enjoy in all things their ancient freedom and established privileges, and strictly prohibiting any interference with their granting leases of their lands or tithes. In the

Policy of the king—

—his encouragement of the clergy—

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 495, 496. Tytler, vol. iii. p. 244.

* Great numbers suffered for their religious opinions under these monarchs, who were determined persecutors, sparing no rank or age. Holinshed mentions a most shocking example of the cruelty of Henry V. while Prince of Wales. He was present at the execution of one Badby, who was burnt for his denial of transubstantiation. "When the fire was kindled, hearing him make a roaring noise very pitifully, the prince caused the fire to be plucked back, and offered him his life and a pension if he would recant." But the intrepid martyr refused, choosing to die rather than to forsake his opinions. "Whereupon the prince commanded that he should be put into the tun again, from thenceforth not to have any favour or pardon at all; and so it was done and the fire put to him again, and he consumed to ashes."

following year (1425) James issued a commission to the primate, Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, authorizing him to resume all the church lands which had been alienated during the regency of Albany; orders were given to the justiciars of the realm to assist in the recovery of the lost property, and the bishop was commissioned to pronounce the sentence of excommunication on all who should offer any resistance.* James also revived the custom of holding general councils, which had fallen into desuetude. He exercised a watchful control over the various religious establishments throughout the country, and the manners and morals of their inmates, and finding that the Benedictine and Augustine monks had become relaxed in their discipline, he wrote to them an affectionate letter of admonition and reproof.† James was equally vigilant in repressing the abuses which had crept into the ecclesiastical state of the country, from the purchase of pensions from the pope, and of the presentations to benefices and important clerical offices. Stringent enactments were passed, forbidding these disgraceful practices under heavy penalties; and with the view of preventing them, no clerk was allowed to pass beyond seas without an express licence from the king, and it was made incumbent on him, first to show good cause for his expedition, and to give security that he should not be guilty of any kind of simony or "barratrie."‡

—and zeal in repressing ecclesiastical abuses.

It is gratifying to be able to turn for relief from the melancholy scenes of intestine feud and religious persecution, to the pleasing spectacle of the establishment of the University of St. Andrews, which was founded in the year 1410, under the auspices of Henry Wardlaw, the bishop of that see.§ Before the foundation of this institution, the Scottish youth were obliged to resort to the English and Continental universities for the opportunities of prosecuting their studies in the higher branches of education. In the year 1282, Devorguilla, the daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, and wife of John Baliol,‖ established Baliol College in Oxford, which was no doubt intended for the reception of Scottish students; and in 1326, the Scotch College of Paris was founded by the liberality of David, Bishop of Moray. But to Bishop Wardlaw belongs the honour of erecting a temple to learning at home, and thus rendering it unnecessary for the Scottish youth to resort to other lands in pursuit of knowledge. In the papal bull which sanctioned the new seminary, it is declared that the bishop and his associates had been stirred up to the undertaking by the consideration of the many dangers and inconveniences to which the clergy of Scotland, who desired to be instructed in theology, the canon and civil laws, medicine, and the liberal arts, were exposed from wars and other impediments in their journeys to foreign *studia generalia*, in consequence of there being no such institution to which they might resort in their own country. The origin of the new seminary was sufficiently simple. A few men of letters in the city of St. Andrews formed themselves into an association, under the auspices of the bishop, for the purpose of giving instruction in the higher branches of science and philosophy to all who chose to attend their lectures. Their names, as recorded by Fordun, were Laurence Lindores, an eminent doctor of theology, who undertook to explain the fourth book of the Sentences of Peter Lombard; Richard Cornel, Archdeacon of Lothian; John Litster, Canon of St. Andrews; John Shevez, Official of St. Andrews; William Stephen, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, who lectured on the civil and canon laws; and John Gyll, William Foulis, and William Crosier, who taught logic and philosophy. The public lectures commenced in the year 1410, and in the charter or grant of privileges, which is dated 27th February, 1411, and addressed to the venerable doctors, masters, bachelors, and scholars dwelling in the city of St. Andrews, by whom the institution had been so laudably begun, the bishop formally endows the new seminary with all the rights and privileges of a university, in so far as his jurisdiction extended. But it was not until after the lapse of two years and a half that the establishment was sanctioned by the papal authority.

Foundation of the University of St. Andrews—

—its first professors—

At this period there were no fewer than three rival popes, each claiming to be the head of the church. The kingdom of Scotland adhered to Benedict XII.; from him, therefore, the bulls of confirmation were obtained. These bulls, which are six in number, all dated the same day, the 25th of August, 1413, at Paniscola, in Arragon, where Benedict kept his court, profess to be granted at the request of the Scottish king, and of the bishop, prior, and chapter of St. Andrews, whose project of establishing a university or *studium generale* in that city is expressly stated to have been formed with the counsel, consent, and common participation of the three Estates of the realm of Scotland.* On the 3rd of February, 1414, the papal bulls, which endowed the infant seminary with all the privileges of a university, were brought to St. Andrews by Henry Ogilvy, master of arts, and their arrival was welcomed by processions, and the ringing of bells, and every demonstration

—it is sanctioned by the papal authority—

* MS. in Harleian Coll., quoted in Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 116.

† Fordun, vol. ii. p. 508.

‡ The purchase of benefices for money.

§ This enlightened prelate was as highly celebrated for his munificence as for his love of learning. The story is told of him, that when the managers of his household complained to him of his unbounded hospitality, and proposed that he should draw out a scheme for its regulation and retrenchment, he called his secretary, and named as the first guests whom he would have always welcome, Fife and Angus—the two counties principally forming his diocese. "His servants," adds Archbishop Spottiswode, "hearing this, gave over their purpose of retrenching his family, for they saw he would have no man refused that came to his house." History of the Church of Scotland, p. 57.

‖ See ante, p. 168.

* See Evidence taken by the Scottish University Commissioners, vol. iii. p. 171.

of public joy. On the following day, which was Sunday, the clergy assembled in solemn convocation in the refectory, and heard the papal bulls read in the presence of the bishop, the chancellor of the university. They then walked in procession to the high altar, where *Te Deum* was sung by the whole of the vast assembly, consisting of the dignitaries of the church, arrayed in their richest robes, and of four hundred clerks, besides novices and lay-brothers, and an immense multitude of spectators. High mass was then celebrated, and after the conclusion of the service, the remainder of the day was spent in joyous festivity.*

Constitution of the University—

"The University of St. Andrews was formed on the model of those of Paris and Bologna, and enjoyed the same privileges. All its members, or supposts, as they are called, including the students who had attained the degree of bachelor, as well as the masters, were divided into nations, according to the places from which they came. At a congregation, or general meeting, they elected four procurators, who had a right to act for them in all causes in which their interests were concerned; and four intrants, or electors, by whom the rector was chosen. The rector was the chief magistrate, and had authority to judge and pronounce sentence, with the advice and consent of his assessors, in all causes, civil and criminal, relating to members of the university, with the exception of crimes which incurred the highest punishment. He had a right to repledge any member of the university who might be called before any other judge, civil or ecclesiastical; and in certain cases, those who did not belong to the university might be called before the rector's court, upon the complaint of a master or student. It is natural to suppose, that the exercise of these powers would give occasion to a collision of authorities; and accordingly, a concordat was entered into at an early period between the university and the magistrates of the city, by which the limits of their jurisdictions were defined and adjusted. The university had the right of purchasing victuals free from custom within the city and the regality of the abbey. It was also exempted from paying all other imposts and taxes, even those levied by the Estates, with the exception of what is called the *great custom*. Its members enjoyed immunity from the duties exacted for confirming testaments; and such of them as were clergymen, and possessed benefices, with cure, were liberated by the papal bull from obligation to personal residence, as long as they taught in the university. Besides its civil and criminal jurisdiction, the university possessed ecclesiastical powers, in the exercise of which it sometimes proceeded to excommunication. It may be mentioned, as an evidence of the respect paid to literature, that in consequence of a dispute which had arisen, it was determined that the rector of the university should take precedence of the prior of the abbey in all public processions.

For the direction of its literary affairs, the members of the university were divided into faculties, according to the sciences that were taught. At the head of these was a dean, who presided at the meetings of the masters of his faculty, for regulating the mode of study, and for examinations. The chancellor presided at meetings of the university for the conferring of degrees. It was long before medicine was taught as a separate science in our universities; and it does not appear that they were accustomed anciently to confer degrees in law. The branches taught were the arts, or philosophy, canon law, and divinity.

However limited this course of education was, and however rude and imperfect the mode in which it was conducted, such an institution could not fail to produce effects favourable to the progress of knowledge. The erection of the University of St. Andrews may be regarded as marking the first dawn of learning in Scotland. Attracted by novelty, or animated by that thirst for knowledge which has always characterized Scotchmen, students came to St. Andrews from every part of the kingdom."*

—its privileges confirmed by James I.

When King James returned from England, in 1424, he found the university still flourishing under the protection of its venerable founder, —his own early instructor. Besides granting it a charter, dated at Perth, 3rd March, 1432, confirming all its privileges and immunities, James assembled the most distinguished of the professors and students, and, after conversing familiarly with them, and applauding their exertions, rewarded them, according to their merit, with offices in the state or benefices in the church. According to Boece, the institution enjoyed such prosperity under his patronage, that it soon numbered among its teachers no fewer than thirteen doctors of divinity and eight doctors of laws, whose prelections were attended by a prodigious multitude of students.

* Scotichron. vol. ii. pp. 445, 446.

* M'Crie's Life of Melville, pp. 338—341.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

THE long wars with England, and the fierce domestic feuds of the nobles, not only retarded the social progress of Scotland, but threw it back a century in the career of civilization. There can be no doubt that the agriculture, trade, and commerce of the country were in a much more flourishing state, and that the inhabitants possessed a larger share of necessaries and comforts of life during the reign of Alexander III. than at the accession of James I. The social habits of the Scottish people in these unfavourable circumstances inevitably acquired a rudeness and ferocity corresponding to their external condition. According to Froissart, (whose visit to Scotland, about the year 1360, forms an epoch in the history of the national manners;) the French auxiliaries, who came over in the year 1385, shuddered at the penury and barbarism of the country. The city of Edinburgh, he tells us, was at this time not so large as Valenciennes or Tourney, and though it contained four thousand houses, these were merely small wooden cottages, covered with straw, which their owners abandoned and set on fire with little reluctance, whenever an enemy appeared.* Even so late as the reign of James I., we are informed by Æneas Sylvius, (afterwards Pope Pius II.,) that the houses in the towns of Scotland, when constructed of stone at all, were built without lime, and in the villages they were roofed with turf, while a cow-hide supplied the place of a door.† Froissart states that the houses of the borderers, and those who inhabited the districts which were exposed to the incursions of the enemy, were of a still more wretched description, consisting merely of four or five poles, to support the turf walls and a roof of boughs, so that a man could erect a dwelling of this kind in three days. On the approach of the English they unroofed these temporary structures, and carrying off their flocks and herds and household stuff, retired into the mountain fastnesses and recesses of the forests, where they remained in security till the enemy was compelled to retreat in order to escape starvation, when the inhabitants emerged from their retreats, and with a few stakes and wattles rebuilt their ruined habitations. The indoor accommodations of such a people must have been of the most miserable kind. Æneas Sylvius mentions that the common people were poor and uneducated, and though they had abundance of flesh and fish, yet bread was regarded as an absolute dainty among them. The men, he adds, are small in stature, but bold; the women fair and comely.‡ Another contemporary author states that Scotland is rich in fish, flesh, and milk, but the country is mountainous and strange, and the people rough and savage; and Froissart informs us that the French knights, who came over under John de Vienne, in the reign of Robert II., could obtain no wine in Scotland but at a great price, while the ale was weak and thin, and the bread made of barley or oats.* The state of the people "in the region where agriculture was not used" was still more wretched than that of their fellow countrymen in the "cultivated lowlands." The wild Scots, who speak a different language, we are told, were sometimes reduced to eat the bark of trees. Milk in its various modes of preparation formed a principal article of food among the common people. Meat boiled with oatmeal, or fish, formed their meals on more important occasions. Bread and vegetables were little used—a circumstance which may, probably, account for the prevalence of the cutaneous disease called leprosy.† Great quantities of salmon and other fish were taken in the rivers, and formed an important article both of diet and of export.

Deterioration of the country during the wars with England.

Dwellings of the people—

—their food.

The immense forests which at one time covered the face of the country were now greatly dilapidated. Æneas Sylvius says, he found the country generally devoid of trees, but there was a sulphureous stone dug up which was used for firing: and again, that coals were given to the poor at the church-doors by way of alms, the country being denuded of wood.‡ The statement of this author is incidentally corroborated by the statute enacted by the parliament in 1424, regarding those defaulters who steal green wood, or strip the trees of their bark, under cover of the night. Unfortunately this decay of the forests was not owing to the progress of agriculture. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that many districts which had at one time been brought under cultivation were allowed to return to a state of nature, in consequence of the unsettled condition of the country. The evils resulting from this neglect of agricultural operations, attracted the attention of James I. immediately on his return to his own kingdom; and various enactments were passed by the legislature for the protection and encouragement of husbandry. It was ordained, that every man of such a condition in life as made it proper that he should be a labourer or husbandman, should either become the half-proprietor of an ox and a plough, or dig every day a portion of land seven feet in length, and six feet in breadth. It was also declared, that every farmer and husbandman who possessed a plough and eight oxen, should sow annu-

Dilapidation of the forests.

State of agriculture—

—enactments for its encouragement.

* Chronicles, vol. ii. chap. clx.

† Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 149, 150.

‡ Ibid.

* Chronicles, vol. ii. chap. clx.

† Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 154. See ante, p. 265. By a previous statute, passed 1401, it was enacted, that if any unwholesome pork, or bacon, or spoilt and foul salmon, was brought to market, it was to be seized by the bailies, and sent immediately to the "lipper folk" (leprous folk)—a species of barbarous economy, it has been justly remarked which says little for the humanity of the age.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 150.

ally a firlot, or four Scottish pecks of wheat, half a firlot of pease, and forty beans, under a penalty of ten shillings, to be paid to the baron of the land; while the baron himself was commanded to sow the same quantity within his own demesnes under the penalty of forty shillings, to be paid to the king for each infringement of the law.* It has been justly remarked, that the small quantity of beans here mentioned renders it probable that this is the era of their earliest introduction into Scotland. Oats and barley, indeed, were almost the sole crops raised at this period in Scotland, and *pease-bannocks* were long esteemed by the Scottish peasantry a dainty little inferior to wheaten bread. The statutes concerning the destruction of rooks, because of the mischief which they occasioned to the corn;† the extirpation of wolves, and the burning of heath while the crops were on the ground, have been already referred to, and indicate the watchful care with which James sought to promote the improvement of the country.

Trade and commerce.

The commerce of Scotland, like its agriculture, had suffered severely at this period from foreign war and internal dissensions, but, after the death of Edward III., and the abandonment of the designs which the English monarch had entertained upon the independence of the kingdom, it began slowly to revive and to return to its former channels. The greater part of the foreign trade of the country was confined to the Netherlands, though voyages were occasionally undertaken to Norway, Denmark, and the Hanse Towns, and to France for wine.‡ A considerable trade appears to have been also carried on with the Lombards, who were at this time reckoned among the most wealthy and enterprising merchants in Europe.§ It is difficult to give anything like an accurate or satisfactory account of the imports of Scotland at this period, as they appear to have been of the most miscellaneous character, and to have included most articles of necessity and convenience. The exports, according to Æneas Sylvius, consisted of hides, wool, salt fish, and pearls. In addition to these, the statutes make mention of horses, cattle, and sheep; the skins of martins, fumarts, rabbits, does, roes, otters, foxes, harts, and hinds; woollen cloths; and herrings, salted and cured. The numerous enactments framed by the legislature for the regulation of the fisheries, show that salmon constituted an important article of commerce. The customs on imports and exports amounted to about two shillings in the pound; but it is impossible now to ascertain the extent of the trade. Stow mentions, that Sir Robert Umfraville, the English Vice-Admiral, in an expedition to Scotland in 1410, besides plundering the country on both coasts of the Frith of Forth, carried off as prizes fourteen "good ships" laden with woollen and linen cloth; pitch, tar; woad; meal, wheat and rye; in addition to many which he burned. It is probable, however, that some of the vessels taken by Umfraville might belong to foreigners. Domestic traffic was chiefly carried on at fairs, which were usually held on the day of the saint to whom the parish church was dedicated. Thither the merchant brought his goods, and the farmer and the husbandmen the produce of their lands; receiving in return the necessaries or luxuries imported from the continent. We learn incidentally, that at this period the richer nobles and gentry, and the higher clergy, and even the sovereign himself, not unfrequently engaged in mercantile adventures. The Duke of Albany, for example, was the proprietor of a vessel which carried six hundred quarters of malt, and was navigated by a master and twenty-four sailors. In the year 1404, a richly-laden vessel, belonging to Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, was taken by the English. About the same time, the Earl of Douglas freighted a vessel to trade in Normandy and Rochelle; and at a later period, a ship named the Mary of Leith, belonging to King James I., obtained a safe conduct from the English monarch to unship her cargo in the port of London, and expose the merchandize for sale.* About the same time James imported from London the following articles, which it may, therefore, be presumed he either could not procure at home, or not of so good a quality: twenty tons of wine; twelve bows; four dozen yards of cloth, of different colours; twelve yards of scarlet; twenty yards of red worsted; eight dozen pewter vessels; twelve hundred wooden bowls, packed in four barrels; three dozen coverals; a basin and font; two summer saddles; one hackney saddle; a woman's saddle, with furniture; two portmanteaus; four yards of motley; five yards of morrey; five yards of black cloth of lyre; twelve yards of kersey, and twelve skins of red leather. These goods were shipped for Scotland, in a vessel belonging to London, accompanied by an order of king Henry, securing them from molestation by English cruisers.†

Erroneous commercial legislation.

It appears that the merchants of Scotland frequently went abroad with their cargoes; but, in the mistaken spirit which characterized the commercial legislation of the age, it was enacted by the parliament in 1424, that no merchant was to be permitted to pass the sea for the purposes of trade, unless he possessed in property, or at least in commission, the value of three serplaiths of wool, each serplaith being eighty stone weight, or about two sacks. The whole of the statutes, indeed, enacted during the reign of James I., for the regulation of the commerce of

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 13; Tytler, vol. iii. p. 224.

† The trees in which the rooks were suffered to build were forfeited to the king. Æneas Sylvius, who mentions this law, erroneously infers from it that rooks had been recently introduced into Scotland.

‡ The usual staple of the Scottish continental commerce was at Bruges, where James I. founded a Scottish chapel, to be supported by some duties on the ships belonging to his subjects. Campvere became the staple port, after the marriage of its lord to a daughter of James.

§ Bower speaks of an "enormous vessel," belonging to the Lombards, which was shipwrecked by a sudden storm on the Frith of Forth, and cast ashore at Granton.

* Rotuli Scotiæ, quoted in Tytler's History, vol. iii. p. 204.

† Rymer, vol. x. p. 470.

the country, while they evince the unwearied attention of the king to the welfare of his dominions, are pervaded by the same unenlightened policy. The restrictions imposed upon the transportation of gold and silver out of the country, and on the sale and exportation of oxen, sheep, and horses, of skins and tallow; the compulsory regulations promulgated against merchant-strangers, by which they were compelled to lay out the money received for their goods in the purchase of Scottish merchandize; and the injunction to the exporters of wool, hides, and other articles, to bring home a certain quantity of bullion in exchange for their goods; the prohibition against the purchase of English cloth by Scottish merchants; and the repeated attempts made to fix the prices of the various kinds of manufactured articles, and the wages of the artificers, though, doubtless, intended to encourage, were in reality calculated seriously to impede and injure the trade and commerce of the country. This mistaken policy was evidently borrowed from the commercial regulations of the English monarchs, under whom James had received his legislative training; for, in the sister-country, almost every department of industry was impeded and fettered by legislative interference.

Arms and armour.

As might have been expected in these troublous times, the defence of the country occupied a large share of the attention of the king and parliament, and reiterated enactments were passed, enjoining the sheriffs and magistrates of burghs to hold "weapon-schawings," or musters of all the fighting men in the country, four times in the year, for the inspection of their weapons, and the practice of their military exercises. In one of these statutes we have a minute account of the various kinds of armour and arms worn by the different classes of the community. All persons who were possessed of land yielding an annual rent of twenty pounds, or of moveable property to the value of a hundred pounds, were to be well mounted and armed, "from head to heel," doubtless in the plate armour which had now superseded the chain-mail formerly worn by knights and esquires. Their offensive weapons were the battle-axe, the two-handed sword, the iron-mace, or the spear. Persons of inferior rank, worth only ten pounds of yearly rent, or fifty pounds in goods, were commanded to provide themselves with a helmet and gorget, a rerebrace, vambrace, breastplate, and greaves, with plates to cover the front of the thighs and legs, and iron gauntlets, or gloves. Every yeoman possessing property amounting to twenty pounds in goods, was bound to arm himself with a habergeon, an iron hat, a bow and sheaf of arrows, a sword-buckler, and dagger. The yeoman with ten pounds in property, was to provide himself with a bow and sheaf of arrows, a sword-buckler, and dagger; while the lowest class were to have an iron hat, a doublet of fence, with sword and buckler, and an axe, or at least a staff pointed with iron. Every burgess worth fifty pounds in goods was bound to arm himself in the same manner as a gentleman; while the burgess or citizen possessing property to the value of twenty pounds, was enjoined to provide a doublet and habergeon, with a sword and buckler, a bow and sheaf of arrows, and a knife or dagger.* It appears that the greater part of the armour and weapons employed by the Scots at this period, was imported from the continent; for it was enacted by the parliament in 1425, that all merchants of the realm passing beyond seas should, along with their usual cargoes, bring home such a supply of harness and armour as could be stowed in the vessel, besides spears, spear-shafts, bows, and bow-strings.

Unsuccessful attempts to introduce the use of the bow.

The spear was the favourite weapon of the Scottish spearmen, and all attempts to supersede it by the bow completely failed, although the superiority of the latter, in the hands of the English, was manifested in many a bloody field. The few archers to be found in the ranks of the Scottish army were chiefly Highlanders and Islesmen, who were greatly inferior to the English bowmen, both in the size of their weapons and in their mode of handling them. The importance of training his subjects to the use of the long-bow, appears to have been deeply impressed on the mind of James I.; and in his first parliament, held immediately after his return from captivity, it was enacted, that all males above twelve years of age should provide themselves with the usual arms of an archer, that they might be taught the use of the bow. It was also required that butts should be erected upon every ten-pound land, especially in the vicinity of the parish churches, where every man was to shoot at least thrice about; while a fine of a wedder was to be paid to the lord of the land by those who failed to comply with this injunction. For the purpose of constraining the common people to devote the whole of their leisure time to the practice of archery, James prohibited, under a severe penalty, the pastimes of football and of golf, which appear to have been the favourite games of the Scots at that period, as they still continue to be at the present day.† Similar enactments were repeated at intervals throughout the reign of this wise and energetic sovereign; and, not satisfied with these legislative efforts to induce his subjects to cultivate this warlike accomplishment, he sought to enforce his orders by a little wholesome raillery on their unskilfulness in the use of the bow. In the poem called "Christ's Kirk on the Green," he ridicules, with much humour, the unskilfulness of the Scottish bowmen. One man draws his string with such fury that the bow breaks in shivers; a second shoots his arrow a whole acre's breadth wide of the mark; a third hits the man's body at whom he took aim, but with so little effect that he cannot pierce his leathern doublet; and a fourth, who discharges his arrow he knows not where, is persuaded that it

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 18.
† Ibid. pp. 5, 6.

has slaughtered a priest, "a mile beyond a mire," upon which, in a panic, he throws down his artillery and forthwith flies the country. But neither the shafts of ridicule nor the enactments of the legislature availed to change the national habits; and Bower informs us, that after the death of James, among a hundred followers of a baron scarcely six archers could be found, the remainder being armed, as before, with their long spears and heavy battle-axes.*

Scottish infantry.

Cannon began now to be employed in the attack and defence of fortified places, instead of the battering ram, the sow, the balista, and other warlike engines of a similar description; but the Scots never attained to any great proficiency in the use of artillery. As heretofore, the chief force of the Scottish army consisted in infantry; but on the march they were nearly all mounted on small, hardy horses, for the sake of celerity and to save fatigue. In this way they often marched twenty or even twenty-four miles in a single day and night. Each soldier was required to bring with him provisions for forty days; consisting, however, merely of a small bag of oatmeal, trussed behind him on the saddle. The enemy's country supplied them with abundance of meat.†

Regulations for the combined movements of the Scots and French.

Considerable light is thrown on the constitution of a Scottish army at this period, and on the military customs of the times, by the articles of agreement, drawn up in the year 1385, by the Earl of Carrick (afterwards Robert III.) and other nobles, and the Admiral of France and his knights, for the regulation of the combined movements of the Scottish forces, and their French allies, during their expedition into England. Pillage was forbidden during their march to the borders, under pain of death; the victuallers who resorted to the camp to sell provisions were to be protected, and to receive prompt payment; any soldier who killed another was to be instantly executed; if any common soldier struck a gentleman he was to lose his hand or ears; and if any gentleman defied another, he was to be put under arrest, and justice done by the officers. In the case of any riot arising between the French and Scots, the offenders were to be seized by the bystanders, and, if knights, they were to be deprived of their horses and armour,—if common soldiers, they were to be punished by the loss of a hand or ear. Whoever succeeded in unhorsing an Englishman was to have half his ransom; and a prisoner was to be the property of the captor who first received his plighted hand. The burning of churches, ravishing and slaughter of women and children, were forbidden under severe penalties; and every French and Scottish soldier was to wear a white St. Andrew's cross on his back and breast, which, if his surcoat was white, was to be broidered on a square or a circle of black cloth.‡

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 488. † See ante, p. 157.

‡ Records of the Parliament, pp. 135, 136. Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 165.

Military tactics of the Scots.

With regard to the military tactics of the Scots, it is well known that the infantry were drawn up in deep battalions, which were usually square, though they sometimes fought in an *eschelle*, or circle, which they termed a *schiltrum*. Of this impenetrable phalanx of spearmen it is said, by an English historian, "that sooner shall a bare finger pierce through the skin of an angry hedgehog, than any one encounter the brunt of their pikes." The command of the national array belonged to the king, and the most eminent or warlike of the nobles present were appointed to lead the grand divisions or battles of the army, usually four in number,—the right and left wings, the centre, and the reserve. Under these leaders, the smaller barons acted as inferior officers, and frequently held their offices by hereditary right. The soldiers were the vassals of their respective chiefs, and not of the sovereign; hence the strange anomaly, that the royal authority was diminished in war and augmented in peace; and it is well known that some of the most daring acts of interference with the prerogative of the monarch took place on the muster of the military array of the kingdom.

Exorbitant power of the barons—

The weakness of the executive, indeed, and the exorbitant power of the feudal aristocracy, were the principal causes of all the miseries which Scotland suffered during this era. These haughty and turbulent barons assumed the state of independent kings,—made war upon each other at their pleasure,—oppressed the people,—trampled upon all law and order,—and, surrounded by their bands of retainers, who acknowledged no law but their masters' will, they laughed to scorn the mandates of a sovereign so lately their equal, and who had no standing army to enforce his impotent decrees. The powerful Earl of Douglas seldom went abroad with fewer than twelve hundred well armed horsemen; and the other nobles had followers in proportion to their rank and estates. The royal authority repeatedly endeavoured, though at no small hazard, to remedy this evil. In the reign of Robert III. it was enacted, that, in order to prevent the great and horrible ravages, depredations, fires and homicides which were daily committed in every part of the kingdom, no person in riding through the country should be attended by more persons than those for whom he makes full payment, under the penalty of loss of life and property.* It would appear from this singular statute, that many of these armed followers were not really the vassals of the baron in whose train they rode, but had merely assumed his livery in order that they might, with the greater impunity, rob and murder the defenceless inhabitants. It is evident that this judicious enactment had little or no effect in abating the evils which it was intended to remedy, for, twenty-three years later, on the return of king James from England, it was found

—abortive attempts to restrain their excesses—

* Statutes of King Robert III. p. 57.

necessary to discharge all barons, under the highest penalties of the law, from "moving or making war against each other; from riding through the country with a more numerous following of horse than properly belonged to their estate, or for which, in their progress, due payment was not made to the king's lieges and hostelers."* But it was much easier to pass acts of parliament than to carry them into execution; and though for a time the vigour and resolution of James compelled the nobles to abridge their feudal state, and to yield obedience to the laws, no sooner was his hand withdrawn than they relapsed into their former state of lawlessness and insubordination.

—their oppression of their vassals, and of the poor.

The legislative enactments of this period bring to light various other modes of oppression on the part of the barons. It appears to have been customary, in these unquiet times, for the landlords, upon the most frivolous pretences, to dispossess the poor tenants of their farms, and to turn the labourers out of their cottages, whenever they thought fit to lease the lands to some more favoured tenant, or to dispose of them to a new proprietor. The legislature in vain sought to redress this gross abuse, which destroyed all security of property, by declaring, in the year 1401, that all such "gratuitous resumptions of lands by any over-lord were of none effect, unless due and lawful cause could be assigned for such having taken place." But this benevolent attempt to protect the rights of the poor completely failed; and, nearly thirty years later, all that the wise and energetic James I. could do, to ameliorate the condition of the dispossessed tenants and labourers, was to make it a request to his prelates and barons that they would not summarily and suddenly remove the husbandmen from any lands of which they had granted new leases, for the space of a year after such a transaction, unless when the baron to whom the estate belonged proposed to occupy the lands himself, and keep them for his own private use.† To add to the hardships thus inflicted on the poor, it seems to have been a common practice for the landlord to take the execution of the law into his own hands, and by his own power and authority to expel a vassal from his farm. It appears, too, that in the event of a baron having a claim of debt against any unfortunate individual, it was customary for the creditor to proceed to the house or lands of his debtor and to appropriate whatever he thought proper, as payment of his claim. This practice was declared illegal by the parliament, "unless the seizure be made within his own dominions and for his own proper debt,"‡ an exception, it has been justly said, proving the extreme feebleness of the government, and amounting almost to a total annulment of the law. It is not to be wondered at, that in such a state of society the possession of property should have been in the highest degree precarious; that, to use the expressive language of the record itself, "divers and sundrie our soverane lordis lieges should be many ways unjustly troubled and vexed in their lands and heritage;" or that the weak and unprotected should have been trampled down by the strong, as is clearly shown by the decree—that all widows, who after the death of their husbands had been violently expelled from their dower lands, should be restored to their possession; and the strict injunction to the king's judges—that they should be bound and obliged to hear the complaints of all churchmen, widows, pupils, and orphans, regarding whatever injuries may have been committed against them, and that justice should be done to them speedily and without taking from them any pledges and securities.* These and other similar enactments, passed from time to time by the legislature, were in themselves wise and salutary, and well fitted to promote the peace and prosperity of the kingdom; but they remained on the statute-book a mere dead letter—a proof of the intelligence of the monarch and his advisers, rather than of the progress of the country. And the frequent repetition of the same laws affords convincing evidence, as Pinkerton remarks, that the statutes serve rather to indicate the existence of great evils in the country than to provide a remedy for them. In these days of violence, indeed, when "strongest might made strongest right," laws were binding only on the helpless. The royal authority was too feeble to compel the great feudal barons to submit to the restraints of the statutes which they had assisted to frame; and, instead of being the guardians of the laws and the protectors of the rights of the people, they were, in most cases, their worst oppressors, setting at defiance both the mandates of the crown and the enactments of the legislature.

Feebleness of the law.

A striking example of the utter impotence of the law to restrain or redress the acts of oppression and robbery perpetrated by the aristocracy at this period, is recorded in the proceedings of the parliament held at Edinburgh in the year 1385. It appears from a complaint made to the national council by William de Fenton, that the Baron of Dirleton, a member of the powerful Norman family of De Vaux, had deprived this unfortunate person of his manor of Fenton, by an unjust decree pronounced in his own feudal court. The case was brought by appeal before the Sheriff of Edinburgh, who reversed the judgment and restored Fenton to his estate, from which, however, he was again violently expelled. He then brought his cause before the privy council, who gave a decision in his favour, and ordered his lands to be once more restored to him. But Dirleton paid as little respect to this solemn award as he had done to that of the inferior court, and, in defiance of the king and his council, he retained possession of the property which by this

* Acts of the Parliament, vol. ii. p. 2.
† Ibid. pp. 17, 35
‡ Statutes of King Robert III. p. 54.

* Statutes of King Robert III. p. 56.

flagrant act of oppression he had wrested from the rightful owner.*

Condition of the Highlands.

The condition of the Highlands at this period appears to have been much more rude and uncivilized than that of the lowland districts of the country. The nobles of Norman and Saxon origin, who had settled in these remote provinces, were almost entirely independent of the authority both of the sovereign and the law, and waged incessant warfare with each other, and with the native chiefs, by whom they were regarded with the bitterest animosity as aliens in blood, in manners, and in language. The spoliations, ravages, and murders which were the result of these feuds, reduced the country to such a state of anarchy, that when James I. passed a law, making provision for the pardon of any injury committed upon person or property, where the offender had made reparation or "assythement" to the injured party, he found it necessary to exempt the Highlands or northern division of the country from the operation of this rule, because, as the statute expressly bears, the inhabitants of these wild districts had been so accustomed to rob and murder each other, that it was found impossible to ascertain correctly the extent of the loss, or the amount which should be paid as reparation.†

Laws against sturdy beggars—

A curious feature in the manners of Scotland at this period, is exhibited by the statutes enacted in the reign of James I. against *sorners*, or able-bodied mendicants. It appears that troops of these stout and idle vagabonds, who possessed the ability, but not the inclination to work for their living, roamed through the country, extorting charity from those who were not strong enough to refuse it, and living at free quarters in the abbeys or in the granges of the farmers. Some of these mendicants, possessing or pretending to gentle birth, are said to have followed their calling, not in poverty and rags, but with horses, hounds, and attendants. Peremptory injunctions were issued to these sturdy beggars, that they should betake themselves to some honest trade and no longer trouble and devour the country, under the penalty of burning on the cheek and banishment from the kingdom. But the operation of this law against "sorning and masterful beggary," was suspended in behalf of a privileged class called "royal beggars," who were directed to wear a certain token or badge, to be furnished them by the sheriff or magistrates of the burghs, as evidence that they were incapacitated from labour, and were duly authorized to support themselves by begging. "It is curious," says Mr. Tytler, "to discern in this primitive legislative enactment, the first institution of the king's blue coats or bedesmen, a venerable order of privileged mendicants, whose existence has only expired within these few years."‡

* Records of the Parliament of Scotland, sub anno 1385.
† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8.
‡ Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 2, 8. Tytler, vol. iii. p. 177.

—and for the erection of inns and the encouragement of hostelers.

In all probability, the erection of inns in burghs and on highways, enjoined by repeated enactments of the legislature, was intended to save the monasteries from the intrusion and oppressive exactions of unwelcome guests, as well as to provide accommodation for travellers. But so great was the voluntary hospitality of the period, that the hostelries received very inadequate support, and grievous complaints were made to the king by the hostelers or innkeepers against a villanous practice of the lieges, who, on their journeys, were in the habit of lodging with their acquaintances and friends, instead of repairing to the regular hostelries and inns. To remedy this grievance, all travellers on foot or horseback were prohibited from taking up their residence in any house except the established hostelry of the burgh or village; and all burgesses and villagers were interdicted from entertaining wayfarers, under the penalty of forty shillings. An exception, however, was made in favour of the nobles and gentry, who were accustomed to travel with a numerous retinue; they were permitted to repair to the houses of their friends, on condition that they sent their followers to lodge in the common inn.*

Castles of the nobility—

Previous to the War of Independence, the castles of the Scottish nobility were little, if at all, inferior to the baronial residences of the English. The strong and stately structures of Dunbar, Lochmaben, Caerlaverock, and other feudal fortresses which reared their formidable towers in every part of the kingdom, closely resembled, both in their dimensions and in the style of their architecture, the Norman castles on the other side of the border. The inner ward, called the donjon or keep, was invariably the strongest part of the fortress, and consisted of a large square tower, with walls of tremendous thickness, situated in the centre of the other buildings, from which, however, it was usually detached. The lower story was employed as a dungeon for the prisoners, and a receptacle for the stores; the second floor contained the guard-rooms for the garrison; and, on the third, were the great hall and other apartments which formed the residence of the baron or castellan and his family. In the uppermost rooms were deposited the warlike engines required for the defence of the castle during a siege. For the sake of security, the principal entrance to the keep was generally placed pretty far up the wall, and was protected by a strong gate of thick oak with iron knobs, a portcullis or grating usually composed of iron, and a drawbridge. The other defences consisted of one or two strong exterior walls with flanking towers; and beyond the outer wall was a broad breast-work or barbican, and a moat which encircled the whole building. But, during the protracted warfare with England, the greater part of these baronial castles were patriotically destroyed by the Scots themselves, in

* Acts, vol. ii. p. 10.

order that they might not be permanently garrisoned by the enemy. According to Fordun, within six years of the death of Edward I. a hundred and thirty-seven castles, fortalices, and towers, were taken and cast down by King Robert Bruce, who taught the Scottish people to regard the woods and hills of their country as their safest bulwarks. From this cause, as well as from the unsettled state of the country, the baronial residences erected in Scotland during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were greatly inferior, both in extent and in architectural design, to those of an earlier date.

—and of the inferior barons—

The inferior barons usually occupied a large square battlemented tower, called a peel, protected by an outer wall and some light fortifications. The walls of these fortalices, however, were of immense thickness, and, as the rooms were vaulted, and each story formed a separate lodgment, they were capable of making a considerable resistance to an enemy. But their greatest security was afforded by their situation, which was commonly on a precipice, or on the banks of a torrent, or in the midst of almost impassable morasses. In such structures as these, the Scottish chieftain exercised rude but abundant hospitality, and entertained his kinsmen, vassals, and followers in the best style his resources permitted.

—their style of living—

The higher nobility, however, endeavoured to add something of magnificence to their rude cheer, and the entertainments given by them on festive occasions were frequently on a large scale, and exceedingly extravagant and expensive. Several of the great Earls of Douglas, who rivalled their sovereigns in splendour, dined amidst the sounding of timbrels and trumpets. These feudal banquets were also enlivened by the lays of the harpers and minstrels, and the jests of the fool with his cap, bells, and bauble; and occasionally, by the feats of agility and sleight of hand performed by tumblers and jugglers. To these sources of amusement we may add, the reading of romances, the games of tables or draughts, and chess, and *pawme* or tennis, which was a favourite pastime of James I. and his courtiers. The *voidée* or parting cup was the signal of retiring to rest.*

—amusements.

Hunting and hawking continued to be the favourite out-of-door amusements; and a proof of the interest taken in these sports is afforded by the punishments inflicted on deer-stealers, and the heavy penalties denounced against those who should slay partridges, plovers, blackcocks, gray hens, and muir cocks, by any kind of instrument or contrivance, between "lentryn and August;" or who should destroy hares during the time of snow. The Scottish knights enjoyed a high reputation for skill in the splendid exercises of chivalry, and in their thirst for renown they frequently repaired, during the intervals of peace or truce, to the tilts and tournaments of England, where their gallant exploits added largely to the military reputation of their country.*

The sketch which is given by Lord Lindsay of the ordinary life of the Earls of Crawford in the fifteenth century, may be regarded as equally descriptive of the state maintained by all the great barons of Scotland during the times of feudalism.

The principal residence of this powerful family was at Finhaven, a stately structure situated in Angus, at the entrance of the great valley of Strathmore; but "at certain seasons this country residence was exchanged for the 'Palatium Comitis,' the 'Earl's Palace,' in the provincial capital, Dundee. A chapel or oratory, dedicated to St. Michael the archangel, was attached to the palace, and served for the daily devotions of the family; but on great church festivals, and the anniversaries of their ancestors, when mass was celebrated for their souls at the altars founded by themselves or their children, they attended in the parish church of St. Mary, where Earl David had founded several chantries; or otherwise in that of the Franciscan convent, commonly called the 'Grey Friars,' where generation after generation of the Earls of Crawford were finally laid to rest, and where their tombs were still to be seen in Gothic magnificence, till the destruction both of convent and church at the Reformation.

"The inner life of the family, especially at Finhaven, was of an uniform but enjoyable character. Martial exercises, the chase, and the baronial banquet, enlivened by the songs of the minstrel, and the quips of the jester occupied the day; and the evening was whiled away in 'the playing of the chess, at the tables, in reading of romans, in singing and piping, in harping, and in other honest solaces of great pleasance and disport,'†—the ladies mingling in the scene throughout, whether in the sports and festivities of the morning, or the pastimes of the evening, though a portion of the day was always spent in their 'bowers,' with their attendant maidens, spinning or weaving tapestry. Occasionally, indeed, a higher responsibility devolved upon them,—during the absence of the earl, whether in attendance on the parliament, or in warfare, public or private, his wife became the châtelaine or keeper of his castle, with full authority to rule his vassals, guide his affairs, and defend his stronghold if attacked at disadvantage during his absence.‡

"The society of the castle consisted of the earl and his immediate family—any guests that might be resident with him—the ladies attendant upon his

* Contemporary Account of the Death of James I.

* See ante, p. 240.

† Quoted from the Contemporary Account of the Death of James I. in 1437.

‡ No importance comparable to this, no position equally calculated to call forth the human faculties, had fallen to the lot of woman before, nor, it may be added, since. And the fruits are seen in the many examples of heroic women, which the feudal annals present to us,—women, who fully equalled in every masculine virtue the bravest of the men with whom they were associated—often greatly surpassed them in prudence, and fell short of them only in ferocity." Edinb. Rev. vol. lxxxii. p. 409.

wife and daughters—the pages of noble or gentle birth, trained up in the castle under his eye as aspirants for chivalry—his own domestic officers, most of them gentlemen of quality, the chaplain, the secretary, chamberlain, chief marishal, 'familiar squire,' armour-bearer, the last of which offices was hereditary, besides numerous attendant gentlemen cadets, generally of the younger branches of the family, who had attached themselves to him as 'servitors' or feudal followers.

"The property that supported this hospitality was extensive. The Earls of Crawford possessed above twenty great baronies and lordships, besides other lands of minor importance, in Forfarshire, Angus, Perthshire, the Mearns, Fife, Aberdeenshire, and the more distant sheriffdoms of Inverness, Banff, Lanark, Wigton, Dumfries, and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright—those in Forfarshire alone extending over two-thirds of the county—besides hereditary revenues from the Great Customs of Dundee, Montrose, Forfar, Crail, Aberdeen, and Banff, amounting to above three hundred marks annually, equivalent to two thousand pounds sterling in the present day. Of these baronies, some were held in their own hands, others by the immediate cadets of the family, or by families of alien blood, not unfrequently of much older standing in the district, holding as vassals of the earldom; all or most of them were fortified by strong castles; and over those included in the family entails, as the 'Comitatus,' or 'Earldom,' of Crawford, the earl possessed rights of regality, which ensured him, in the words of a recent historian, 'at least as many of the privileges of an independent prince, as a Margrave or Pfalzgrave. His courts were competent to try all questions, civil or criminal; that of high treason against the sovereign alone excepted. He appointed judges and executive officers, who had no responsibility to the imperial authority. He had within his territory a series of municipal systems, corporations with their municipal officers, privileged markets, harbours, and mills, with internally administered regulations of police, applicable to weights and measures, fishing privileges, and other like useful institutions. He could build prisons and coin money. When any of his subjects were put on trial before the king's courts, he could "repledge" the accused to his own court, only finding recognizances to execute justice in the matter.' He was thus a governor under the sovereign, and not a mere judge like a sheriff; while that nothing should be wanting to the feudal power of the family, the Earls of Crawford acquired, early in the fifteenth century, the sheriffdom of Aberdeenshire in hereditary right, and soon after the middle of the century that of Forfarshire, as the Lindsays of the Byres, the most powerful cadets of the house, did that of Fifeshire, after a long struggle with the Leslies, in the following century.

"The earldom of Crawford, therefore, like those of Douglas, of Moray, Ross, March, and others, of the earlier times of feudalism, formed a petty principality, an 'imperium in imperio.' The earls affected a royal state, held their courts, had their heralds or pursuivants, and occasionally assumed the style of princes in the numeration of their ancestors and themselves, as David I., David II., Alexander I., Alexander II., of the name, Earls of Crawford, after a fashion more frequent on the continent than in Britain. They had also a 'concilium,' or petty parliament, consisting of the great vassals of the earldom, with whose advice they acted on great and important occasions.*

"Thus far the picture I have drawn bears a close resemblance to the feudalism of the continent. But, owing to the mixture of Celtic and Norman blood, a peculiar element mingled from the first in the feudality of Scotland, and has left its indelible impress on the manners and habits of thought of the country. Differently from what was the case in England, the Scoto-Norman races were peculiarly prolific, and population was encouraged as much as possible. The earl or baron bestowed a fief, for example, on each of his four sons, who paid him tribute in rent and service; each son subdivided his fief again among his own children, and they again among theirs, till the blood of the highest noble in the land was flowing in that of the working peasant at no remote interval. This was a subject of pride, not shame, in Scotland. Within three or four centuries after their settlement in the north, above one hundred different minor houses or families of Lindsays were flourishing in Scotland, many of them powerful, independent barons, holding, in capite, of the crown; many more vassals of the house of Crawford; the greater number settled in Angus, and the surrounding counties, yet others in districts more remote, and in the extremity of the kingdom, all of them, however, acknowledging the Earls of Crawford as the chiefs of their blood, and maintaining constant intercourse with them, either by assistance in their feuds, or by sending their sons to seek service either with them or their more powerful kinsmen; the whole clan thus forming collectively, more particularly during the fifteenth century, a great barrier and breakwater between the fertile eastern Lowlands and the lawless clans of the Highlands. This is no imaginary sketch. The charter of the Earls of Crawford, and of their principal cadets, through several centuries, bear witness to the constant intercourse maintained, even with branches settled for generations, in districts far removed from Angus, but whose claims of kindred were never forgotten by themselves, or overlooked by their chiefs, while a constant preference was given to priests,

* "The Earls of Ross, Lords of the Isles," says Mr. Riddell, "and perhaps one or two of our highest and noblest magnates—such as the Douglases in the hey-day of their glory, &c., especially when the right of a regality was annexed to their lands—had a 'council,' who advised and assisted the chief and over-lord in his deliberations, and gave their consent to the marriages and political alliances of the family, as can be proved by our records. The feudal system, as regarded the higher fiefs, involved a kind of 'dominium in dominio,' and hence induced something analogous to a parliament, or public council."

notaries, pedagogues, tradesmen, and even domestic servants, of the name and blood of Lindsay. A principle of union and attachment thus reigned throughout the whole race; the tie of consanguinity was carefully acknowledged in each ascending stage; the meanest felt himself akin to the highest; the feudal bond was sweetened by blood, and the duty to the chief became the paramount principle of action; and it is to this mixture of feudalism and patriarchism, the result of the mingling of races above alluded to, and reigning throughout the whole social system, that much of that good faith, which a celebrated historian of France has recognized as the distinguishing and redeeming feature of feudal times in Scotland—passion and conviction bearing ever a stronger sway than selfish interest—is attributable."*

Sports of the common people.

The sports of the common people of Scotland were all of a manly and martial character. Wrestling and running, leaping and fencing, throwing the hammer, and "putting the stane," football, and golf, formed their favourite amusements. In the humorous poems ascribed to James I., there are some amusing and curious delineations of the games and manners of the people at this time. The poem called "Peebles to the Play," describes what was probably an annual festival in honour of the saint to whom the church was dedicated, and which, beginning in humour and jollity, terminates in tumult and uproar. Mention is made of the music of the bagpipe, of the kerchiefs, hoods, and tippets of the women, and the hats of interwoven birch-twigs worn by the men; of a tavern with fair table-linen, and a regular score on the wall; of the reckoning which amounted to twopence-halfpenny each, and was collected in a wooden trencher. Notice is also taken of the cadger, or itinerant huckster, who carried fish and other articles through the country, on his little horse; of the salmon-dance, which required great exertion in leaping, and various other incidents illustrative of popular manners.†

Dress.

The dress of the common people at this period consisted chiefly of a doublet and cloak, and a kind of short trews; the head was covered with a hat of basket-work, or felt, or with a flat woollen bonnet, while the feet and legs remained bare, a practice which appears to have been prevalent even among the common people of England at this period.

Costume of the upper classes.

With regard to the dress of the upper classes, it was composed of a doublet or vest, with long and jagged sleeves; the jacket or the gown, which supplied the place of the modern coat; the hose, or breeches, and stockings, in one piece; shoes of Spanish leather, with long peaks, fastened to the knees with chains of gold or silver; and the hood or the silken or velvet cap ornamented with jewels. The belt, or girdle, formed also a necessary article of dress; and the linen shirt began now to be used. The chaperon, or hood, now formed a sort of turban, called the roundlet, having a sort of "tippet," as it was called, which hung from one side of it, and was either tucked into the girdle, or wrapped round the neck, as circumstances required. The gown was generally made of silk velvet, or cloth of gold, adorned with costly furs, and embroidered with gold and pearls. Other articles of dress are mentioned in the Contemporary Account of the death of James I., where it is stated, that when the conspirators broke in upon him, he was "standing in his night-gown all undressed, save his shirt, his cap, his comb, his coverchief, his furred *pynsons*, or slippers, upon the form and the footsheet." The hair was usually worn long, or in natural curls, but for a short time, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, it was cropped quite close.

The female costume of this period consisted of the kirtle, or close gown and petticoat in one piece, and the mantle, the *wyliecoat*, or under-petticoat; the shift of fine linen from the Netherlands; hose, or high stockings, of linen or woollen cloth; high-laced shoes, of Morocco or Spanish leather; the girdle and the brooch, which fastened the mantle. The sleeves of the ladies' gowns, like those of the men, were preposterously long, and often trailed on the ground. The head-dress had undergone a great change; and the simple caul, and the elegant chaplet, of natural or artificial flowers, or of imitative goldsmith's work, were superseded by elaborate and fantastic monstrosities, termed the horned, the steeple, and the heart-shaped head-dresses, of which no description can give an adequate idea. Considerable light is thrown upon the costume and manners of this period by a sumptuary law of James I., enacted in 1429.* It appears, that the increasing wealth of the commercial classes had stimulated them to vie with the nobles in the magnificence of their habiliments, and strict injunctions were issued, that clothes made of silk, or adorned with the finer furs, or with gold and pearls, should not be worn by any person under the rank of a knight, or whose annual income was less than two hundred marks. Aldermen, bailies, and town councillors, were permitted to wear furred gowns, while all other persons were enjoined to array themselves in such grave apparel as befitted their station; that is to say, in "serpis, beltis, uches and chenzies." The apparel of the women was also regulated by this statute, and merchants are enjoined to make their wives to be habited in a manner corresponding to their station; that is to say, on their head short "curches," with little hoods, such as are used in Flanders, England, and other countries; and gowns without purfled sleeves, or long trains, or fur-trimmings, except on holidays: all gentlemen's wives are also directed to take especial care that their array did not exceed the personal estate of their husband.

Sumptuary law of James I.

* Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i. pp. 108—119.

† Pinkerton's Select Scottish Ballads, vol. ii. p. 1; and History, vol. i. p. 153.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE DURING THE THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

THAT the Gaelic was the language of the ancient Scots, is a fact resting on incontrovertible evidence; but there is great diversity of opinion respecting the manner in which the Saxon or English language was introduced into Scotland. The supporters of the theory that the Picts were a Gothic tribe who spoke a dialect of the Teutonic, different from the Anglo-Saxon, and apparently more allied to the Belgic, affirm that the Scottish language is not the daughter of the Anglo-Saxon, but is "an independent stream, derived from the great fountain of the ancient Gothic, and coming to us in Scotland through purer channels than those wherein it flowed into England." On the other hand, those who maintain that the Picts were a tribe of Celtic origin, account for the general introduction of the Saxon language into the lowland districts of Scotland, from the conquest of the Lothians and Berwickshire, and ultimately, of the kingdom of Strathclyd by the Saxons; the extensive influx of Saxon and Norman nobles to the Scottish court after the marriage of Malcolm Canmore with a Saxon princess, and the multitude of English captives taken in war during the reign of that monarch.

Origin of the Scottish language.

In whatever way the fact may be accounted for, there can be no doubt that, as early as the commencement of the twelfth century, throughout the lowland districts of Scotland, the Saxon language had gradually displaced the ancient Celtic tongue, and was spoken by the king and nobles, and the more civilized portion of the people. It is, no doubt, true that Norman-French was also understood and spoken at the Scottish court, while Latin was the language of the clergy, and was employed in theological and scientific treatises, and in all civil and ecclesiastical contracts and legal proceedings; but Saxon, or English, was the ordinary language of the court and of the people, and was used by the minstrels and bards in the composition of their romances and legendary tales.

In the southern division of the island, the language now called English was formed under very different circumstances. "In England," says Sir Walter Scott, "it is now generally admitted, that after the Norman Conquest, while the Saxon language was abandoned to the lowest of the people, and while their conquerors only deigned to employ their native French, the mixed language now called English existed only as a kind of *lingua Franca* to conduct the necessary intercourse between the victors and the vanquished. It was not till the reign of Henry the Third that this dialect had assumed a shape fit for the purposes of the poet, and even then, it is most probable, that English poetry, if any such existed, was abandoned to the peasants and menials; while all who aspired above the vulgar, listened to the lays of Marie, the romances of Chrestien de Troyes, or the interesting *faubliaux* of the Anglo-Norman *trouveurs*. The only persons who ventured to use the native language of the country, in literary compositions, were certain monkish annalists, who usually think it necessary to inform us that they descended to so degrading a task out of pure charity, lowliness of spirit, and love to the 'lewed men,' meaning the lower classes, who could not understand the Latin of the cloister, or the Anglo-Norman of the court. Even when the language was gradually polished, and became fit for the purposes of the minstrels, the indolence or taste of that race of poets induced them to prefer translating the Anglo-Norman and French romances, which had stood the test of years, to the more precarious and laborious task of original composition. It is the united opinion of Wharton, Tyrwhytt, and Ritson, that there exists no English romance prior to the days of Chaucer, which is not a translation of some earlier French one. From these statements it follows, that while the king and nobles of England were amused by tales of chivalry composed in the French or Romance language, those which were chanted in the court of Scotland must have been written originally in 'Inglis.' The English did not begin to translate these French poems till about 1300, nor to compose original romances in their own language until or near a century later. But there is satisfactory evidence, that long before this period, several poets had already flourished in the court of Scotland." *

The peculiar circumstances under which the English language was formed in the Lowlands of Scotland and north of England, as Sir Walter remarks, may account for the superiority of the early Scottish over the early English poets, excepting always the unrivalled Chaucer, as well as for the remarkable excellence of the harpers and minstrels of the "North Countree," and the flow of romantic and poetical tradition which has distinguished the borders of Scotland almost down to the present time.

The earliest composition in the Scottish or "quaint Inglis" language which has survived to our day, is the romance of Sir Tristrem, by the celebrated Thomas the Rhymer, or Thomas of Ercildoune. The precise date of the birth of this venerable bard is unknown; but he was alive, and in the height of his reputation, at the death of Alexander III., in 1285. He is supposed to have received the appellation of Rhymer from his poetical works; while his territorial designation was derived from the village of Ercildoune or Earlston, in Berwickshire, where, after the lapse of seven centuries, the ruins of the tower which formed the residence of the earliest Scottish

Romance of Sir Tristrem, by Thomas the Rhymer.

* Introduction to the Romance of Sir Tristrem, pp. 49—51.

poet, are still shown. There is satisfactory evidence that Thomas of Ercildoune was a man of considerable rank, and enjoyed the intimate acquaintance of the great and noble of the time in which he lived. He appears to have acquired, at a very early period, the reputation of a prophet, for in those days

—his reputation as a prophet.

> "The hallowed name
> Of poet and of seer was the same;"

and many curious notices of his predictions are scattered through the works of our ancient writers. In Barbour's "Bruce," composed about 1375, there is a reference to a prophecy of Thomas, concerning the exploits and succession of Robert the First. After Bruce had slain Cumyn, in Dumfries, in 1306, Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, is introduced, saying:—

> "I hope Thomas' prophecy
> Of Hersildowne verefyd be
> In him; for sa our Lord help me,
> I have great hope he shall be king,
> And have this land all in leading."*

Wyntown, who died about 1420, also refers to the prophetic fame of the Rhymer. His words are these:—

> "Of this fyght whilum spak Thomas
> Of Erceldoune, that sayd in derne,
> Thare should meet stalwartly, stark, and sterne.
> He sayd it in his prophecie,
> But how he wist it was ferly" (a marvel).†

Bower, who flourished about the year 1430, has given a circumstantial account of the celebrated prediction of the Rhymer, respecting the untimely and disastrous fate of Alexander III.‡

Henry the Minstrel, who is supposed to have written his metrical life of Wallace in the early part of the fifteenth century, represents Thomas the Rhymer as alive in 1296, the year in which Wallace took up arms, and as predicting that, before the decease of the Scottish hero,

> "Mony thousand on field shall make their end,
> Off this regioune he shall the Southron send;
> And Scotland thriss he shall bryng to the peace,
> So gud of hand agayne shall never be kend."§

Some metrical prophecies, vulgarly ascribed to Thomas of Ercildoune, seem to have been very current in the reigns of James V., Queen Mary, and James VI., and were collected and published, both in Latin and English. The authenticity of "The Prophecies of Thomas Learmount, yet extant in Scottish Rhyme," was firmly believed by Archbishop Spottiswoode, who gravely says, "whence or how he had this knowledge can hardly be affirmed, but sure it is, that he did divine and answer truly of many things to come."‖ We are informed by Birrel, that, at the period of the union with England, a time of great excitement in the northern kingdom, "all the haill commons of Scotland that had red or understanding wer daylie speiking and exponeing of Thomas Rymer, hes prophesie, and of uther prophesies quhilk wer prophesied in auld tymes."* And even at the present day many rhymes ascribed to Thomas of Ercildoune are current among the country people, especially in the border-districts of Scotland.†

It is the opinion of the great writer to whom we owe the publication of the Tale of Tristrem, that this celebrated romance was not invented by Thomas of Ercildoune, but owes its origin to the same source as those legendary tales which commemorate the famous exploits of Arthur and his knights, and the struggles of the aboriginal Britons against the Saxon invaders. Tristrem, as he observes, is uniformly represented as a native of the little kingdom of Cornwall, which was one of the last points of refuge to the indigenous natives of Britain;—the scene of the story is laid either in Cornwall or in the countries of Wales, Ireland, and Brittany, all inhabited by the Celtic race; and the names of all the important personages in the romance are of genuine British origin. He therefore concludes, on apparently valid grounds, that in Tristrem himself we are to recognise an actual British warrior who flourished during the stormy independence of Cornwall, and experienced some of those adventures which have been so long the subject of the bard and the minstrel.

Origin of the Tale of Tristrem.

The testimony of a contemporary writer, Robert of Brunne, establishes at once the fact, that Thomas of Ercildoune was the author of Sir Tristrem, and the high reputation which the romance had attained. This ancient author avers, that "it is the best geste ever was or ever would be made, if minstrels could recite as Thomas had composed it." But he adds, it is written in such "quaint Inglis," that those who repeated it were hardly able to understand it, or to make it intelligible to their hearers. He complains also that the author had employed such an intricate and complicated stanza, that it was difficult for the reciters to recollect the poem; and he avers that he never heard a perfect recital, because of some one "*copple*," or stanza, a part was always omitted. But, while he argues that he himself, writing not for the minstrel or harper, but solely to instruct the

Style and language of the poem.

> "symple men
> That strange Inglish cannot ken,"

does well in choosing a simple structure of verse, which they could easily understand and remember, he excuses Thomas of Ercildoune, and another poet, whom he calls Kendal, for using a more ambitious and ornate kind of poetry, because "they wrote for pride (fame), and for nobles, not such as these my ignorant hearers." It is evident from the testimony of this ancient writer, that "while the English minstrels had hardly ventured on the

* The Bruce, p. 25.
† Cronykil of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 202.
‡ See ante, p. 81.
§ Wallace, book ii. chap. 3.
‖ See Introduction to the Romance of Sir Tristrem, pp. 14—22.

* Birrel's Diary, p. 59.
† See Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.

drudgery of translating the French romances, or, if they did so, were only listened to by the lowest of the people, our northern poets were writing original *gests*, 'for pride and nobleye,' in a high style and complicated stanza, which the southern harpers marred in repeating, and which their plebeian audience were unable to comprehend."*

The modern copy of "Sir Tristrem" corresponds, both in diction and in structure, with the description of Robert de Brunne. The style of the composition is exceedingly brief, elliptical, and concise, even to obscurity, presenting a striking contrast to the circumstantial, diffuse, and prolix descriptions of later minstrels. The structure of the stanza in "Sir Tristrem" is also very peculiar and intricate, and the rhymes are multiplied and complicated to a most unusual extent; but it contains some natural touches of great beauty, as well as many curious and interesting pictures of ancient manners. As a specimen of the structure and language of this celebrated romance, we may take the description of the meeting of Sir Tristrem with a party of hunters.†

"The forest was fair and wide,
With wild bestes y sprad;
The court was ner beside,
The palmers thither him lad;
Tristrem hunters seighi ‡ ride,
Les of houndes § thai ledde;
Thai token in that tide
Of fatte hartes y fedde,
In feld:
In blehand ‖ s he cledde;
The hunters him beheld."

Tristrem is scandalized at the awkward and unsportsmanlike manner in which they break up the stags which they have slain, and expostulates with them:—

"Up stood a serjant ¶ bold,
And spak Tristrem oyain,**
—'We and our elders old
Thus then have we sain;
Others thou hast ous told;
Yond lith a beast unflain;
Atire ++ it as thou wold,
And we wil se full fain
In feld;
In lede ‡‡ is nought to lain,'§§—
The hunters him beheld."

A minute account is then given of the scientific mode in which Tristrem breaks up the stag; how he gave the left shoulder to the forester as his rights, the numbles or inwards to the hunters and spectators, the quarré to the hounds, and the corbin bone to the raven, who sat expectant on the forked tree, and how he tied up the paunch with the grease, as also the gurgiloun, and lastly, recited the appropriate rhyme, and blew the tokening or death-note. The whole description is exceedingly curious, and shows the great importance attached to the "art of venery" in those early ages.‖‖

* Introduction to Sir Tristrem, p. 67.
† Fytte i. stanza 41 to 49, inclusive.
‡ Saw. § Leash of hounds. ‖ Blue.
¶ Servant of the crown. ** Against. ++ Arrange.
‡‡ In language. §§ Not to lie.
‖‖ Sir Tristrem, a Metrical Romance of the Thirteenth Century, with Introduction and Notes by Sir Walter Scott. Lives of the Scottish Poets, by Dr. Irving, vol. i. pp. 225—249.

Besides "Sir Tristrem," there exist two other Scottish romances, entitled "Gawen and Gologras," and "Galoran of Galoway," which Sir Walter Scott supposes were composed long before the conclusion of the thirteenth century. This opinion is founded upon their extreme rudeness and unintelligibility; the comparative absence of French words and French phraseology, so fashionable in Scotland after the time of Robert Bruce, when the intercourse of the countries became more intimate; and, above all, the evident allusions to the possession of part of Scotland by the British tribes.*

An interesting specimen of the Scottish language, at this period, is given in the following little song, or monody, composed on the death of Alexander III., in the year 1285, and fortunately preserved by Wyntown in his Chronicle.† It is probable, however, that the orthography may have undergone considerable alterations during the century and a half which elapsed between the death of Alexander and the time of Wyntown.

"Quhen Alysandyr oure kyng wes dede,
That Scotland led in lawe and le,
Away wes sons of ale and brede,
Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle;
Oure gold wes changyd in-to lede,
Cryst borne into virgynyté;
Succour Scotland and remede,
That stad is in perplexyte."‡

Mention is also made by Wyntown of a poet called "Huchown of the Awle Ryall," or "Hugh of the Royal Hall or Palace," who appears to have flourished about this period. Besides his great historical work, described as the "Gest Hystoryale," there are specified, among his writings, the "Gret Gest of Arthure," the "Pystyl of Swete Susan," and the "Awntere of Gawane." A poem in alliterative verse, founded on the story of "Susannah and the Elders," and supposed to be the "Pystyl" ascribed to Huchown, is still preserved; and the "Gret Gest of Arthure,"—in which he treats of the doughty deeds of that hero, of his worship and prowess, his conquests and royal estate, his round table and twelve peers,—was discovered a few years ago, by Sir Frederick Madden, among the ancient manuscripts in the Cottonian Library. Wyntown eulogizes Huchown as a poet who "was cunning in literature, curious in his style, eloquent and subtile, and who clothed his composition in appropriate metre, so as always to raise delyte and pleasure."§ But the specimens of his writing which have reached our times by no means bear out this high commendation.

By far the most celebrated Scottish writer of this age is JOHN BARBOUR, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, the author of the metrical history of Robert Bruce. This delightful old author is supposed to have been born about the year 1316; but nothing is known of his

John Barbour.

* Introduction to Sir Tristrem, pp. 57, 58.
† Vol. i. p. 401.
‡ See ante, p. 81, where a modernized copy of these verses is given.
§ Wyntown's Chronicle, vol. i. p. 121.

family, or of the place of his birth or education. It appears, from safe-conducts granted to him by the English monarch, on the special request of David II., that he prosecuted his studies both at Oxford and in France, even after he had attained to mature years. He was promoted to the office of Archdeacon of Aberdeen about 1356; and in the following year the bishop of the diocese nominated him one of the commissioners who were to meet at Edinburgh to deliberate about the ransom of David II. About ten years later he was engaged in the composition of the great national poem which has perpetuated his name. He was rewarded by a pension from Robert II.,—which is expressly stated to have been bestowed as a reward for the compiling "The Book of the Deeds of Robert I.,"—and died, at an advanced age, in 1396.

The chronicles of this period were, for the most part, concealed from the unlearned part of the community, under the veil of a dead or a foreign language;* but it is to the honour of Barbour that he renounced this fatal practice, and boldly composed his patriotic and spirit-stirring strains in his own native tongue,—

"Till ilke man's undyrstanding."

His language has been pronounced, by a competent judge, remarkably good for the time, and far superior, in neatness and elegance, even to that of Gawin Douglas, who wrote more than a century after.

Barbour was the author of a metrical history or genealogy of the Kings of Scotland, entitled "The Brute," of which no manuscript is known to exist. But his reputation as a historian and poet rests upon his celebrated history of King Robert Bruce. The value of this noble work, both as a faithful narrative of the exploits of the great deliverer of Scotland, and a graphic delineation of the manners of his age, is very great. Wyntown, himself a historian of no mean value, speaks of Barbour as writing

"In metre far mair vertuously
Than I can think by my study:"

and the continuator of Fordun's "Scotichronicon" passed over the memorable events of the war of independence, because they had been already elegantly and copiously narrated by Barbour. The poetical historian has, indeed, given a spirit-stirring detail of the gallant exploits and dreadful sufferings of the noble patriots who fought, against all odds, in the high and holy cause of their country's freedom; and his narrative is equally valuable for its authenticity and its fresh and graphic descriptions. He delineates the nicer shades of character with great delicacy and discrimination; his portraits of Randolph and Douglas, of King Robert and his brave but rash and impetuous brother, are traced with the hand of a master; and he gives us charming pictures of the manners and modes of thinking of these noble patriots, under all the varieties of their romantic fortunes. Barbour's learning must have been great for the time; and he was evidently well read, both in the classical and in the romantic literature of the day. His descriptive powers were of a high order; and, in the opinion of a most competent judge, "he has adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical images far superior to the age."* His impassioned eulogium upon freedom shows, that the heart of a patriot and a soldier beat beneath the churchman's gown; and the manner in which he celebrates the feats of individual prowess and daring, on the part of the Scottish hero and his friends, leaves no doubt, that if he had lived a few years earlier he would not have hesitated to buckle on his armour and fight for the liberty and independence of his country.

The exordium explains the object of the poetical historian in clear and forcible language—

"Stories to read are delitabill,
Suppose that thai be nought but fabill:
Then suld stories that suthfast † were,
An thai were said on gud maner,
Have doubill plesance in hearing.
The first plesance is the carpyng;‡
And the tothir the suthfastness §
That shews the thing rycht as it was
And such things that are lykand,
Till mans hearing are plesand.
Thairfor, I wald fain set my will,
Giff ‖ my wit myght suffice thairtill,
To put in writ a suthfast story,
That it last ay furth in memory,
Sa that na tyme of length it let,
Nor ger it haly ¶ be forget.
For auld storys that men redys
Representes to thaim the dedys
Of stalwart folk that lywyt are,
Rycht as thai then in presence were."

Tried by his own test, it must be admitted that Barbour has admirably succeeded in composing a poem, which is at once true or suthfast in its statements, and delectable in the perusal. His chronicle is valuable not only for the accuracy of its details, but for the remarkable freshness and vividness of its descriptions, both of natural scenery and of battles and sieges. To use his own expressive words, it represents the deeds of 'stalwart folk who are long since dead, who led their life in great travel, and oft in hard stour or tumult of battle, truly as if we were in their very presence:—King Robert of Scotland, that was hardy of heart and hand—the good Sir James of Douglas, who was so worthy in his time that his high price and bounty made his name renowned in foreign lands'—the fiery, rash, and headstrong Edward, and the sagacious Randolph, whose 'trusty heart and loyal service were enhanced by his courteous and debonayr manners, and shone out in his fair, pleasant and broad countenance.' Of these noble patriots and their worthy compeers he says—

* So firmly established was the custom of writing in Latin, that Sir David Lindsay, a century after Barbour, thought it necessary to apologize, in the beginning of his "Monarchy," for writing in his native language, by producing the examples of Moses, Aristotle, Plato, Virgil, Cicero, &c., who all wrote in their own language.

* Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 318.

† True. ‡ Speaking, talking. § Truth. ‖ If. ¶ Wholly.

"I think this book to ma,*
Now God give grace that I may swa
Tret it and bring it till ending
That I say nocht but suthfast thing."

The first seven of the twenty books into which this historical poem has been divided by Dr. Jamieson, its latest editor, are occupied with the early adventures of King Robert Bruce, from the murder of Comyn down to the convention between Edward Bruce and Sir Philip Mowbray, the Governor of Stirling castle; and the various reverses of fortune in the eventful life of the Scottish monarch,—his defeat at Methven, and subsequent dangers and privations among the fastnesses of Argyle, his encounter with Lorn, and his devoted clansmen, his retreat to the isle of Rachrin, his return to the mainland, his romantic exploits among the mountains of Galloway and Carrick, and his victories over the English invaders, and their gradual expulsion from the country, are all narrated with great spirit, and in strains which came warm from the heart of the patriotic poet. The eighth and ninth books are devoted to an account of the memorable conflict which finally secured the independence of Scotland; and here the author puts forth the whole strength of his genius. After enumerating, with much skill, all the host which Edward assembled from England, Wales, and Ireland, and from his continental dominions in Gascony, Poictou, Provence, and Languedoc; and describing the mighty army divided into ten battles, and with its immense array of baggage-waggons and attendants, overspreading all the land far and wide, and forming a magnificent spectacle of martial pomp and splendour; he says, that on their march from Berwick—

"Baith hills and vallies helyt thai (they hid)
As the battails that were braid
Departit, over the feldis raid,
The sone was brycht and shyning cler,
And armouris that burnyst wer,
Sa blomit with the sunnis beme,
That all the land was in a leme (blaze);
Banners rycht fairly flaming,
And pensils to the wind waving,
Sa fell ther wer of ser quentis,
(So many there were of great quaintness,)
That it were gret slycht to devise."

On the other hand, Bruce reviews his troops, assigns to their leaders their different parts, explains to them his tactics, and finding his men "of hardy countenance," he who "knew him well" in such matters, rejoiced in their gallant bearing—

"And thoucht that men of sa gret will,
Giff thai wald set thair will thartil,
Suld be full hard to win per-fay.
And as he met them in the way,
He welcumit thaim with gladsum fare,
Speking gud wordis here and there.
And thai that thair lord so meekly
Saw welcum thaim and so hamely;
Joyful thai wer; and thoucht that thai
Aught weil to put thaim till assay,
Of hard fechting or stalwart sture,
For to mayteynie his honur."

Bruce then explains to his men the plan he had formed for the battle, arranges them in their order, assigns to the leaders their several parts, and makes all necessary preparations for the reception of the enemy. On Sunday morning, soon after sun-rise, they heard mass, and many of them were shrived "full devoutly."

"That thoucht to die in that mellé,
Or then to mak their cuntre free;
To God for their rycht prayit thai,
Thar dynit nane of thaim that day;
Bot for the vigil of Sanct John
Thai fastit water and breid upon."

The poet then proceeds to narrate, in appropriate strains, a number of spirit-stirring incidents, which served as a fitting prelude to the great battle;—the defeat of Clifford by Randolph; the chivalrous conduct of Douglas in hastening to the rescue of his friend when outnumbered and apparently overmatched by the enemy, but stopping when he saw him likely to discomfit his enemies by his own might, lest he should deprive him of some part of his well-merited praise; the encounter between King Robert Bruce and Sir Henry de Bohun; the crowding of the Scottish leaders around Randolph on his return from his successful conflict with Clifford, to gaze on him and do him honour "for his high worschip and gret valour;" the animating address of Bruce to his barons and knights, and their courageous response; the kneeling of the Scottish army as the conflict was about to begin; and the different inferences of the English monarch and his veteran attendant Sir Ingram de Umfraville—

"The Scottis men commounaly,
Knelyt all doune to God to pray;
And a short prayer thar made they
To God to help them in that fycht.
And when the Inglis king had sycht
Of thaim kneeling he said in hy (haste),
'Yon folk kneel to ask mercy.'
Sir Ingraham said 'Ye say suth now,
Thai ask mercy, but nane at you;
For thair trespes to God thai cry.
I tell you a thing sekyrly (surely),
That yon men will all wyn or die.'"

After this solemn note of preparation the opposing hosts join battle, and the poet describes with great power the impetuous assault of the English cavalry upon the dense ranks of the Scottish spearmen—the comparatively small body of the Scots lost amid the multitude of the English, as if they had been plunged into the sea—the din of blows—the clang of arms—the shoutings of the war-cries—the crash of lances—the flights of arrows darkening the light—horses, maddened by their wounds, running masterless—the alternate sinking and rising of the banners—the grass red with blood, and covered with shreds of armour and broken weapons—the confusion and slaughter, the panic and the flight. The conduct of Edward, who, according to Barbour, with a company of five hundred men,

"armed all at rycht,
In till a frusch all took the flycht,"

is skilfully contrasted with the chivalry of Sir Giles de Argentine, who "chose rather to stay and

* Make.

die than to live shamefully and flee," and shouting his war-cry, "De Argentè," met his death by the Scottish spears.

But, perhaps, the most interesting portions of this "fine old Scotch Odyssey" are the delightful sketches which it contains of manners and customs, and the striking pictures of the confidence and affection that existed between King Robert and his followers. After the fatal defeat at Methven, Bruce and his little band of faithful friends were driven to take refuge in the fastnesses of the mountains, where they were joined by their ladies—

"That for leal luff and lawtè
Wald partneris of thair painis be."

During their wanderings among the hills of Breadalbane they were reduced to the greatest privations from the want of the necessaries of life; and Barbour describes "the worthy James of Douglas" as very active in procuring food for the ladies, sometimes venison, sometimes "geddis (pikes), salmonys, and troutis," which he caught with "gynnes," and sometimes making a foray into the low country for cattle.

"And the kyng oft comfort was
Through his wyt and his besynes" (cheerfulness),

The personal character of Bruce himself shines out with peculiar lustre in the adverse tide of his fortunes; and many traits of his gentle and affectionate disposition are recorded by his biographer. He strove to sustain the courage of his followers by the example of his own patience and indomitable resolution, and to cheer their sinking spirits with stories from history and romance.

"And fained to mak better cheer,
Than he had matter to, by far
For his causs gaed fra ill to war" (worse).

At length, on the approach of winter, the Earl of Athole's heart began to fail,

"With cauld, and hungir, and waking,"

and he requested the king to leave him to his fate. It became necessary also to provide for the safety of the ladies, who were no longer able to bear the privations and dangers of a wandering life amid these barren wilds; and it was resolved to send them to Kildrummy castle under the charge of the Earl of Athole and Nigel Bruce. The king gave up all the horses of his party for the service of the ladies and their escort, and resolved that he and his followers should henceforth "tak on foot baith weill and wae."

"The queyne and all hyr cumpany
Lap on thair horss and furth thai fare.
Men mycht have sene wha had bene there
At leve takyng the ladyis grete (weep)
And mak thair face with tears wet;
And knightis for thar luffis sake
Baith sigh and weep, and murnyng make;
Thai kissit thair luffis at thair partyng."

The poet then proceeds to describe the tedious and perilous passage of the king and his followers across Loch Lomond, in a little boat, fit to carry only three at a time; and tells us, that during the time which was consumed in crossing the lake, Bruce entertained those who had passed over, by relating to them the romance of Ferembrace,* who was overcome by the "rycht douchty Oliver," together with an account of the siege of the "Douse pairs," in the tower of Egrymor, by King Lawyn.

"The gud king upon this maner
Comfortit thaim that war him ner,
And maid thaim gamyn and solace
Till that his folk all passit was."

While the fugitives were traversing the hills and woods in search of food, they were joined by the Earl of Lennox, who was also under hiding, and had received no tidings of the fate of his royal master since the disastrous defeat at Methven.

"The king him welcomit rycht blythly,
And askyt him full tendyrly;
And all the lordis that war there
Rycht joyful of thair meeting wer,
And kyssit him in gret dayntè.
It was gret pitè for till se
How thai for joy and pitè gret,
When that thai with thair fellow met,
That thai wend (thought) had been dede: forthi
Thai welcomit him mar hartfully;
And he for pitè gret agayn,
That never of meeting was sa fayne."

With such touches of gentleness and tender affection does the old chronicler relieve his stern story of hardship and battle. So also in noticing the death of Sir Walter Ross.

"That Sir Edward, the king's brother,
Luffit and had in sic dayntè,
That as himselff him luffit he.
And when he wyst that he was ded,
He was sa wa and will of reide,
That he said, makand evil cher,
That him war rather that journay wer
Undone, than he sa ded had bene.
Out-taken him men has nocht sene,
When he for ony man maid moanying."

Such are some of the nicer traits of character which ordinary historians are too much in the habit of overlooking.

The story of King Robert and the lavender (or laundress), though better known, deserves to be quoted as an example, both of the thoughtful kindness and humanity of the monarch, and of the manner of his affectionate biographer. The Scottish army was about to commence its march from Limerick.

"And when that thai all redy wer,
The king has hard a woman cry:
He askit what that was in hy.
'It is the lavender, Sir,' said ane,
'That her chyld-ill rycht now has tane,
And mon leve now behind us here;
Tharfor she makis yone evil cher.'
The king said, 'Certis it wer pitè
That she in that poynt left suld be;
For certis, I trow thar is na man
That he ne will rew a woman than.
His host all than arrestit he,
And gert a tent soon stentit be,
And gert her gang in hastily,
And othyr women to be hyr by;
Till she was delivered he bade (stayed),
And syne furth on his wayis raid.

* See Appendix, Note xiv.

And how she furth suld carried be,
Or iver he furth fur ordanyt he.
This was a full gret curtasy,
That sic a king, and sa mychty,
Gert his men dwell on this maner
But for a poor lavender."

As a specimen of Barbour's descriptive powers we may give the following verses on Spring, which, as Dr. Irving justly observes, suffer little in comparison even with Chaucer's description of the same sweet season :—

"This was in Ver, when wynter tide,
With his blasts hidyous to bide,
Was our drywyn,* and birdys small
As turturis,† and the nychtyngale,
Began rycht sariely to syng,
And for to mak in thair singying
Swete notis and soundis ser,
And melodys pleasand to her.
And the treis began to ma ‡
Burgeans,§ and brycht blomis alswa,
To win the helyng of thair hewid,
That wykkit winter had thaim rewid,
And all grassys began to spryng."

It is a proud thing, it has been justly said, to have given a subject for such an Odyssey, and to have had a poet worthy to celebrate it.

Another of the metrical histories of this age is the "Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland," composed by Andrew Wyntown, Prior of St. Serf's monastery, situated on an island in Lochleven. ‖ The precise date of his birth is unknown; but he held the office of Prior in 1395; and his life must, at least, have been prolonged till 1420, for, at the close of his work, he mentions the death of Robert, Duke of Albany, which took place in the course of that year, and offers up a prayer for the prosperity of his children. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Barbour, to whose merit as an accurate historian he has, on various occasions, paid a just tribute. His chronicle, which he tells us was undertaken at the request of Sir John Wemyss,¶ the ancestor of the present noble family of that name, is valuable both as a picture of ancient manners and as a repository of historical anecdotes. Like other chroniclers of his age, Wyntown commences his work with a general history of the world, and treats of the nature of angels; the creation of the world; the death of Abel; the generations of Cain and Seth; the primeval race of giants; the ark of Noah and the deluge; the situation of India, Egypt, Africa, Europe, Britain, and Ireland; the confusion of tongues; the origin of poetry and of Mahometanism; the lives of the patriarchs; the siege of Troy; the Judges of Israel, and the arrival of Brutus in Britain. Of the nine books into which his chronicle is divided,

Wyntown's Chronicle.

"In honowre of the ordyrs nyne
Of holy angelys,"

five are almost entirely occupied with these heterogeneous topics, till at length, in the commencement of the sixth book, he comes to speak of the "War betwen the Scottis and the Peychtis," and gradually limits his dissertations to his own proper subject. "Perhaps," says Mr. Ellis, "the ablest modern versifier who should undertake to enumerate in metre the years of our Lord in only one century, would feel some respect for the ingenuity with which Wyntown has contrived to vary his rhymes throughout such a formidable chronological series as he has ventured to encounter. His genius is certainly inferior to that of his predecessor, Barbour; but, at least, his versification is easy, his language pure, and his style often animated. As a historian he is highly valuable."* While Wyntown was engaged in the composition of his work, some person of kindred taste and pursuits, whose name he has unfortunately neglected to mention, sent him a narrative of affairs in Scotland from the birth of David II. to the death of Robert II., which he has incorporated into his own work. He has also included in his chronicle, about three hundred verses of Barbour's "Life of Bruce," as well as various fragments of a Latin elegiac chronicle. The composition of the "Orygynale Cronykil," though unpolished, is often spirited; but the descriptions are not unfrequently unnecessarily minute and diffuse. It must be admitted, however, that the digressions in which the work abounds, are exceedingly valuable and interesting, in consequence of the light which they cast upon the state of society at that early period. Wyntown was inferior to Barbour, not only in genius, but in sound judgment. He was a zealous churchman, and avails himself of every opportunity to advance the power and dignity of the clergy, and to maintain that superiority over the civil power which they claimed as a divine right. He was much more under the influence of superstitious feeling than his predecessor, and his chronicle contains a considerable number of fabulous legends, which convey a curious idea of the credulity of the age. The following specimen of these monastic tales may serve to show the orthography and style of the venerable chronicler :—

ST. SERF'S RAM.

"This holy man had a ram
That he had fed up of a lam,
And oysit him til folow ay,
Quherevir he passit in his way.
A theyf this scheppe in Achren stal,
And et him up in pecis smalle.
Quhen Sanct Serf his ram had myst,
Quha that it stal was few that wist:
On presumpcion nevirtheles
He that it stal arestyt was;
And til Sanct Serf syne was he brought;
That scheippe, he said, that he stal noucht,

* Driven away, past and gone. † Turtle-doves.
‡ Make. § Sprouts, buds.
‖ St. Serf's priory was originally a religious house belonging to the Culdees. David I. bestowed it upon the Canons Regular of St. Andrews.
¶ Sir John Wemyss was the proprietor of Reres and Kincaldrum in Fife. He lived under the reigns of Robert II. and III. and James I., and was employed as ambassador to treat concerning the release of this monarch from his captivity in England. "He was," says Wyntown, "an honest knight and of good fame, and had a full claim to my service."

* Ellis's Historical Sketch of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 247.

And tharfor for to swer ane athe,
He said that he walde nocht be laythe.
Bot sone he worthit rede for schayme,
The scheype thar bletyt in his wayme!
Swa was he taynctyt schamfully,
And at Sanct Serf askyt mercy."

The reputation of Wyntown as an accurate historian stands deservedly high, and his simple and unadorned and trustworthy narrative of events presents a striking contrast to the preposterous fictions of Hector Boece and his followers. "In Wyntown's Chronicle," says Mr. Macpherson, "the historian may find what for want of more ancient records, which have long ago perished, we must now consider the original accounts of many transactions, and also many events related from his own knowledge, or the reports of eye-witnesses. His faithful adherence to his authorities appears from comparing his accounts with unquestionable vouchers such as the Fœdera Angliæ, and the existing remains of the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews, that venerable monument of ancient Scottish history and antiquities, generally coeval with the facts recorded in it, whence he has given large extracts, almost literally translated."* Historical records, however, were at this period exceedingly scanty, as Wyntown himself informs us in the introduction to his Chronicle, when he bespeaks the reader's indulgence for his work. "For," says he, "I found few writings at hand that I could draw to my warand. I had part, indeed, of the book which Peter Comestor compiled in his day, the Chronicle also of Orasius and of Frère Martyne, besides English and Scottish stories, and various other incidents which I deemed accordant to my matter. When these were exhausted I found my wit grown dry, and without either flower or fruit; yet not the less for this do I pursue my purpose, seeking the savour of that rose which spreads its full-blown flowers, and for ever springs for the pleasure of the King of kings."†

The account of the return of David II. from his captivity in England, may be taken as a fair example of Wyntown's mode of narration, and affords a curious illustration of the manners of the age. The historian, it will be observed, justifies the manner in which the king sought to repress the troublesome and intrusive loyalty of his people. The original spelling of this extract has been modernized.

"Yet in prison was King Davy.
And when a lang time was gane by,
Frae prison and perplexitie,
To Berwick Castle brought was he
With the Earl of Northamptoun,
For to treat there for his ransoun.
Some lords of Scotland come there,
And als prelates that wisest were.
Four days or five there treated they,
But they accorded by nae way;
For English folk all angry were,
And ay spak rudely mair and mair,
While at the last the Scots party,
That dred their faes' fellony,

All privily went hame their way;
At that time there nae mair did they
The king to London then was had,
That there a lang time after bade.

"After syne, with mediatioun
Of messengers, of his ransoun
Was treated, while a set day
Till Berwick him again brought they.
And there was treated sae, that he
Should of prison delivered be,
And freely till his lands found,
To pay ane hundred thousand pound
Of silver, intil fourteen year.
And [while] the payment [payit] were,
To make sae lang truce took they,
And affirmed with seal and fay
Great hostage there leved* he
That on their awn dispense should be.
Therefore, while they hostage were,
Expense but number made they there.
The king was then delivered free,
And held his way till his countrie,
With him of English brought he nane,
Without a chamber-boy alane.

"The whether, upon the morn, when he
Should wend till his counsel privy,
The folk, as they were wont to do,
Pressed right rudely in thereto:
But he right suddenly can arrace†
Out of a macer's hand a mace,
And said rudely, 'How do we now?
Stand still, or the proudest of you
Shall on the head have with this mace!'
Then there was nane in all this place,
But all they gave him room in hy;‡
Durst nane press further that were by;
His council door might open stand,
That nane durst till it be pressand.

"Radure§ in prince is a good thing;
For, but radure‖ all governing
Shall all time but despised be:
And where that men may radure see
They shall dread to trespass, and sae
Peacable a king his land may ma'¶
Thus radure dred that gart him be.
Of England but a page brought he,
And by his sturdy 'ginning
He gart them all have sic dreading,
That there was nane durst nigh him near,
But wha by name that called were.
He led with radure sae his land,
In all time that he was regnand,
That nane durst well withstand his will,
All winning bowsome to be him till."

The pages of Wyntown abound in fresh and curious pictures of the manners and superstitions of the age; and throw much light upon the progress of the country in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. It has been objected to him, indeed, to use the words of his learned editor, that he sometimes runs into descriptions more minute and diffuse than are consistent with the rules of writing history; in answer to which, it is sufficient to say, that these rules were unknown in his age. Such descriptions were the defect, perhaps, more properly speaking, the beauty of several early historians: by them Snorro, the venerable Herodotus of the north, and Froissart, the history-painter of France, England, and Scotland, who, like our own Wyntown, had the courage to write history in their native languages, bring us home to

* Preface to Wyntown's Chronicle, p. 3.
† Chronicle, vol. i., p. 8.

* Left. † Reached. ‡ Haste.
§ Rigour. ‖ Without rigour. ¶ Make.

the scenes they describe, and make us take an interest in the characters they draw. If the succession of kings and the relation of their battles be the body of history, the progress of the human mind in arts and knowledge, and a true delineation of manners, unquestionably constitute the very soul of it.*

The materials which Wyntown has collected are indeed of the most heterogeneous character, and comprehend all classes of subjects, from the barbarous bead-roll of Pictish monarchs to the spirit-stirring description of "a heady fight, or the moving picture of a tournament or a hunting party." His chronicle, therefore, bears no resemblance to the historical works of modern times. To use the felicitous comparison of Mr. Tytler, "We have, instead of a building of correct taste and Grecian proportion, an extraordinary and rambling edifice, somewhat resembling the ancient castles or picturesque monasteries of the times in which the author lived, where, in defiance of all rules and orders, a chamber or a chapter was added according to the exigency or the fancy of the moment. The language, too, or materials with which his work is constructed, is as rude and venerable as the ivy-covered walls or weather-beaten pinnacles upon which the waves of successive centuries have left the traces of their progress. Yet what spectator of taste has not often preferred the ancient castle, with all its romantic disproportion, to the symmetrical beauty of the modern edifice? And where is the student, who is an enthusiast in the history and antiquities of his country, who would not rather read the quaint and homely descriptions of the Prior of Lochleven, than the pages of modern writers, where vigour, freshness, and originality are so often sacrificed to insipid elegance?"

The chronicle must have been completed between the 3rd of September, 1420, and the return of King James from England in 1424; and it is probable that the author did not long survive the conclusion of his work, for in the prologue of his last book he mentions that increasing years and infirmities warned him that he "must shortly put off this tabernacle;" and he represents age or elde as daily sending him many painful "brevis" or letters, admonishing him to be looking for a speedy conclusion of his mortal term, when the debt which all must discharge would be claimed on short delay.

"Oft I find impediment,
With sudane and fierce maladis,
That me cumbris on mony wis,
And elde me masteris with hir brevis,
Ilke day me sare aggrevis;
She has me maid monition
To see for a conclusion
The quhilk behovis to be of debt,
Quhat term or tyme of that be set
I can wyt it be na way,
But weil I wate on short delay
At a court I mon appeir,
Fell accusations thare til heir,
Quhare na help thare is but grace." †

* Wyntown's Chronicle, Preface, p. 27

† Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 300.

The oldest prose history of Scotland is the Scotichronicon, written in Latin, the joint production of two ecclesiastics, JOHN FORDUN and WALTER BOWER, to whose praiseworthy industry succeeding historians are deeply indebted. Fordun, who is supposed to have derived his surname from the place of his nativity, a small village in Mearns,* held the office of Canon of Aberdeen. The precise date of his birth is unknown; but he appears to have flourished about the year 1380. Fordun—according to his continuator, Bower, was a simple man, who never graduated in the schools; but he is understood to have derived the materials for his chronicle from the celebrated Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, who acted so conspicuous a part in the war of independence.† The first five books of the Scotichronicon, and twenty-three chapters of the sixth book are the composition of the venerable canon; the remainder of the work, which extends in all to sixteen books, was compiled by Walter Bower, or Bowmaker, principally from the materials collected by his predecessor. Bower was a native of Haddington, and was born in the year 1385. Like many other Scottish youths of that age, after completing his philosophical and theological studies in the schools of his native country, he visited Paris, in order to study the laws. On his return to Scotland, in the year 1418, he was elected Abbot of St. Colm, a religious house, erected by Alexander I., on Inch-Colm, a small island in the Frith of Forth, and dedicated to St. Columba.‡ In this secluded retreat Bower occupied his leisure in transcribing the Chronicle of Fordun, which, up to this date, was little known; and, besides enlarging the work, he brought down the narrative to the death of James I.

The Scotichronicon.

Like Wyntown, the authors of the Scotichronicon laboured under great disadvantages in the composition of their work, from the want of written materials. The ancient chronicles of the kingdom were, for the most part, the production of the monkish annalists of the age, and were usually deposited in the religious houses to which these clerical students belonged. But many of the histories and chronicles must have perished during the frequent incursions of the Norwegian or Danish pirates, by whom the Scottish monasteries were repeatedly plundered. The monastery of Icolmkill, where, previously to the union of the Scottish and Pictish kingdoms, the sovereigns of Scotland were solemnly crowned and interred, was burnt and ravaged by these marauders no less than six times during the course of the tenth century, and the gests and annals of the Scots and Picts, and other important records, deposited in that venerable establishment,

* Lord Monboddo, one of the judges of the Court of Session, and the eccentric author of some writings on metaphysics and the origin and progress of language, was a native of the parish of Fordoun, (see Boswell's Journal of his Tour to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, chap. iv.;) and Dr. Beattie, the author of "The Minstrel" and other works, was at one time its schoolmaster.

† See ante, p. 115, and note.

‡ See ante, p. 166, and note.

must, in all probability, have perished at the same time. But the ambition of Edward I. proved a more formidable enemy to the ancient historical records of Scotland, than either the ravages of the Danes, or the corroding tooth of time. Under the pretext of deciding the competition for the crown between Bruce and Baliol, in accordance with the precedents of former reigns, and the ancient laws and usages of Scotland, Edward collected from the libraries of the monasteries and the repositories of the public records, the chronicles, charters, writs, and other documents, which treated of the ancient history of Scotland, and either destroyed or carried them into England.* Attempts have been made of late to call in question this statement, but the most satisfactory evidence of its truth is to be found in the celebrated document presented in the name of the Estates of Scotland to Pope Boniface VIII., in the year 1301:—"As to all these points," it is said, "and with regard to the other defences which may be brought forward, or the liberties which may be claimed, or the rights which may be found existing in the kingdom of Scotland, the King of England has abstracted the existing muniments and the public records from the treasury, which could have illustrated them: and when he had the custody of this kingdom, he, by force and fear, caused the same, along with many other bulls, charters, and muniments which confirmed the liberties of the same kingdom, to be abstracted from the treasury, and carried with him into England."† This explicit statement is completely corroborated by the testimony of the English historian, Knighton,‡ and of the author of the Preface to the ancient Chronicle of Cupar; and especially by a precept or order which still remains addressed by Edward I. to the keepers of Edinburgh castle, enjoining them to deliver up all the charters, and other documents in their possession, which concerned the rights of the competitors for the Scottish crown, or related in any way to the kingdom of Scotland, to be carried off, and placed wherever the king should appoint.§

It is highly to the credit of Fordun, that, in spite of these disadvantages, he undertook the compilation of a chronicle of Scottish affairs; and he appears to have spared neither expense nor labour in the prosecution of his praiseworthy design. The extraordinary exertions which he made to collect materials for his history, are commemorated by the author of the Preface to the ancient Chronicle of Cupar, in the following quaint and bombastic terms:—"After the loss of these chronicles (the national muniments destroyed and carried off by Edward I.) a venerable Scottish priest, by name John Fordun, arose, and feeling his heart titillated and effervescent with patriotic zeal, he applied his hand boldly to the work; nor did he desist from his undertaking until, by the most laborious study and perseverance, traversing England and the adjacent provinces of his own country, he had recovered so much of the lost materials as enabled him to compose five volumes of the delectable gests of the Scots, which he drew up in a sufficiently chronicle-like style, as they are to be found in the great volume entitled the 'Scotichronicon.' In this undertaking, it is impossible to refrain from bestowing great praise on the industry of the author. For, adverting to the fact, that to commit all the record of past ages to the memory is the attribute of God, rather than man, he upon this consideration travelled on foot, like an unwearied and investigating bee, through the flowery meadow of Britain, and into the oracular recesses of Ireland; taking his way through provinces and towns, through universities and colleges, through churches and monasteries, entering into conversation, and not unfrequently sharing at bed and board with historians and chronologists; turning over their books, debating and disputing with them, and pricking down, or intitulating in his descriptive tablets all that most pleased him: in this manner, and by pursuing such indefatigable investigation, he became possessed of the knowledge which was before unknown to him, and, collecting it with studious care in the revolving sinuosities of his parchment code, like rich honeycombs in a historical hive, he, as I have already premised, divided them into five books of elegant composition, which brought down the history to the death of the sainted King David."*

Like the other monkish annalists, Fordun endeavours to trace the origin of his own people to a period of the most remote antiquity; and he has embodied in his history all the preposterous fictions respecting the rise of the Scots, which were current in Scotland at the time when he began his collections. The first of the five books into which he has divided his work, includes a period of eleven hundred and seventy-five years, from the first emigration of the Scots, in the days of Moses, under Gathelus, son of Neolus, King of Greece, down to the commencement of the Scottish monarchy in Britain, which Fordun supposes to have taken place in the year of the world 4864, under Fergus, the son of Ferchard. Following the absurd fashion of his age, the venerable canon presents his readers with a general history of the world, and descants upon such subjects as the form of the universe; the position of the earth in the centre of the system, and equidistant from every part of the circle of the heavens; the four principal points of the compass; the four cardinal winds; the division of the world into Asia, Africa, and Europe; its partition among the three sons of Noah; the exact situation of paradise; the history of Europe, and its greater islands; and thus winding his way through these heterogeneous topics, he comes at last to the origin of the Scots, the journey of Gathelus from Greece

* Innes, Critical Essay, vol. i. p. 202.
† Fordun, a Hearne, vol. iii. pp. 835—876.
‡ Knighton apud X. Scriptores, p. 2469.
§ It has been clearly proved, that the charters which were carried into England were altered or garbled to favour the English claim of superiority. See Allen's Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scotland.

* Innes, Critical Essay, vol i. pp. 205—207.

to Egypt, his marriage to Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, his voyage to Spain, the three emigrations of the Scots from Spain to Ireland, and their settlement in Britain about 330 years before Christ.

The second book of the Scotichronicon embraces the history of seven centuries, from the year 330 A.C., to the alleged restoration of the Scottish monarchy by Fergus II., in the year of our Lord 403. The third book contains the history of the Scots from the time of Fergus II., down to the year 830, which marks the reign of Alpin, the father of Kenneth, who united the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms. The fourth book extends over a period of two hundred and thirty-six years, from the time of Alpin, down to the reign of Malcolm Canmore; and the fifth book occupies the space of ninety-six years, from A.D. 1056, to the death of David I., A.D. 1153.

The continuation of the Scotichronicon by Walter Bower, was composed partly from the notes which Fordun had collected, and which he committed to Bower when he found himself too infirm to carry on his historical labours; partly from the chronicles and papers communicated to him by Sir David Stewart, of Rosyth, his patron, who urged him to undertake the work; and partly from the additional information which his own researches had discovered. From these various sources Bower has continued the narrative, from the death of David I., down to the murder of James I., in 1437. In spite of the credulity and superstition often manifested by the authors of the Scotichronicon, and the lengthened digressions in which it abounds, it is a work of great value to the historian, and contains much important and authentic information, as well as many striking notices of contemporary manners. In style and arrangement it has been pronounced equal, and in fidelity and accuracy even superior to the chronicles of the contemporary English annalists, Trivet, Higden, Knighton, and Matthew of Westminster. Fordun appears to have enjoyed high reputation, even in his own day, and his Chronicle was held in such esteem by the clergy, who possessed a monopoly of the learning of this age, that the various monasteries and religious houses, which had been robbed of their ancient records by Edward I., adopted the Scotichronicon as their conventual history, making only a few inconsiderable additions, and giving it the name of the monastery by whose superiors it had been adopted, transcribed, and continued.*

James I.

The age which was adorned by the genius of Gower and Chaucer, produced in JAMES I. a Scottish poet not unworthy to be ranked with these fathers of English verse. "James belongs," says Washington Irving, "to one of the most brilliant eras of our literary history, and establishes the claims of his country to a participation in its primitive honours. While a small cluster of English writers are constantly cited as the fathers of our verse, the name of their great Scottish compeer is apt to be passed over in silence; but he is evidently worthy of being enrolled in that little constellation of remote, but never-failing luminaries, who shine in the highest firmament of literature, and who, like moving stars, sang together at the bright dawning of British poesy."

"James was evidently an admirer and studier of the writings of Chaucer and Gower. Indeed, in one of his stanzas, he acknowledges them as his masters; and in some parts of his poem we find traces of similarity to their productions, more especially to those of Chaucer. There are always, however, general features of resemblance in the works of contemporary authors, which are not so much borrowed from each other as from the times. Writers, like bees, toll their sweets in the wide world: they incorporate with their own conceptions the anecdotes and thoughts which are current in society; and thus each generation has some features in common, characteristic of the age in which it lived."

The most important production of this accomplished monarch, is a long poem, called, "The King's Quair," or Book, in which he describes the circumstances of the attachment which he formed, while a prisoner in Windsor Castle, to Lady Jane Beaufort, who subsequently became his queen. It is in various respects a remarkable work, and derives peculiar interest from the fact, that it may be considered a transcript of the royal bard's true feelings, and the story of his real loves and fortunes. It has been pronounced by Mr. Ellis to be full of simplicity and feeling, and not inferior in poetical merit to any similar production of Chaucer. The introduction to the poem is remarkably spirited and beautiful. It was, he says, the still mid-watch of a clear moonlight night, the stars were twinkling as the fire in the high vault of heaven, and "Cynthia viewing her golden locks in Aquarius." He lay in bed wakeful and restless, and sought to beguile the tedious hours by the perusal of "Boethius's Consolations of Philosophy," a work highly popular at that period, and which had been translated by his great prototype Chaucer. After closing the volume, he is naturally led to reflect on the general instability of human affairs, the vicissitudes of his own life, and the misfortunes that had overtaken him even in his tender youth. Suddenly he hears the bell ringing to matins, but its sound seems to him like a voice exhorting him to write his story. As he had in his time, he says, spent some ink and paper to little effect, he determines to comply with the intimation, and to write something new. He therefore takes the pen in hand, makes with it the sign of the cross, to implore a benediction on his work, and forthwith begins his poem. He describes, in very affecting terms, his departure from his native country, his cruel and unjust capture during his voyage to France; and bewails his long captivity in a foreign land, and his lonely and inactive life, shut out, in the vigour of youth, from all the enter-

Plan of "The King's Quair."

* See "Liber Paslatensis," "Liber Sconensis," "Liber de Cupro," &c. Innes, Critical Essay, vol. i. pp. 210, 233.

prise and delights of the world, while even the lower animals live in freedom, every one after his kind. He had risen at day-break, he tells us, according to custom, to escape from the dreary meditations of a sleepless pillow. Bewailing in his chamber thus alone, despairing of all joy and remedy, "fortired of thought, and woe-begone," he turned to the window,

"To see the warld and folk that went forbye."

He informs us that the window looked forth upon a small garden, which lay at the foot of the tower, and was adorned with a green arbour and trellised walk, protected from the passing gaze by trees and hawthorn hedges.

"Now was there made fast by the towris wall
A garden fair; and in the corners set
Ane arbour green, with wandis long and small
Railed about, and so with trees be set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hedges knet,
That lyf* was none walking there forbye,
That might within scarce any wight espy.

"So thick the boughis and the leavis green
Beshaded all the alleys that there were,
And mids of every arbour might be seen
The sharpe greene sweete juniper,
Growing so fair with branches here and there,
That as it seemed to a lyf* without,
The boughis spread the arbour all about.

"And on the smalle greene† twistis sat,
The little sweete nightingale, and sung
So loud and clear, the hymnis consecrat
Of lovis use, now soft, now loud among,
That all the gardens and the wallis rung
Right of their song."

It was the month of May, when everything was in bloom, and he imagines that the hymn of the feathered choristers, with which all the gardens and the walls rang, is a welcome to this delightful season.

"Worship all ye that lovers be this May,
For of your bliss the kalends are begun,
And sing with us—away Winter! away!
Come Summer! come the sweet season and sun;
Awake! for shame! that have your heavenis won ‡
And amorously lift up your heads all;
Thank Love, that list you to his mercy call.

"When they this song had sung a little thrawe,§
They stint awhile, and therewith unafraid,
As I beheld and cast mine eyes alawe,
From bough to bough they hoppit and they played,
And freshly in their birdis kind arrayed
Their feathers new, and fret them in the sun,‖
And thanked Love they had their mates won."

As he gazes on the scene and listens to the notes of the birds singing the praises of their mates, the captive prince wonders what this love may be, which seems to confer, even on the irrational creation, such perfect enjoyment. Is it not, after all, a fantasy, a mere counterfeited bliss? And if it be a boon thus generally dispensed, even to the beasts of the earth and the birds of the air, why is he alone cut off from its enjoyments?

"Oft would I think, O Lord, what may this be,
That love is of such noble myght and kynde?
Loving his folk and such prosperitee;
Is it of him as we in books do find?
May he our hertes setten* and unbynd?
Hath he upon our hertes such maistrye?
Or is this all but feynit fantasye?

"For giff he be of so grete excellence,
That he of every wight hath care and charge,
What have I gilt † to him or done offence,
That I am thral'd and birdis go at large?"

As he thus muses, he accidentally casts his eyes from the latticed window of his tower upon the garden below, and there beholds "the fairest and the freshest young flower" that ever he had seen. It was the Lady Jane Beaufort, walking in the garden, to enjoy the beauty of that "fresh May morrowe."

"And therewith kest I down mine eye ageyne,
Where, as I saw walking under the toure,
Full secretly new comyn her to pleyne ‡
The fairest and the freshest younge flower
That ere I saw, methought, before that hour,
For which sudden abate,§ anon a stert,‖
The blood of all my body to my heart.

"And tho' I stood abaysit there a lite, ¶
No wonder was; for why?—my wittis all
Were so o'ercome with plesance and delyte,
Only thro' lettin of mine eyen fall,
That suddenly my heart became her thrall
For ever, of free-will: for of menace **
There was no token seen in her sweet face."

Thus slightly modernized by Mr. Tytler,

"Then as it hapt, mine eyes I cast below,
And there I spied, beneath my prison tower,
Telling her beads, in walking to and fro,
The fairest and the freshest youthful flower
That ever I beheld before that hour;
Entranced I gazed, and with the sudden start
Rushed instant all my blood into my heart.

"Awhile I stood, abased and speechless quite,
Nor wonder was; for why?—my senses all
Were so o'ercome with pleasure and delight
Only with letting thus my eyes to fall,
That instantly mine heart became her thrall
For ever of free will: for nought was seen
But gentleness in her soft looks serene."

"In the prince's situation," says the excellent critic †† to whom we are indebted for the publication of this poem, "viewing from his prison window the beautiful Jane walking below in the palace garden, he could not, with propriety or verisimilitude, have given a minute description of her features; but it will be difficult for imagination to form a more lovely idea of beauty than what the poet has drawn under the figurative description of

"The fairest and the freshest young flower
That ever I saw———"

a picture expressive of beauty, health, and blooming youth. He describes the sweetness of her countenance untinctured by the slightest expression of pride or haughtiness; her beauty, health, and blooming youth, and the sudden and irresistible passion with which these had inspired him.

* Person. † Twigs or small boughs.
‡ Attained your highest bliss.
§ A short space.
‖ Raised or spread them in the sun.

* Incline.
† What injury have I done him.
‡ To petition, to make her morning orisons.
§ Sinking down. ‖ Started.
¶ A little. ** Pride.
†† Poetical Remains of James I. p. 80.

He paints also her rich attire, and, as the portrait is evidently taken from the life, it may be considered as an accurate description of the female costume of that day. He dwells with the fondness of a lover on the various articles of her dress; the net of pearl, splendent with emeralds and sapphires, that confined her golden tresses; the chaplet of waving plumes; the 'goodly chain of small orfeverye' about her neck, from which hung a ruby in shape of a heart that seemed like a spark of fire burning upon her white bosom; her robe, loosely thrown over her shoulders, and her dress of white tissue, looped up to enable her to walk with more freedom.

"Of her array the form if I shall write,
Toward her golden hair and rich attire,
In fretwise couchit with pearlis white,*
And great balas + leaming as the fire,
With mony ane emerant and fair sapphire;
And on her head a chaplet fresh of hue,
Of plumis parted, red and white, and blue.

"Full of quaking spangis bright as gold,
Forged of shape like to the amorets,‡
So new, so fresh, so pleasant to behold;
The plumis eke like to the flower jonets,§
And other of shape like to the flower jonquettes;‖
And above all this there was, well I wot,
Beauty enough to make a world to doat.

"About her neck, white as the fine amaille,¶
A goodly chain of small orfeverye,**
Whereby there hung a ruby without fail,
Like to ane heart shapen, verily,
That as a spark of lowe ++ so wantonly
Seemed burning upon her white throat,
Now if there was good party‡‡ God is wot.

"And for to walk that fresh May's morrow,
Ane hook she had upon her tissue white,
That goodlier had not been seen to forow,§§
As I suppose: and girt she was alite‖‖
Thus halflings loose for haste, to such delight
It was to see her youth in goodlihede,
That for rudeness to speak thereof I dread.

"In her was youth, beauty, with humble port,
Bounty, riches, and womanly feature;
God better wot than can my pen report;
Wisdom, largess, estate, and cunning ¶¶ sure,
In every point so guided her measure,
In word, in deed, in shape, in countenance,
That Nature might no more her child advance."

"It is not difficult," says Mr. Tytler, "giving almost line for line, to present the English reader with a transcript of these sweet verses."

"Write I of her array and rich attire—
A net of pearl enclosed her tresses round,
Wherein a balas flamed as bright as fire;
And midst the golden curls an emerant bound,
Painted with greeny light the flowery ground.
Upon her head a chaplet fresh of hue,
Of plumes divided, red, and white, and blue.

"Which, waving, showed their spangles carved in gold,
Formed by nice art like amorous love-knots all;
Glancing most bright, and pleasant to behold,
And shaped like that sweet flower, that on the wall
Grows fragrant, which young lovers jonquil call;
Yet still above all this, she had, I wote,
Beauty enough to make a world to dote.

"About her neck, that whiter was than snow,
She wore a chain of rich orfeverye;
Where pendent hung a ruby, formed, I trow,
Like to a heart—so seemed its shape to me;
Which bright as spark of fire danced wantonly
Whene'er she moved, upon her throat so white,
That I did wish myself that jewel bright.

"Early astir to taste the morn of May,
Her robe was loosely o'er her shoulders thrown,
Half open, as in haste, yet maidenly,
And clasped, but slightly, with a beauteous zone,
Through which a world of such sweet youthhead shone,
That it did move in me intense delight,
Most beauteous,—yet whereof I may not write.

"In her did beauty, youth, and bounty dwell,
A virgin port, and features feminine;
Far better than my feeble pen can tell,
Did meek-eyed wisdom in her gestures shine;
She seemed, perfay—a thing almost divine
In word, in deed, in shape, in countenance,
That Nature could no more her child advance."

The poet then, in his extremity, implores assistance from Venus; and, in strains of exquisite beauty and tenderness, expresses his envy of the little dog which sported about his mistress, and expostulates with the nightingale, who is silent at the very time when she ought to pour forth her most joyous notes.

"When I with gude intent this orison
Thus endit had, I stynt a little stound,*
And oft mine eye full piteously adoun
I cast, beholding there her little hound,
That with his bellis playit on the ground;+
Then would I say and sigh therewith a lyte,‡
Ah well were him that now were in that plyte.§

"An other while the little nightingale
That sat upon the twiggis wold I chide,
And say richt thus—Where are thy notis small
That thou of love hast sung this morowe tyde?
Sees thou not her that sittis thee besyde,
For Venus' sake the blissful goddesse clere,
Sing on agane, and make my ladye chere."

The departure of Lady Jane from the garden, puts an end to his transports. The day seemed turned into night, and he relapses into loneliness, now rendered tenfold more insupportable by the passing gleam of sunshine which, for a brief space, had illuminated the scene of his captivity. Through the long and weary day he repines at his unhappy lot, locked up within his prison-walls, and cut off from all hope of intercourse or acquaintance, and when evening approaches, and Phœbus had 'bade farewell to every leaf and flower,' then 'Hesperus gan light his lamp on high,' and as darkness deepens around him, he leans his head upon the cold stone, and, overcome with weariness, falls 'half-sleeping, half-swoon,' into a trance. Suddenly a bright ray of light pierces the window where he leaned, illuminating the whole apartment; a voice addresses him in words of comfort and encouragement, he is seized by the arms, and lifted into the air, and enclosed in a crystal cloud,

* Covered with a net, or fret-work of pearls.
+ Precious stones sparkling as fire. Balas, a kind of ruby, so called from Balassia in India.
‡ Love knots. § A kind of lily. ‖ Jonquils.
¶ Enamel. ** Goldsmith's work. ++ Flame.
‡‡ Match. §§ Before. ‖‖ Slightly. ¶¶ Knowledge.

* Stayed a little while.
+ This was, in all probability, the Italian hound, of exquisite symmetry, which was a pet among the fashionable ladies of ancient times.
‡ Little. § Collar or chain.

he ascends upwards from sphere to sphere, till he reaches

> " the glad empire
> Of blissful Venus."

On entering the palace of Love, he finds it crowded with all descriptions of lovers;—the successful, the hypocritical, the unfortunate, the constant, and faithful, the worldly-minded and selfish, accompanied by Prudence, Courage, Benevolence, Repentance, and other allegorical personages, which abound in the poetry of this period. The description of the various groupes of the votaries of Love is extremely picturesque, and shows great powers of fancy and imagination; and there is a striking portrait of Cupid seated in a chair of state, his bright yellow locks bound with a chaplet of green leaves, with his bended bow in his hand, and his fatal quiver by his side. The Queen of Love herself is found reclining upon a bed, with a mantle cast over her white shoulders, and a fair fresh chaplet of red roses on her head. To her the poet makes his complaint, and earnestly implores her aid. The reply of Venus is somewhat tedious and discursive, though containing some beautiful poetry. She addresses her votary in the language of encouragement, assures him of her benevolent assistance, and sends him, under the guidance of Good Hope, to seek counsel of Minerva. This sage goddess, having first ascertained that her petitioner is influenced by a pure and virtuous attachment, and is not one of those

> " That feynis truth in love but for a while,
> The silly innocent woman to beguile,"

and whom she denounces as having the hearts of wolves, under the guise of lambs,—bestows upon him a good deal of judicious, but rather tiresome advice, mingled with some discussions respecting free will and necessity, which show that the poet was sufficiently versant in the metaphysical learning of his age. The votary of love is then dismissed from the court of Minerva, and, like Milton's Uriel, straightway descends upon a sunbeam to the earth.

The fifth canto is occupied with the poet's journey in quest of Fortune. The opening verses are singularly beautiful:—

> " Where in a lusty plain * I took my way
> Endlang a ryver † plesand to behold,
> Embroider'd all with fresh flowers gay,
> Where thro' the gravel, bright as ony gold,
> The crystal water ran so clere and cold,
> That in mine ear it made continually
> A maner soun mellit with harmony.‡
>
> " That full of little fishes by the brym,
> Now here, now there, with backs blue as lead,
> Lap and playit, and in a rout gan swym
> So prettily, and dressit thame to spread
> Their crural fins as the ruby red
> That in the sun upon their scales bright
> As gesserant § ay glitterit in my sight."

Beside this pleasant river he finds an avenue of trees covered with delicious fruit, and under their umbrageous covert are seen 'beasts of mony divers kynd,' of whom he gives a most picturesque, and characteristic description, equal, it has been justly said, to anything of the kind in Chaucer or Spenser.

> " The lion king and his fierce lioness;
> The panther, spotted like the smaragdine;*
> The little squirrel, full of business; †
> The patient ass that drudgeth still in pine;
> The cunning ape; the warlike porcupine;
> The piercing lynx; the stately unicorn,
> That voideth venom from his ivory horn.
>
> " There I saw dress him new out of his haunt,‡
> The fierce tiger full of felony;
> The dromydare and stander elephant; §
> The wily fox, the widow's enemy;
> The climbing goat; the elk for arblastrye; ‖
> The hearkning boar; the holsom ¶ grey for sportis;
> The hare also that oft goeth to the hortis." **

Under the guidance of Good Hope the poet proceeds in search of the goddess Fortune, whom he at length finds sitting on the ground, clothed in a surcoat of divers hues, with a large and long mantle, furred with ermine, and right before her feet a wheel, on which a multitude of people were clambering, whose alternations of fortune are described in lively strains. She inquires into his story; and on his earnest appeal to her for sympathy and assistance, she places him upon the wheel, admonishing him to maintain his balance there for half an hour, and after assuring him that he will be fortunate in his love, bids him farewell. In departing she seizes him so firmly by the ear, that he suddenly awakes, and addresses his soul in the following solemn and striking lines:—

> " Oh besy ghost! ay flickering to and fro,
> That never art in quiet nor in rest,
> Till thou come to that place where thou come fro,
> Which is thy first and very proper nest;
> From day to day so sore here art thou drest,
> That with thy flesh ay waking art in trouble,
> And sleeping eke, of pyne so hast thou double."

He anxiously inquires whether all that had passed before his dreaming fancy has been conjured up by preceding circumstances, or whether it is a vision sent from heaven to comfort him in his despondency. If the latter, he prays that some further token may be sent to confirm the assurance of success given him in his slumbers. Suddenly a turtle dove as 'white as chalk,' comes flying in at the window, and alights upon his hand, bearing in her bill a stalk of red gilliflowers, on the leaves of which was written, in letters of gold, the glad news that it is decreed he is to be successful in his love.

> " This fair bird rycht into her bill gan hold,
> Offred gillyflowers with stalkis green,
> A fair branch, where, written was with gold,
> On every leaf with letters brycht and shene,
> In compass fair, full pleasandly to sene, ††
> A plain sentence which, as I can devise
> And have in mind, said rycht upon this wise.

* Pleasant, delightful.
† Along the brink of a river.
‡ A pleasant sound mingled with harmony.
§ Jacinth.

* A precious stone. † Always in motion.
‡ New prepared to sally out of his den.
§ The elephant that always stands.
‖ The strings of the arblast or cross-bow were probably formed out of the tough sinews of the elk.
¶ Greyhound. ** Gardens. †† See.

"Awake, awake! I bring, lover, I bring
Most gladsome news, that blissful are and sure
Of thy comfort; now laugh, and play, and sing.
Full soon shalt thou achieve thine adventure,
For in the heaven decretit* is thy cure;
And unto me the flowers did present,
With wyngis spread, her ways furth then she went."

He receives the branch with mingled hope and dread, reads it with rapture, and this, he says, was the first token of his succeeding happiness. He concludes the poem by intimating, with thankful heart, that the promise conveyed in the vision, and by the flower, has been amply fulfilled, and that the possession of his lovely princess has proved a remedy for all his sorrows.

Such are the outlines of a poem, which, in the judgment of a distinguished writer,† is not inferior in fancy, elegance of diction, and tender delicacy of feeling, to any similar work of the same period produced either in England or in his own country. It may, no doubt, be objected, that its allegorical descriptions are tedious and uninteresting, and that it exhibits an incongruous mixture of classical mythology and Christian theology. But these were the faults rather of the age than of the poet, and they are redeemed by the genuine feeling, the delightful artlessness and urbanity, and the fresh and vivid descriptions of nature, with which the poem abounds. "As an amatory poem," says Washington Irving, "it is edifying in these days of coarser thinking to notice the nature, refinement, and exquisite delicacy which pervade it, banishing every gross thought, or immodest expression, and presenting female loveliness, clothed in all its chivalrous attributes of almost supernatural purity and grace."

The "King's Quair" is the principal work of this accomplished prince, but he wrote many other poems, some of which, unfortunately for the fulness of his fame, are now lost to the world. One of his minor productions, which is still preserved, called "Christ's Kirk of the Green,"‡ describes in humorous and graphic strains a rural fair, or merry-making, where the rustics danced, revelled, drunk, and, finally, quarrelled and fought. It shows how diligently James had made himself acquainted with the rural sports and pastimes of the Scottish peasantry, and with what humour he could enter into their enjoyments. The scene of this poem is traditionally said to be a village, called Christ's Kirk, in the parish of Kennethmont, in Aberdeenshire, where a fair was formerly held during the night. The opening stanzas describe with great spirit the flocking of country lads and lasses, wooers and their sweethearts, to the play, or fair, at Christ's Kirk on the Green. The language, however, is a good deal antiquated, and the humour is occasionally somewhat coarse.

"Was never in Scotland heard nor seen
Sic dancing nor deray,*
Nouthir at Falkland on the Grene,†
Nor Peblis at the Play,
As was of wooers as I wene
At Christ's Kirk on a day
There came our Kitties ‡ washen clene,
In their new kirtles gray,
Full gay
At Christ Kirk of the Grene that day.

"To dance thir damysels thame dicht,§
Thir lasses light of laitis, ‖
Thair gloves were of the raffel richt, ¶
Thair shune were of the Straitis,**
Thair kirtles were of the Lynkome light, ††
Weil prest with mony plaits
They were so nice when men them nicht,‡‡
They squeilt like ony gaitis,§§
Sa loud,
At Christ's Kirk of the Grene," &c.

Gillie, a rural beauty, with slender waist, red cheeks, white bosom, and yellow locks, has sworn that in spite of 'kith and kin,' she will have none but 'sweet Willie.' Her scorn of his rival is given in very graphic terms:—

"She scornit Jock, and scrapit at him,‖‖
And murgeonit him ¶¶ with mocks;
He wald have luvit, she wald not let him,
For all his yellow locks:
He cherish'd her, she bade gae chat him,***
She compt him not twa clokkis,†††
Sae shamefully his short gown set him,
His limbs were like twa rokkis, ‡‡‡
She said,
At Christ's Kirk on the Grene," &c.

The spirited playing and sweet singing of Tam Lutar the minstrel; the dancing of Tousy, who scorns Scotch reels and apes the French fashion; the vigorous leaping and high capering of Steven, which ends in his downfall and misbehaviour; and the riotous revelling of Robin Roy, and his quarrel with Jock, which leads to a general battle, are all described with great force and happiness of humour. Among other weapons the combatants make use of the bow, and the poet ridicules their awkwardness in the mode of handling it, and the ludicrous failure with which their attempts are invariably accompanied. One doughty archer bends his bow with great vehemence, not doubting that he would do deadly execution upon his opponent, who, in great terror bawls out, "Confusion, blood and murder!" but he misses his mark by a whole acre's breadth.

"With that a friend of his cried fy!
And up ane arrow drew:
He forgit §§§ it sa furiously,
The bow in flenderis ‖‖‖‖ flew;

* Decreed.

† Tytler's Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 67.

‡ Bishops Gibson and Tanner and some other writers ascribe this poem to James V., but their arguments have been most satisfactorily refuted by the elder Mr. Tytler in his "Dissertation on the Life of James I."

* Merriment. † Palace of Falkland in Fifeshire.
‡ Country lasses. § Dressed or prepared.
‖ Frolicksome in their manners.
¶ Gloves of the roe-deer skin.
** Thin shoes made of Turkey or Morocco leather from the Straits.
†† Of Lincoln manufacture. ‡‡ Came near them.
§§ Shrieked like wild goats. ‖‖‖ Mocked him.
¶¶ Made mouths at him *** Go to the gallows.
††† She valued him not the worth of two beetles.
‡‡‡ His legs were like two distaffs.
§§§ He drew his bow with such fury. ‖‖‖‖ Splinters.

Sa was the will of God trow I,
For had the tree been trew,*
Men said that kend his archery,
That he had slain enow
That day,
At Christ's Kirk of the Grene," &c.

Louric's misadventure is perhaps the best.

"Than Lowrie as ane lyon lap,
And soon ane flane gan fedder,†
He hecht ‡ to pierce him at the pap,
Thereon to wad a wedder; §
He hit him on the wame a wap,‖
It buft like only bledder,¶
But sa his fortune was and hap
His doublet was of ledder,**
And saved him,
At Christ's Kirk on the Grene, &c

"The buff so boisterously abaift him ††
He to the eard dusht down,‡‡
The other man for dead then left him,
And fled out of the town.
The wives cam furth, and up they heft him
And fand lyfe in the loun,§§
Then with three routtis ‖‖ up they reft him,
And cur'd him of his soune,
Fra hand that day, ¶¶
At Christ's Kirk of the Grene," &c.

'Peblis to the Play,' is another humorous poem by James I., descriptive of a great annual festival, or fair, which was held near that ancient town, on Beltane-day, or the first of May.*** "The anniversary games, or plays, at Peebles," says the author of the 'Dissertation on the Life of James I.,' "are of so high antiquity, that at this day it is only from tradition, joined to a few remains of antiquity, we can form any conjecture of the age of their institution, or even trace the vestiges, what these games were. . . . That this town, situated on the banks of the Tweed, in a pastoral country, abounding with game, was much resorted to by our ancient Scottish princes is certain. King Alexander III. is said to have had a hunting-seat here; the place where it stood is still pointed out. We are told by Boetius that the monastery of Cross Church, now in ruins, was built by that prince, and anciently our monarchs occasionally took up their residence in religious houses.††† Contiguous to it is a piece of ground, of old surrounded by walls, and still called the King's Orchard, and on the opposite side of the river is the King's Green. The plays were, probably, the golf, a game peculiar to the Scots; football, and shooting for prizes with bow and arrow. The shooting butts still remain; and an ancient silver prize-arrow, with several old medallions appended to it is, as I am informed, still preserved in the town-house of Peebles." The 'Beltain Fair' of Peebles, which is still held regularly upon the first Wednesday of May, must be considered, though very inferior in every respect, as the descendant of the ancient 'Play.' Indeed, till about the middle of the last century this fair was distinguished by a horse-race, and other festivities; but of late years it has degenerated into a mere tryst.

The poem commences with a description of the gathering of the people from all parts of the neighbouring country to attend the fair:

"At Beltane when each body bownis
To Peblis at the Play,
To hear the singing and the sownis,
The solace sooth to say.
By firth and forest furth they found,
They grathit* them full gay,
God wot, 'that would they do that stound,'
For it was their feast-day,
They said,
Of Peblis to the Play.
* * * *

"All the wenches of the west
Were up ere the cock crew,
For reeling there might no man rest
For garay† and for glew.‡
One said my curches are not prest,
Then answered Meg, full blue,
To get a hood I hold it best,
I vow but that is true,
Quoth she,
Of Peblis to the Play

"Hope, Cayley, and Cardronow,§
Gather'd out thick fold,
With heigh-how-rumbelow,
The young fools were full bold.
The bagpipe blew, and they outthrew
Out of the towns untold,
Lord, such a shouting was them among
When they were o'er the wold,
There west,
To Peblis at the Play."

Among the Scottish poets who flourished during the fifteenth century, a conspicuous place is due to ROBERT HENRYSOUN, the author of the 'Testament of Creseide,' the beautiful pastoral ballad of 'Robene and Makyne,' and several other fables and poems of a high order of excellence. Of this delightful writer hardly anything is known, except what is contained in the following brief statement of Urry, the editor of Chaucer:—"The author of the 'Testament of Creseide,' which might pass for the sixth book of this story, I have been informed by Sir James Erskine, late Earl of Kelly, and divers aged scholars of the Scottish nation, was one Mr. Robert Henrysoun, chief schoolmaster of Dunfermline, a little time before Chaucer was first printed, and dedicated to Henry VIII., by Mr. Thynne, which was near the end of his reign. Mr. Henrysoun wittily observing that Chaucer in his fifth book had related the death of Troilus, but made no mention what became of Creseide, learnedly takes upon him in a fine poetical way to express the punishment and end due to a false inconstant woman, which commonly termi-

Robert Henrysoun.

* Had the wood been true; had the bow been proof.
† Soon feathered an arrow. ‡ Meant.
§ To wager or pledge a sheep. ‖ A blow on the belly.
¶ Made a sound like a bladder. ** Leather.
†† Stunned him. ‡‡ Fell down suddenly to the earth.
§§ Found life in the rogue. ‖‖ Loud bellows like an ox.
¶¶ Out of hand; instantly.
*** Beltane was a festival of the aborigines of this country, who celebrated it by lighting fires on the tops of hills and other places in honour of their deity, Baal, from whom the festival took its name, Beltane, or Beltein, signifying the fire of Baal.
††† James I. granted to his confessor, David Rat, an hospital, styled St Leonard's, about a mile and a half eastward of the town.

* Clothed themselves. † Preparation.
‡ Glee. § The names of villages on the Tweed.

mates in extreme misery. Henrysoun was in all probability born during the reign of James II.; but the exact period is unknown; his life is a mere blank, and the time of his death is involved in equal obscurity. In one of his works he describes himself as "one man of age," and it is stated by Sir Francis Kinaston, that "being very old he died of a diarrhœa, or flux." It is certain that he died before Dunbar wrote his Lament for the Death of the Makars, for he commemorates him among other departed poets:—

"In Dunfermling death has tane Broun,
With gude Mr. Robert Henrysoun."

"Of the works of this remarkable man," says a distinguished writer, "it is difficult, when we consider the period in which they were written, to speak in terms of too warm encomium. In strength, and sometimes even in sublimity of painting, in pathos and sweetness, in the variety and beauty of his pictures of natural scenery, in the vein of quiet and playful humour, which runs through many of his pieces, and in that fine natural taste, which, rejecting the faults of his age, has dared to think for itself—he is altogether excellent."* The greatest work of this sweet, but neglected poet, is that

His "Testament of Creseide."

to which allusion has already been made,—the completion of Chaucer's beautiful poem of Troilus and Creseide. "Henrysoun," says the biographer of Chaucer, "perceived what was defective in the close of the story of Troilus and Creseide, as Chaucer had left it. The inconstant and unfeeling Creseide, as she appears in the last book, is the just object of aversion, and no reader can be satisfied that Troilus, the loyal and heroic lover, should suffer all the consequences of her crime, whilst she escapes with impunity. The poem of Henrysoun," he continues, "has a degree of merit, calculated to make us regret that it is not a performance standing by itself, instead of thus serving merely as an appendage to the work of another. The author has conceived, in a very poetical manner, his description of the season in which he supposes himself to have written this dolorous tragedy. The sun was in Aries—his setting was ushered in with furious storms of hail; the cold was biting and intense, and the poet sat in a little solitary building, which he calls his 'oratoure.' The sun has just set, and the beautiful evening-star shows her golden face in the west—the air has cleared up to an intense frost, and the aged bard for awhile contemplates the scene with delight, but warned by the increasing cold, he closes his shutters, stirs his fire, wheels in his chair, and, after warming his sluggish blood with a cup of generous wine, takes up a volume of Chaucer, and happens to light upon the story of Creseide fair, and lusty Troilus.

"A doly season till a careful ditte†
Should correspond and be equivalent;
Right so it was, when I began to write
This tragedy; the weather right fervent,
When Aries in middis of the Lent,
Showers of hail gan fro the north descende,
That scantly from the cold I mighten me defende.

"Yet ne'ertheless within mine oratoure
I stood, when Titan had his beams bright
Withdrawin down and sealed under cure;
And fair Venus, the beaute of the night,
Upraise and sette unto the weste full right
Her golden face, in oppositioun
Of God Phœbus, directe descending down.

"Throughout the glasse her beams brast* so faire,
That I might see on every side me by;
The northern wind had purified the aire
And shed his misty clouds fro the skie;
The frost freezed, the blasts bitterly
From Pole Artick came whisking loud and shrill,
And caused me remove against my will.

"For I trusted that Venus, lover's Quene,
To whom sometime I hight obedience,
My faded heart of love she wald make green;
And thereupon, with humble reverence,
I thought to praise her hie magnificence;
But for great cold as then I lettid† was,
I in my chambre to the fire gan pass.

"Though love be hot, yet in a man of age
It kindleth not so soon as in youthheid,
Of whom the blood is flowing in a rage,
And in the old the courage dull and dede,
Of which the fire outward is best remeid;
To help by physick where that nature failed
I am expert, for both I have assailed.

"I made the fire and beeked me about,‡
Then took I drink, my spirits to comfort,
And armed me well fro the cold thereout;
To cut the winter night, and make it short,
I took a quair,§ and left all other sport,
Written by worthy Chaucer glorious,
Of fair Creseide and lusty Troilus."

In the poem, to use the words of the author already quoted, "Creseide is represented as deserted by Diomed; filled with discontent, and venting her rage in bitter revilings against Venus and Cupid. Her ingratitude is resented by these deities, who call a council of the seven planets, in which it is decreed that Creseide shall be punished with leprosy. Cynthia is deputed, in a vision, to inform her of her fate; she wakes, and finds that the dream is true. She then entreats her father to conduct her to a hospital for lepers, by the governor of which she is compelled to go as a beggar on the highway. Among the passers by, comes Troilus, who, in spite of the dreadful disfigurement of her person, finds something in her that he had seen before, and even draws from a glance of her horrible countenance, a confused recollection of the sweet visage and amorous glances of his beloved Creseide. His instinct leads him no further. He does not suspect that his mistress is actually before him; yet,

'For knightly pitie and memorial
Of faire Creseide,'

he takes a girdle, a purse of gold, and many a gaie jewell, and shakes them down in the skirt of the miserable beggar.

'Then rode awaye, and not a worde he spake.'

No sooner is he gone, than Creseide becomes aware that her benefactor is no other than Troilus him-

* Lives of Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 77.
† A sad season for a melancholy story.

* Pierced.
† Hindered.
‡ Warmed myself on every side.
§ A book.

self. Affected by this unexpected occurrence, she falls into a frenzy, betrays her real name and condition, bequeaths to Troilus a ring which he had given her in dowry—and dies. Troilus laments her fate, and builds her a monument."*

Henryson's knowledge of astronomy, as exhibited in his description of the planets, appears to have been extremely imperfect, and his personification of these heavenly bodies is by no means carefully preserved. But his description of Saturn shivering with cold; his hoary matted locks falling down his shoulders, glittering and fretted with hoar frosts; the wind whistling through his gray and weather-beaten garments, and a sheaf of arrows feathered with ice, and headed with hailstones, stuck under his girdle, is drawn with the hand of a master.

"His face frowned, his skin was like the lead,
His teeth chattered and shivered with the chin,
His eyin droped, whole sunken in his head;
Out at his nose the mildrop fast gan rin,
With lippis blue, and cheeks lean and thin;
The icicles that from his hair down honge,
Were wonder great, and as a spear was longe.

"Altour his belt his lyart † locks lay,
Feltrid‡ unfair, or fret with frostis hore,
His garment and his gite § full gay of gray,
His withered wede fro him the wind out wore;
A bousteaus bow within his hand he bore;
Under his girdle a fashe of felon flains,‖
Feather'd with ice and headed with hailstanes."

The treatment of Creseide when she is smitten with leprosy, as a punishment for her inconstancy, affords some interesting information respecting the treatment, in the days of Henryson, of the unhappy creatures who were afflicted with this loathsome disease. "Want of cleanliness," says the editor of Sir Tristrem,¶ "of linen, of vegetables, of fresh meat in winter, but, above all, sloth and hardship, concurred to render the leprosy as common in Europe, during the middle ages, as it is in some eastern countries at this day. Various hospitals were founded by the pious for the reception of those miserable objects, whose disease being infectious, required their seclusion from society.** When they begged through the streets they usually carried a cup to receive alms, and a clapper or bell to warn the passenger to keep aloof, even while bestowing his charity. In allusion to this custom, Saturn, when he announces to Creseide the punishment to which she was condemned, says,

"Thus shalt thou go, begging from house to house,
With cuppe and clapper, like a lazarous."

Her father conveys her to the receptacle for such miserable objects,

"When in a mantel and a bevir hat,
With cuppe and clapper wonder privily,
He opened a secret gate, and out thereat
Conveyed her, that no man should espie,
There to a village half a mile therebie,
Delivered her in at the spittal house,
And daily sent her part of his almous."

* Godwin's Life of Chaucer, vol. i. p. 493.
† Hoary. ‡ Matted. § Fashion of his clothing.
‖ A sheaf of arrows.
¶ Fytte Third, st. 80; Notes, p. 362.
** See ante, p. 265.

A leper woman cuts short Creseide's long lamentation at this dismal change, and exhorts her to practise the trade which was now to support her—

"Go learn to clappe thy clapper to and fro
And learn after the lawe of leper's lede."

Again,—while she is begging with her miserable associates, Troilus, the lover whom she had betrayed, returns victorious from a skirmish against the Greeks. The lepers

"Seeing that companie come with osteven,
They gave a crie and shook cuppis; God spede,
Worthie lords! for Goddis love in heaven,
To us lepers part of your almon dede!"

To a different class belong the poems entitled 'The Abbey Walk;' 'The Praise of Age;' 'The Reasoning betwixt Death and Men;' and 'The Reasoning betwixt Age and Youth;' which are pervaded by a fine moral strain, and a tone of solemn and impressive thought. A few stanzas from the 'Praise of Age,' slightly modernized, may serve to show the high order of excellence to which Henryson has attained in didactic poetry.

"Within ane garth,* under a red rosier,†
Ane auld man and decrepit heard I sing;
Gay was the note, sweet was the voice and clear,
It was great joy to hear of sic a thing.
And thus he sung: 'I would not to be king;
Of all this world live o'er a life like this.
Oh, Youth! thy sweetest flowers have sharpest sting:
The more of age the nearer heavenly bliss.

"'False is this world and full of variance,‡
O'errun with sin, and penury, and pain;
Truth is all fled,—guile has the governance,—
Fell coward treason hath high honour slain,
And freedom languisheth in iron chain;
And covetice § is all the cause of this.
I am content that youth is on the wane:
The more of age the nearer heaven's bliss.

"'Trust then no more this wretched world—for why?
Of earthly joy ay sorrow is the end,
The state of it can no man certify:
This day a king,—to morne ‖ na gude to spend;
What have we here but grace us to defend?
The quhilk God grant us, till amend our miss,¶
That to his gloir** he may our souls send:
The more of age the nearer heaven's bliss.'"

'The Bludy Serk' (Bloody Shirt) is an allegorical poem, typifying the sacred mysteries of the Christian faith. The beautiful daughter of a great monarch is represented as having been carried away by a hideous giant, and cast into a loathsome dungeon, where she was doomed to remain until rescued by some valiant knight. Her cause is at length espoused by a noble prince, who vanquishes the giant, but is himself mortally wounded in the encounter. He restores the damsel to her father, and feeling that his end is approaching, he bequeaths to her his 'Bludy Serk,' and solemnly enjoins her to contemplate it whenever a new lover should present himself.

"This king is like the Trinitie,
Baith in hevin and heir;
The man's saul to the lady;
The giant to Lucifer;

* Garden. † Rose tree. ‡ Changes.
§ Covetousness. ‖ To-morrow ¶ Amiss.
** Glory.

The knycht to Christ that died on tree
And coft our sins deir;
The pit to hell, with pains fell;
The sin to the woer."

The poem entitled 'Robene and Makyne,' is the earliest specimen of pastoral poetry in the Scottish language, and, in the opinion of Dr. Irving, is not only the most beautiful of Henryson's productions, but is superior, in many respects, to the similar attempts of Spenser and Browne. It is free from the glaring improprieties which sometimes appear in the pastorals of the more recent writers, and it exhibits many genuine strokes of poetical delineation. The story is skilfully conducted, the sentiments and manners are truly pastoral, and the diction exhibits remarkable terseness and suavity.*

In addition to these poems, Henryson wrote a series of fables, thirteen in number, which are characterised by an arch simplicity, a quiet vein of humour, and a felicitous adaptation of the sentiments to the circumstances of the actors. One of these, the 'Tale of the Lion and the Mouse,' he feigns himself to have received from Æsop in one of his day-dreams. The prologue to this fable is remarkably beautiful.

"In the middis of June, that jolly sweet season,
When that fair Phœbus with his beams bright
Had dryed up the dew from dale and downe,
And all the land made with his lemyss † light,
In a morning, betwixt midday and night
I raise and put all sloth and sleepe aside,
On till a wood I want alone but guide.‡

"Sweete was the smell of flouris white and reid,
The noise of birdis right delicious,
The bewis braid bloomed about mine head,
The ground growand with grasses gracious;
Of all pleasance that place was plenteous,
With sweete odours and birdis harmony,
The morning myld my mirth was maer forthy.

"The roses red arrayed, the rone and ryss,§
The primrose and the purpure viola,
To hear, it was a point of paradyss,
Sic mirth, the mavis and the merle‖ could ma; ¶
The blossoms blythe brak up on bank and brae,**
The smell of herbis, and of fowls the cry
Contending who should have the victory."

To shelter himself from the heat of the sun, the poet lies down 'among the flowers sweet,' under the shade of a green hawthorn, and straightway falls asleep. In his dream his venerable master, Æsop, appears to him, carrying a roll of paper in his hand, a swan-pen behind his ear, with an inkhorn, a 'pretty gilt pennare,' and a bag of silk at his belt—probably the dress and implements of a notary public at that day.

"His gown was of ane claith as white as milke;
His chemeis was of camblet purpure brown;
His hood of scarlet, broidered well with silke,
Or heckled wise until his girdle down;
His bonnet round, after the olde fashioun,
His head was white, his eene great and gray,
With locker hair whilke ouer his shoulders lay." *

The sage addresses the poet in affectionate terms as his son, and gives him the novel information that he was a native of Rome, and first went to the schools in that city, and studied civil law 'full many a day.' Encouraged by his affability, the poet ventures to beseech 'Father Esope' to tell him 'ane prettie Fable concluding with ane gude Morality.' The sage at first declines, on the ground that a 'fairie tale' was certain to be disregarded, since 'holy preaching' was so little esteemed by the untoward generation of that day. Like other moralists, Æsop complains that the world grew worse daily:—

"Now in this world me think right few or nane
To God's word that has devotion:
The ear is deaf, and heart as cauld as stane,
Now open sinne withouten correction.
The ear inclinand to the earth ay down,
So rusty is the world with canker blacke,
That now my tales may little succour make."

On the poet's reiterating his request, however, Æsop at length consents, and repeats to him the well-known tale of the 'Lion and the Mouse,' concluding with a somewhat lengthy moral, in which there is an evident allusion to that treasonable combination of the nobles which cost James III. his crown and life:—

"Thir cruel men that stentit has the net,†
In which the lion suddenly was tane,
Waited allway that they amends might get;
For hurt, men write with steel on marble stane,
Mair till expone as now I let alane;
But king and lord may well wote what I mean,
The figure hereof aftymes has been seen.

"When this was said, quoth Esop, my fair child,
Persuade the Kirkmen eyedentlie ‡ to pray
That treason fra this cuntrie be exil'd;
That justice ring and nobles keep their fay
Unto their sovereign lord, baith night and day;
And at that word he vanish'd, and I woke,
Sine thro' the schaw hameward my journey toke."

The fable of the 'Sheep and the Dog,' contains all the particulars of an action before the Consistory Court, in which the wolf sat as judge, the corbie raven, 'who pyked had full many a sheep's eye,' was apparitor, and the fox, clerk and noter in the cause. The action terminates, as might be expected, in the fleecing of the poor friendless sheep. Although the poet speaks cautiously, like one who felt that he was on unsafe ground, it is evident that the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts, which subsequently drew forth the indignant denunciations of Sir David Lindsay, must, even at this period, have been generally felt as a great grievance.

One of the happiest of these tales is the well-

* Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets, vol. i. p. 388. 'Robene and Makyne' is published in Campbell's 'Selections from the English Poets;' and also, together with the 'Testament of Creseide,' in one of the volumes of the Bannatyne Club. A beautiful edition of the 'Moral Fables' has been published by the Maitland Club.

+ Beams.
‡ Without guide. § The brambles and bushes.
‖ The thrush and blackbird. ¶ Make.
** A hill side.

* It has been conjectured, with some probability, that Henryson himself was a notary public as well as schoolmaster. A charter granted by the Abbot of Dunfermline, in 1478, is subscribed by Robert Henryson as a notary public, and the same person is a witness to two other charters in the Chartulary of Dunfermline. As he is designated Magister, it is supposed that he had taken the degree of Master of Arts.

+ Stretched have the net.
‡ Constantly and with earnestness.

known apologue of the 'Town and Country,' or, as Henryson terms it, 'The Uponland and the Burgesse Mouse,' which, if inferior in elegance to the versions of Pope and La Fontaine, excels them in humour and in characteristic and natural description. The introduction to the story is remarkably spirited and graphic:—

"Easop relates a tale, weil worth renown,
Of twa wee mice, and they were sisters dear,
Of whom the elder dwelt in a borrow town;
The younger she wonned upon land weil near,
Solitaire whiles under buss, whiles under breir,
Whiles on the corn, and wraith * of labouring men,
As outlaws do, she made an easy fen. †

"This rural mouse unto the winter tyde
Thol'd cauld and hunger oft, and great distress:
The other mouse, that in the burgh gan bide,
Was gild-brother, and made a free burgess,
Toll-free, and without custom mair or less,
And freedom had to go wherever she list,
Amang the cheese in ark, and meal in chest."

The burgh mouse is seized with a strong desire to pay her sister a visit; barefooted, and with staff in hand:—

"As pilgrim poor she past out of the town
To seek her sister baith o'er dale and down.

"Thro' mony toilsome ways then could she walk,
Thro' moss and muir, thro' banks, balk, and brier,
Fra fur to fur,‡ cryand, fra balk to balk,
Come forth to me, mine ain good sister dear,
Cry 'peep' ance. With that the mouse could hear,
And knew her voice, as kindly kinsman will,
She heard with joy, and forth came she her till."

The meeting of the two relatives is described with much tenderness and simplicity:—

"Whiles they leugh, and whiles for joy they grat,
Whiles kissed sweet, and whiles in arms plet."

The country mouse forthwith conducts her sister into her cosy bield, constructed of 'fog and ferne:'—

"Withouten fire or candle burning bright,
For commonly such pykers loves not light."

The entertainment which follows, the coarseness of the viands, and the affectation and dainty stomach of the city mouse, are very graphically described:—

"When they were lodged thus thir sillie mice,
The youngest sister to her buttery hied,
And brought forth nuts and candle, instead of spice,
And sic plain cheer as she had her beside.
The burgess mouse, sae dynk § and full of pride,
Said, sister mine, is this your daily food?—
Why not, quoth she, think ye this mess not good?

"My sister fair, quoth she, have me excused,
This diet rude and I can not accord,
To tender meats my stomach is aye used,
For whiles I fare as well as any lord,
Thir wither'd nuts and pease, ere they be bored,
Will break my chafts ‖ and mak my teeth full slender,
Which have been us'd before to meat more tender."

The city dame enlarges upon her own domestic comforts, declares that her 'Good Friday is better than her sister's Pace,' and ends by intreating the rustic to quit her rural retreat, and taste the enjoyments of her city mansion. The invitation is accepted; and, after a perilous journey, they reach the town, and take up their quarters:—

"Intil a spence where victual was plenty,
Baith cheese and butter on lang shelves richt hie,
With fish and flesh enough, baith fresh and salt,
And pockis full of groats, baith meal and malt.

"After, when they were disposit to dine,
Withouten grace they wuish and went to meat,
On every dish that cookmen can divine,
Mutton and beef stricken out in telyies grit,
Ane lordis fare thus can they counterfeit,
Except ane thing—they drank the water clear
Instead of wine, but yet they made good cheer.

"With blyth upcast, and merry countenance,
The elder sister then spier'd at her guest
Gif that she thoucht by reason difference
Betwixt that chalmer and her sorry nest.
'Yea, dame,' quoth she, 'but how lang will this last?'
'For evermair, I wait, and langer too.'
'Gif that be true ye are at ease,' quoth she.

"To eik the cheer in plenty furth they broucht
A plate of groatis and a dish of meal,
A threif * of cakes, I trow, she spared them noucht,
Abundantly about her for to deal,
Furmage full fine she broucht instead of jeil,
A white candle out of a coffer staw,
Instead of spice to creish their teeth witha'."

But, as the poet sagely remarks:—

"——After joy oftentimes comes care,
And trouble after great prosperity."

In the midst of their delicious meal, the revellers are suddenly surprised by the portentous appearance of Hunter Gib, the jolly cat. The burgess mouse fled to her hole, 'as fire of flint,' but her luckless sister fell into the remorseless clutches of bawdrons. The description of the treatment which the unfortunate rural citizen receives from Hunter Gib, is exceedingly true to nature:—

"From foot to foot he cast her to and frae,
Whiles up, whiles down, as tait + as any kid,
Whiles would he let her run beneath the strae, ‡
Whiles would he wink and play with her bubbid; §
Thus to the silly mous great harm he did,
Till at the last thro fortune fair and hap,
Betwixt the dresser and the wall she crap. ‖

"Syne up in haste beside the panaling,
Sae high she clam ¶ that Gibby might not get her,
And by the cleeks ** sae craftly gan hing,
Till he was gone; her cheer was all the better,
Syne doun she lap when thare was nane to let her.
Then on the burgess mouse aloud did cry,
Sister, farewell, thy feast I here defy.

"——————she passit to her den,
A warm as woo' suppose it was not grit,
Full beinly stuffit was baith butt and ben,
With peas, and nuts, and beans, and rye, and wheat;
Whene'er she liked, she had enough of meat,
In quiet and ease withouten ony dread,
But till her sister's feast nae mair she gaed."

The tale concludes with a beautifully-expressed moral, in which the blessings of simple life are depicted in the following sweet lines:—

* Waste.
† A comfortable life.
‡ Furrow to furrow.
§ Nice.
‖ Jaws.

* A set of twenty-four.
† Tenderly.
‡ Straw.
§ Hide and seek.
‖ Crept.
¶ Climbed.
** Hooks or pins.

"Blessit be symple life withouten dreid;*
Blessit be sober feast in quietie;
Wha has eneuch+ of nae mair‡ has he neid,
Though it be little into quantitie.
Abundance great and blind prosperitie
Mak aftentimes a very ill conclusioun;
The sweetest lyfe therefore in this countrie
Is sickerness§ and peace with small possessioun.

"Friend, thy awin‖ fire, though it be but ane gleid,¶
Will warm thee weill and is worth gold to thee;
And Solomon the sage says, (gif ye reid,**)
Under the hevin I can nocht better see
Then ay be blyth and live in honestie.
Wherefore, I may conclude me with this reason—
Of early bliss it bears the best degree,
Blythness of heart in peace with small possession."

Holland and Hay.

Nearly coeval with Henrysoun, there flourished two poets of some note. The one was a priest of the name of HOLLAND, who was the author of a curious allegorical poem called 'The Buke of the Howlat' (or Owl); the other was SIR GILBERT HAY, Chamberlain to Charles the Sixth, King of France, who translated from the French the voluminous but popular romance of 'Alexander the Great.' Dunbar, in his 'Lament for the Makars,' makes mention of Clerk of Tranent, 'that maid the Awnteris of Gawane.' The poem here referred to is supposed to be the romance of 'Gawan and Gologras,' which was published at Edinburgh in the year 1508, but was probably composed as early at least as the middle of the fifteenth century. Another poem, of the same description, entitled 'Sir Gawan and Sir Galoran of Galloway,' is supposed to be the composition of the same author.

About the same period flourished another poet, the well-known HENRY THE MINSTREL,—or BLIND HARRY, as he was familiarly termed,—whose 'Life of Sir William Wallace' has enjoyed unbounded popularity among the common people of Scotland down to the present day. Of the life of this venerable bard scarcely anything is known, beyond what is contained in the following statement in 'Major's History of Scotland.' "The book of William Wallace," says this author, "was composed during my infancy, by Henry, a man blind from his birth. He wrote in popular rhymes,—a species of composition in which he was no mean proficient,—such stories as were then current among the common people. From these compilations I must not be blamed if I withhold an implicit belief, as the author was one who, by reciting them to the great, earned his food and raiment, of which, indeed, he was worthy."†† Dempster asserts, that Henry was living in the year 1361; but this assertion is not supported by any trustworthy evidence, and can scarcely be reconciled with the statement of Major, who is believed to have been born about the year 1446. As the Minstrel must have been acquainted with the Latin language,—the knowledge of which was at that time almost exclusively confined to ecclesiastics,—it has been conjectured by Dr. Irving that he belonged to some religious order. But this hypothesis, which appears sufficiently improbable in itself, is contradicted by the poet's own explicit statement—

"I can nocht speak of sic divinitie,
To clerks I will let all sic matters be."

The uninterrupted and almost unequalled popularity of 'The Life of Wallace,' for upwards of three centuries, has no doubt been owing in no small degree to the affectionate reverence with which the character of its patriotic hero has been regarded by the Scottish people; but the poetical genius which has been honoured by the praise of Warton and Ellis must have been of no mean order. "That a man born blind," says the latter, "should excel in any science is sufficiently extraordinary, though by no means without example; but that he should become an excellent poet is almost miraculous, because the soul of poetry is description. Perhaps, therefore, it may be safely assumed, that Henry was not inferior in point of genius either to Barbour or Chaucer; but it is our present business to estimate the merit of the work, rather than the genius of the author.

"The similarity of the subject will naturally induce every reader to compare the 'Life of Wallace' with Barbour's 'Life of Bruce;' and on such a comparison it will probably be found, that Henry excels his competitor in correctness of versification, and perhaps in perspicuity of language,—for both of which he was indebted to the gradual improvements which had taken place during near a century,—but that in every other particular he is greatly inferior to his predecessor."*

The inaccuracies into which Henry has fallen were pointed out by Lord Hailes more than half a century ago, in no friendly spirit, and since that time the 'Life of Wallace' has generally been regarded as wholly a work of fiction. Recent and more careful investigations, however, have shown, that though the poem abounds with confusion and error, it contains a valuable vein of historic truth; and that important facts are related in it, which were formerly denounced as fabulous, because unnoticed by other Scottish historians, but are now corroborated by authentic documents, only published within these few years, and to which the author of the 'Life of Wallace' cannot have had access. The character and vocation of the Minstrel, the mode in which his narrative was composed and recited, and the mistakes which may be traced to the ignorance or carelessness of transcribers, will easily account for the errors in names and chronology with which the poem now abounds. "But is it a fair inference," says a learned and candid writer, "because some errors are found in a poem containing several thousands of lines, written by a blind and ignorant versifier, and in a poem, too, handed down for a long period by recitation, that the whole is utterly worthless? The present collection of documents (the 'Wallace Papers') places this

* Dread. + Enough. ‡ More. § Security.
‖ Own. ¶ Spark. ** If you read.
†† Major de Gestis Scotorum, p. 169.

* Ellis's Hist. Sketch of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 349.

subject in a new and interesting position; for it shows us, that those very particulars which, from their romantic character, were supposed to be fictitious, and which contributed to throw discredit on the whole production, are in reality genuine and authentic history."* There can be but little doubt, that though the Minstrel himself was an ignorant man,—a 'rural man,' as he expresses it,—he was yet in possession of valuable and authentic materials, which form the main groundwork of his narrative. Throughout his poem he makes frequent references to original authorities, which have perished, and represents himself as little else than the transcriber from another author. In one passage he tells us who this author was,—

"Maister Johne Blair was oft in that message,
A worthy clerk, baith wise and rych sawage,
Levyt before he was in Paris town. * * *
He was the man that principal undirtuk,
That first compylit in dyte the LATYNE BUK
Of WALLACE'S LYF; richt famous of renoune,
And Thomas Gray, parsoun of Libertoun;
With him thai war, and put in story all,
Of ane or baith; meikle of his travaill."

We are elsewhere informed, that Master John Blair, the worthy ecclesiastic here referred to, officiated as the chaplain of Wallace. After the death of the hero, he is believed to have retired to the Abbey of Dunfermline. It is worthy of notice, that, as Dr. Irving remarks, Henry appears to have been less ambitious of being considered as a great poet, than as a faithful recorder of the exploits of that renowned warrior whose history he has undertaken to delineate; and he seems to have been persuaded, that the splendour of his subject would preserve his work from oblivion.

"Go, nobill buk! fulfillyt of gud sentens,
Supposs you be barren of eloquence;
Go, worthi buk! fulfillyt of suthfast† deid;
But in language off help you has gret neid.
When gud makars‡ rang weill into Scotland,
Gret harm was it that nane of thaim ye fand.
Yet thar is part that can ye weill awance.
Now byd ye time and be a remembrance.
I you beseek of you benevolence.
Wha will nocht low, lack nocht my eloquence.
It is weill knawin I am a rural man;
For here is said as gudly as I can."

Notwithstanding the homeliness of the language, however, and the rudeness of the versification, the 'Life of Wallace' contains many passages of great poetical merit. One of the best of these is the highly picturesque description of Wallace's encounter with the ghost of Fawdon. After a successful attack upon the strong fortress of Kinclaven, situate near the confluence of the rivers Tay and Isla,§ the Scottish patriot and his followers had retreated with their plunder to the Shortwood Shaws, an extensive forest in the neighbourhood. Here they were suddenly attacked by an immensely superior body of the English, and after a desperate resistance, in which a great portion of his men were slain, Wallace and a few of his followers were compelled to fly towards the neighbouring wood of Gask, closely pursued by the enemy, who had let loose a bloodhound upon their traces. At this critical moment, one of the fugitives, named Fawdon, a man of a fierce and sullen temper, and of somewhat doubtful fidelity, declared that he was exhausted, and refused to proceed farther. Wallace, after a fruitless attempt to induce him, by entreaty and remonstrance, to resume his flight, in a paroxysm of apprehension, fury and suspicion, struck him on the neck with his sword, and at one blow severed his head from his body. The whole scene,—the murder of the unhappy wretch—the immediate revulsion of remorse and pity in the breast of the chief—the escape of the fugitives to the ruined castle in the forest of Gask—the loud blast of a horn at midnight, startling the soldiers from their slumbers—the ghastly figure of Fawdon, holding his own head by the hair and hurling the gory missile at his murderer—the flight of the terror-stricken chief into the wood, and his violent paroxysms of remorse and anguish—the appearance of the deserted castle, blazing in one wide conflagration, and the figure of Fawdon, with a beam or rafter in his hand, standing on the wall and superintending the work of destruction,—are all described with great spirit and power. It is not difficult to account for this singular adventure on natural causes, in the morbid state of excitement to which Wallace's mind seems to have worked up, under the combined influence of remorse and superstition, increased by danger and exhaustion, the stillness and awful solemnity of midnight, and the lonely situation in which he was placed.

"As they were best arrayand Butler's route,
Betwixt parties than Wallace ischet out;
Sixteen with him they graithit them to gae,
Of all his men he had leavit no mae.
The Englishmen has missit him, in hy*
The hound they took, and followed hastily.
At the Gask Wood full fain he wald have been;
But this sloth-brach, whilk sicker was and keen,
On Wallace foot followed so fellon fast,
While in their sicht they 'proachit at the last.
Their horse were wicht, had sojourned weel and lang
To the next wood twa mile they had to gang,
Of upwith yird,† they yede with all their micht,
Gude hope they had, for it was near the nicht.
Fawdon tirit, and said he micht not gang.
Wallace was wae to leave him in that thrang.
He bade him gae and said the strength was near,
But he tharefore wald not faster him steir.
Wallace, in ire, on the craig‡ can him ta',
With his gude swerd, and strak the head him frae.
Dreidless to ground derfly he dushit deid,
Frae him he lap, and left him in that stede.
Som deemis it to ill; and other some to gude;
And I say here, into thir termis rude,
Better it was he did, as thinkis me;
First to the hound it micht great stoppin be;
Als', Fawdon was halden at suspicion,
For he was of bruckil complexion§—

* Introductory Notice to the 'Wallace Papers,' by Mr. Joseph Stevenson, p. 13.

† True. ‡ Poets.

§ The Minstrel asserts, that out of a garrison of ninety men, sixty, with Butler, their captain, were slain; and it is stated, in the "Rotuli Scotiæ," vol. i. p. 88, that Sir James Butler was then keeper of Kinclaven. Many other similar corroborations of Henry's statement might be adduced from authentic contemporary documents. See Lives of Scottish Worthies, vol. iv. pp. 309—312.

* Haste. † Ascending ground.
‡ Neck. § Broken reputation.

Right stark he was, and had but little gane.
Thus Wallace wist: had he been left alane,
An he were false, to enemies he wald gae;
Gif he were true the southron wald him slay.
Micht he do ought but tyne him as it was?
Frae this question now shortly will I pass.
Deem as ye list, ye that best can and may,
I but rehearse as my autour will say.

"Sternis, by than began for till appear,
The Englishmen were comand wonder near—
Five hundred hail was in their chivalry.
To the next strength than Wallace couth him hy.
Stephen of Ireland, unwitting of Wallace,
And gude Kerly bade still near hand that place;
At the muir side, intil a scroggy slaid,
By east Dupplin, where they this tarry made.

"Fawdon was left beside them on the land,
The power came, and suddenly him fand,
For their sloth-hound the straight gait* till him yede,
Of other trade she took as than no heed.
Englishmen deemit for als they could not tell,
But that the Scots had fouchten amang themsell,
Richt wae they were that losit was their scent.
Wallace twa men amang the host in went,
Dissemblit weel that no man sould them ken,
Richt in effeir as they were Englishmen.
Kerly beheld on to the bauld Heroun,
Upon Fawdon, as he was lookand down,
A subtile straik upward him took that tide;
Under the cheeks the grounden sword gart glide,
By the gude mail, baith halse and his craig bane,
In sunder strak; thus endit that chieftain.
To ground he fell, feil folk about him thrang:
Treason! they cried, traitors was them amang!
Kerly with that fled out soon at a side;
His fallow Stephen than thoucht no time to bide:
The fray was great, and fast away they yede
Laigh† toward Earn; thus scapit they of dreid.
Butler for woe of weeping micht not stint,
Thus recklessly this gude knicht they tynt.
They deemit all that it was Wallace men,
Or else himself, though they could not him ken.
'He is richt near, we shall him have but‡ fail,
This feeble wood may him little avail.'
Forty were passed again to Sanct-Johnstoun,
With this dead corse to burying made it boune;
Parted their men syne diverse wayis raid;
A gret power at Dupplin still there baid,
Till Dareoch the Butler passed but let;§
At sundry fuirds the gait they unbeset;
To keep the wood till it was day they thoucht.
As Wallace thus in the thick forest soucht
For his twa men, in mind he had great pain;
He wist not weel if they were ta'en or slain,
Or scapit hail by ony jeopardy:
Threttеen were left him; no mae had he.
In the Gask hall their lodging have they ta'en,
Fire gat they soon, but meat than had they nane.
Twa sheep they took beside them off a fauld.
Ordained to sup into that seemly hauld,
Graithit in haste some food for them to dicht:
So heard they blaw rude hornis upon heicht.
Twa sent he forth to look what it micht be;
They baid richt lang, and no tidings heard he,
But boustous noise so brimly blew and fast,
So other twa into the wood furth passed.
Nane come again, but boustously can blaw;
Into great ire he sent them furth on raw.
When that alane Wallace was leavit there,
The awful blast aboundit mickle mair.
Than trowit he weel they had his lodging seen;
His sword he drew of noble metal keen;
Syne furth he went where that he heard the horn,
Without the door Fawdon was him beforn,
As till his sicht his awn heid in his hand:
A cross he made when he saw him so stand,
At Wallace in the heid he swakit‖ there,
And he in haste soon hynt¶ it by the hair;
Syne out at him again he couth it cast—
Intill his heart he was greatly aghast.

Richt weel he trowit that was nae spreit of man,
It was some devil at sic malice began.
He wist no weel there langer for to bide;
Up through the Hall this wicht Wallace can glide,
Till a close stair the buirdis rave in tywne,
Fifteen foot large he lap out of that inn.
Up the water suddenly he couth fare,
Again he blent what 'pearance he saw there;
He thoucht he saw Fawdoun, that ugly sir,
That hail hall he had set in a fire;
A great rafter he had intill his hand,
Wallace as than no langer wald he stand,
Of his gude men full great marvel had he,
How they were tint through his feil fantasy.
Traists richt weel all this was sooth indeed,
Suppose that it no point be of the creed.
Power they had with Lucifer that fell,
The time when he parted frae heaven to hell.
By sic mischief gif his men micht be lost,
Drownit or slain amang the English host;
Or what it was in likeness of Fawdoun,
Whilk broucht his men to sudden confusion;
Or gif the man ended in evil intent,
Some wicked spreit again for him present,
I can not speak of sic divinity;
To clerks I will let all sic matters be.
But of Wallace furth I will you tell,
When he was went of that peril fell,
Richt glad was he that he had scapit sae,
But for his men great murning can he ma.
Flayt by himsell to the Maker of love,
Why he sufferit he sould sic painis prove.
He wist not weel if it was Goddis will,
Richt or wrang his fortune to fulfil.
Had he pleased GOD, he trowit it micht not be,
He sould him thole in sic perplexity,*
But great courage in his mind ever drave
Of Englishmen thinkand amends to have.
As he was thus walkand by him alane,
Upon Earnside, makand a piteous mane,
Sir John Butler, to watch the fuirdis right,
Out frae his men of Wallace had a sight.
The mist was went to the mountains again:
Till him he rade, where that he made his mane.
On loud he speirt, 'What art you walks this gate?
'A true man sir, though my voyage be late;
Errand I pass frae Doune unto my lord;
Sir John Stewart the richt for to record,
In Doune is now, new command frae the king.'
Than Butler said, 'This is a selcouth thing,
You ree'd all out, you have been with Wallace,
I shall you knaw, or you come off this place.'
Till him he stert the courser wonder wicht,
Drew out a sword, so made him for to licht.
Aboon the knee gude Wallace has him ta'en
Through thie and brawn, in sunder strak the bane,
Derfly to deid the knicht fell on the land.
Wallace the horse soon seizit in his hand;
Ane backward straik syne took him, in that steid,
His craig in twa; thus was the Butler deid.
Ane Englishman saw their chieftain was slain
A spear in rest he cast with all his main,
On Wallace drave, frae the horse him to beir;
Warly he wroucht, as worthy man in weir;
The spear he wan withouten mair abaid,
On horse he lap, and through a great rout raid
To Dareoch; he knew the fords full weel;
Before him came feil† stuffit in fine steel;
He strak the first but baid in the blasoun,‡
While horse and man baith flet the water doun.
Ane other syne doun frae his horse he bare,
Stampit to ground, and drownit withouten mair.
The third he hit in his harness of steel
Through out the cost, the spear it brak some deal.
The great power than after him can ride,
He saw na weel nae langer there to bide.
His burnist brand bravely in hand he bare;
Wham he hit richt they followit him nae mair.
To stuff the chase feil frekis followit fast,
But Wallace made the gayest aye agast.
The muir he took, and through their power yede."

* Road. † Low. ‡ Without.
§ Without hindrance. ‖ Threw. ¶ Caught.

* That God would allow him to be in such perplexity.
† Many. ‡ Without sword.

The following account of the cruel execution of the great Scottish hero bears internal evidence of its truth, and is fully corroborated by the statements of contemporary historians, and by important documents which recent investigation has brought to light.*

"On Wednesday the false Southron furth brocht
To martyr him, as they before had wrocht.
Of men in arms led him a full great rout.
With a bauld sprite guid Wallace blent about;
A priest he asked, for GOD that died on tree.
King Edward then commanded his clergy,
And said, 'I charge you upon loss of life,
Nane be sae bauld yon tyrant for to shrive.
He has reigned long in contrar my highness.'
A blyth bishop soon, present in that place;
Of Canterbury he then was righteous lord;
Again' the king he made this richt record,
And said, 'Myself shall hear his confession,
If I have micht in contrar of thy crown.
An thou through force will stop me of this thing,
I vow to God, who is my righteous king,
That all England I shall her interdite,
And make it known thou art a heretic.
The sacrament of kirk I shall him give:
Syne take thy choice, to starve † or let him live.
It were mair weil in worship of thy crown,
To keep sic ane in life in thy bandoun,
Than all the land and good that thou hast reived,
But cowardice thee ay fra honour drieved.
Thou has thy life rougin ‡ in wrangeous deed;
That shall be seen on thee or on thy seed.'
The king gart § charge they should the bishop ta,
But sad lords counsellit to let him gae.
All Englishmen said that his desire was richt.
To Wallace then he rakit in their sicht,
And sadly heard his confession till ane end:
Humbly to God his sprite he there commend.
Lowly him served with hearty devotion
Upon his knees, and said ane orison.
A psalter-book Wallace had on him ever,
Fra his childheid fra it wald nocht dissever.
Better he trowit in wyage ‖ for to speed.
But then he was dispalyed of his weed.¶
This grace he asked at Lord Clifford, that knicht,
To let him have his psalter-book in sicht.
He gart a priest it open before him hald,
While they till him had done all that they wald.
Stedfast he read for ought they did him there;
Feil** Southrons said that Wallace felt nae sair.
Guid devotion, sae, was his beginning,
Contained therewith, and fair was his ending.
While speech and sprite at anis all can fare,
To lasting bliss, we trow, for evermair."

Blind Harry may be regarded as a specimen of the class of errant minstrels who abounded in Scotland from an early period, and combining the character of bard and musician, "wandered with their harp from castle to castle, and sang to the assembled lords and dames those romantic ballads of love and war which formed the popular poetry of the day." The Saxons, Normans, Scandinavians, and other ancient races who peopled Scotland, were all passionately attached to poetry and music, and there can be no doubt that at a remote period, "the country maintained a privileged race of wandering minstrels, who eagerly seized on the prevailing superstitions and romantic legends, and wove them in rude, but sometimes expressive, versification into their stories and ballads; who were welcome guests at the gate of every feudal castle, and beloved by the great body of the people." The most ancient existing specimen of the compositions of these primitive bards is the elegiac poem, already given,* on the death of Alexander III., who was killed by a fall from his horse, in the year 1286. Another rhyme of the same period is quoted by Ritson, from an old Harleian MS. It appears to have been composed by the Scots at the siege of Berwick, in 1296, when the garrison at first succeeded in repelling the assaults of Edward I., though they were ultimately overcome and cruelly massacred by that ruthless monarch. It runs as follows:—

The early Scottish minstrels.

"Wend Kyng Edeward with his lange shankes
To have gete Berwyke all our unthankes
Gas pikes hym and after gas dikes him."

'The grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spens,' as it is styled by Coleridge, has been generally referred to the time of Alexander III., and is supposed by some writers to allude to the bringing home of the Maiden of Norway, and by others, to commemorate the disastrous shipwreck which awaited the return of those noblemen who formed the retinue of Margaret when she was married to Eric of Norway. If, however, the poem be contemporaneous with either of these events, it is evident that the orthography and language must have been considerably modernised. The disastrous period between the death of Alexander III. and the decisive battle of Bannockburn, must have been peculiarly fertile in heroic stories and ballads, commemorating the daring exploits of the gallant assertors of their country's independence. The great Scottish patriot, Wallace, became the hero of a large series of such poems. One of his earliest adventures, which still exists in the shape of a ballad, is recorded by Wyntown, who closes his notice of 'the ill-requited chief,' by alluding to the 'Gret gestis' to which his illustrious actions had given rise.

"Of his gud dedis and manheid
Gret gestis I heard say are made,
But sa mony I trow noucht
As he until hys dayis wroucht.
Wha all hys dedis of prys wald dyte
Hym worthyd a gret Buk to wryte;
And all thai to wryte in here
I want both wyt and gud laysere." †

This resolution of the worthy chronicler is greatly to be regretted. As Mr. Tytler has justly remarked, "a single ballad on the death of Wallace, or the glory of Bruce, preserved as it then fell from the lips of a Scottish minstrel, or a Scottish maiden, were now worth half the proud volumes of those pedantic schoolmen," who preserved with affectionate care many a monkish Latin rhyme, composed in the miserable taste of the age, while the historic tales and ballads of this early period of our history have been consigned to what was then deemed a just and merited oblivion. It has been supposed, with considerable probabi-

* See ante, pp. 110, 111.
† The necessary consequence of an interdict.
‡ Spent. § Caused.
‖ Expedition, his journey to the other world.
¶ Clothes. ** Many.

* See ante, p. 81.
† Wyntown's Chronicle, vol. ii. 102.

lity, that in the heroic poem of 'Henry the Minstrel' will be found incorporated the substance of many of the detached songs founded on real or fabulous incidents which were living on the breath of tradition, regarding the hero at the time his metrical biographer lived, and that the disappearance of these detached songs may be ascribed to the extreme popularity which the work of Henry has acquired. We learn from Barbour, that the good King Robert had a very lively relish for tales of romance, and

> "Auld stories of men that wer
> Set intyll hard assayis ser" (sore);

and there can be no doubt that the exploits of the great restorer of Scottish independence were commemorated in the songs of the minstrels and maidens of the country which his valour and sagacity had saved from ruin. Ballads of this kind must have been common when Barbour wrote, for the poet, in speaking of 'Thre worthi poyntis of war,' which occurred during the struggle of the patriots to expel the English invaders, omits the particulars of the 'Thrid which fell into Esdaill,' being a victory gained by 'Schyr Johne the Soullis' over 'Schyr Andrew Hardclay,' for this reason—

> "I will nocht rehers the maner,
> For wha sa likes thai may hear
> Young women when thai will play
> Syng it amang thaim ilk day."

All these songs respecting Bruce and his chivalrous compatriots have unfortunately perished; but a single stanza of a Scottish ballad, composed after the defeat of the English at Bannockburn, has been preserved in the St. Alban's Chronicle.

> "Maydens of Englande, sore may ye morne
> For your lemmans ye have lost at Bannockysborne
> With hevelogh.
> What! weneth the King of England
> So soon to have wone Scotlande?
> With rombelogh."

"This songe," says Fabian, "was, after many daies sung in daunces, in the carols of the maidens and mynstrelles of Scotland, to the reprofe and disdayne of Englychemen with dyvers others which I overpasse."* At a later period, in 1328, when the daughter of Edward II. was given in marriage to David, the son of Robert Bruce, and a treaty of peace was entered into at York, between the two countries, on terms which were regarded as humiliating to the English; we are informed by the same historian, that the contempt of the Scots broke out in "diverse truffes, rounds, and songes, of the which one is specially remembred, as foloweth:—

> "Long beirdis hartlis,
> Painted hoods wytless,
> Gay cottes graceless,
> Maketh England thryfteless."

* Dr. Jamieson's Notes on Barbour's Bruce, p. 457. Dauney's Preliminary Dissertation to 'Ancient Scottish Melodies,' published by the Maitland Club, p. 43.

A somewhat different account of the origin of this rhyme is given by Godscroft, who says, "The English soldiers of this army were cloathed in coats and hoods embroydered with flowers and branches, and did use to nourish their beards, wherefore the Scots, in derision thereof, made this rime and fastened it upon the church doore of St. Peter in the Canongate."* A similar account is given in the Book of St. Alban's. It is obvious, however, as Mr. Dauney remarks, that these lines partake much more of the character of an epigram or *jeu d'esprit*, than a song; and that they were regarded as such is apparent, from the circumstance that they were inscribed on a placard and fastened to the church doors.† Another of these Scottish ballads, of an early date, is referred to by Hume of Godscroft, in his history of the family of Douglas, in these words: "The Lord of Liddesdale being at his pastyme, hunting in Attrick Forest, is beset by William, Earle of Douglas, and such as he had ordained for that purpose, and there assailed, wounded, and slain, besides Galeswood, in the year 1353, upon a jealousie that the earle had conceived of him with his lady, as the report goeth, for so sayes the old song—

> "The Countesse of Douglass out of her bowre she came,
> And loudly there that she did call:
> It is for the Lord of Liddesdale
> That I let all these teares downe fall.

"The song also declareth how she did write her love letters to Liddesdale, to dissuade him from that hunting. It tells likewise the manner of the taking of his men and his own killing at Galeswood; and how he was carried the first night to Linden kirk, a mile from Selkirk, and was buried in the abbey of Melrose."‡

To the beginning of the fifteenth century has been referred the well-known ballad, entitled 'The Battle of Harlaw,' probably the most ancient Scottish historical ballad of any length now in existence. The event on which it is founded occurred in 1411, and it may safely be concluded that the poem was written soon afterwards. From this period down to the time of James I. no fragments or traces of Scottish song have survived to the present day; but in the poem of 'Peblis to the Play,' ascribed to that monarch, and probably written about the year 1430, we are furnished with the names of two compositions of this class—'There fure ane Man to the Holt;' *i. e.*, there went a man to the wood; and 'Thair shall be Mirth at our Meeting.' The first is alluded to in the sixth stanza of the poem.

> "Ane young man stert into that steid
> Als cant as ony colt;
> Ane birken hat upon his heid,
> With ane bow and ane bolt;

* Dr. Jamieson's Notes to Barbour's Bruce, p. 470. Dauney's Introduction, &c., p. 44.

† The attaching of placards to church doors is a practice which has descended to the present time. It was the principal method of publication at this time, and for many years afterwards.

‡ Godscroft, vol. i. p. 144.

"Said, merry maidens think nocht lang
The wedder is fair and smolt:
He cleikit up ane high ruf sang,
'Thair fure ane man to the holt,'
Quoth he
Of Peblis to the Play."

The other is referred to in the twenty-fifth stanza:—

"He fippillit like ane fatherless fole,
And said, Be still my sweet thing:
By the haly rood of Peblis,
I may nocht rest for greting.
He whissilit and he pypit baith
To mak her blythe that meeting;
My honey hart how sayis the sang,
'Thair sall be mirth at our meeting'
Yet
Of Peblis to the Play."

Another tune, called 'The Salmon's Dance,' is also spoken of in this poem.

Bower, who wrote about the year 1441, speaks of tragedies, comedies, ballads, and romances, founded on the story of Robin Hood and Little John, which the bards and minstrels used to sing in preference to all others of the same kind of compositions, and which were highly popular among all classes of the community; but every trace of these ancient ballads has now perished. The names, however, of a number of ballads, songs, and dances, which were popular at this period, have been preserved in a ludicrous vernacular poem, called 'Cockelbie Sow,' written rather before the middle of the fifteenth century.

"And his cousin, Copyn Cull,
Ful of bellis, ful ful,*
Led the dance and began,
Play us 'Joly Lemmane.'
Sum trottet 'Tras and Trenass,'
Sum balterit 'The Bass,'
Sum 'Perdolly,' sum 'Trolly lolly,'†
Sum 'Cock craw thou till day,'
Sum 'Twysbank and Terway,'
Sum 'Lincolne,' sum 'Lindsay,'
Sum 'Jolly Lemman, dawis it not day.'
Sum 'Be yon woodsyd' singis,
Sum 'Lait, lait, in evinnyngis,'
Sum 'Joly Martene, with a mok,'
Sum 'Lululow lute cok,'
Sum bakkit, sum bingit,
Sum crakkit, sum cringit,
Sum movit, most mak revell,
Sum 'Symon Sonis, of Quhynfell,'
Sum 'Maister Peir de Cougate,'
And uthir sum 'in Cousate,'
At leser drest to dance.
Sum 'Ourfute,' sum 'Orliance,'
Sum 'Rusty Bully with a bek,'
And every note in vyeris nek,'
Sum usit the dancis to dance,
Of Cipres and Boheme:
Sum the faitis ful yarne,
Of Portugal and Naverne;
Sum counterfutit the gyis of Spayne,
Sum Italy, sum Almaine,
Sum noisit Napillis anone,
And uthir sum of Arragone.

"Sum 'The Cane of Tartary,'
Sum 'The Soldane of Surry,'*
Then all arrayit in a ring,
Dansit 'My deir Darling.'"

There can be little doubt that the greater part of these ballads, songs, and tunes, were the composition of the minstrels, who, in many instances, were not only harpers or musicians, who sang and recited the verses composed by others, but were also poets, who framed extemporaneous effusions suited to the tastes and feelings of their audience. At a very early period in Scottish history those who subsisted by the arts of poetry and music were held in high honour, and were indeed to be found among the officers who composed the personal state of the sovereign. At the coronation of Malcolm III. and Alexander III. we are informed that a bard or sennachie recited a Gaelic poem, containing a recital of the king's ancestors, from the reign of Fergus I. Aldred mentions that minstrels accompanied the army of David I., at the battle of the Standard, which was fought in 1138; and it appears to have been a custom, as old at least as the reign of Alexander III. that when the sovereign made a progress through the country he was serenaded by minstrels and singers, both on his entrance into the towns, and when he took his departure. Mention is made of the minstrels kept at the court of King Robert Bruce, and liberal donations were bestowed upon the professors of 'the gay science,' both at the marriage and the coronation of David his son. The monarchs of the Stewart family appear to have been passionately attached to poetry and music, and down to the sixteenth century large sums of money appear in the Chamberlain's accounts, as paid to 'divers menstrales, schawmens, trumpets, taubroners, luters, harpers, pipers,' and other musical performers, Italians, French, English, and Irish, as well as Scots.

The minstrels.

According to Dr. Percy these minstrels not only sang to the harp, verses composed by themselves and others, but "they also appear to have accompanied their songs with mimicry and action, and to have practised such various means of diverting as were much admired in those rude times, and supplied the want of more refined entertainment. These arts rendered them extremely popular and acceptable in this and all the neighbouring countries, where no high scene of festivity was esteemed complete that was not set off with the exercise of their talents, and where so long as the spirit of chivalry subsisted, they were protected and caressed, because their songs tended to do honour to the ruling passion of the times, and to encourage and foment a martial spirit."† In the course of time, however, a gradual change took place in their character and position; and vagrants of every description were at all times ready to assume the character of the minstrel as a passport to hospitality and attention, and thus contributed to bring

* 'Ful of bellis ful ful,' that is to say, All hung round with bells. In the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts for 1513, we observe the following entry: "Item. To thirty dozen of Bells, for dansaris, delyverit to Thomas Boswell, iiij lb., 12s."

† 'Trolly, Lolly,' were probably the chorus or burden of particular songs.

* Syria.

† Percy's Essay on the Ancient Minstrels, p. 21.

the profession into discredit. They came at length to be stigmatized as rogues and vagabonds, and to appear in the statute book in juxta position with the very dregs and refuse of society. Dr. Percy admits that towards the end of the sixteenth century the minstrels had lost all credit, and were sinking into contempt and neglect. At length the popular companion of knights and dames, the welcome guest in the halls of the nobles, as well as in the cottages of the poor, degenerated into "the poor and wandering gleeman, glad to purchase his bread by singing his ballads at the ale-house, wearing a fantastic habit, and latterly sinking into a mere crowder on an untuned fiddle, accompanying his rude strains with a ruder ditty, the helpless associate of drunken revellers, and marvellously afraid of the constable and parish beadle."* So early as 1449, severe penalties are denounced against 'bardis, or other sik like rinnares about;' and in 1579, it was ordained that "all idle persons ganging about in any countrie of this realme, using subtil, craftie, and unlawful playes, as ginglaries, fast and loose, and sik others, all vagabond schollers of the Universities of St. Andrew, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, not licensed by the Rector and Deane of Facultie of the Universitie to ask alms, and all minstrelles, sangsters, and tale-tellers, not avowed in speciall service be some of the Lords of Parliament, or great burrows and cities for their common minstrelles," upon conviction, are to be "scourged and burnt throw the eare with an hote iron." In spite of these cruel enactments some slight traces of this ancient and once honourable profession existed till about the commencement of last century. "To our fathers' time and ours," says Martine in his "Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ," written about the year 1683, "something remained, and still does, of this ancient order. And they are called by others and by themselves 'Jockies,' who go about begging, and use still to recite the sluggornes of most of the true ancient summaries of Scotland from old experience and observation. Some of them I have discovered and found to have reason and discretion. One of them told me there were not now twelve of them in the whole isle; but he remembered when they abounded, so as at one time he was one of five that usuallie met at St. Andrews."* Down to the close of last century there was attached to each town of note on the borders, a piper, whose office was often hereditary, and who was the great depository of the poetical traditions of the district. These musicians received a living and a salary from the community to which they belonged, and in some burghs they had a small allotment of land, called the Piper's Croft. Sir Walter Scott is of opinion, that these townpipers were certainly the last remains of the minstrel race.†

* Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. 60. Edit. 1849.

* Page 3.

† Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. 225.

CHAPTER XIX.

JAMES THE SECOND.

1436—1460.

State of the country after the assassination of James I.

THE assassination of James I. exposed the kingdom to the evils of a long minority, which the position of the different parties in the state rendered unusually perilous. To the nobles, the administration of the late king had been highly obnoxious, and his death was therefore viewed with secret satisfaction. During the feeble reigns of his predecessors, and the regencies of Albany and his son, the rights of the crown had been gradually invaded, until, shorn of its power, little remained to the wearer but the name of king. It had been the aim of James to reduce within constitutional limits the over-grown pretensions of the nobility; and such was the wisdom of his plans, combined with stern inflexibility of purpose, that his efforts had been crowned with a large measure of success. His proud barons saw, with ill-concealed hatred and fear, their insolence crushed, their crimes brought within the range of wholesome law, the possessions of the crown which they had appropriated, torn from their grasp, and the highest offices in the state, which prescriptive right had enabled them hitherto to monopolize, filled by persons belonging to the inferior barons, gentry, and clergy, whose talents compelled respect, while their hopes of advancement induced them to make common cause with the king. The sudden removal of James freed them not only from a stringent rule, but afforded them the gratifying prospect of regaining their consequence. During the minority of the young king, and the feeble government of a regency, it seemed by no means difficult to undo all that the late monarch had accomplished; and already the leading nobles were seen merging their feuds, and combining to humble the crown, and restore the splendour of their order. To these selfish schemes there existed no adequate check. The policy of James I. had, indeed, developed the popular element in the constitution, and set limits to the license of the nobles; but his plans, besides being in advance of the age, had not been in operation for a length of time sufficient to evince their value, and obtain for them the support of prescriptive right, while the few whom he had imbued with his views, terrified by his death, shrunk from the dangerous attempt to enforce them. So menacing was the aspect of affairs,

Retreat of the queen-mother to Edinburgh castle.

that the queen, after having pursued the murderers of her husband with summary vengeance, influenced by her maternal fears, hastened to Edinburgh with the young king, then a boy six years of age, and found shelter within the walls of the castle. The governor of that important fortress was Sir William Crichton, on whose fidelity, as the friend of the late king and the master of his household, she could fully rely; and there, secure from immediate danger, she anxiously waited the approaching meeting of the Estates. On the 25th of March, the Scottish parliament assembled at Edinburgh, and adopted immediate measures for the government of the country. Their first act was the coronation of the young prince, who was conducted in procession from the castle to Holyrood Abbey, and solemnly inaugurated in presence of a great concourse of the nobility, clergy, and representatives of the towns, and amid the usual testimonies of popular devotion and loyalty.*

Coronation of James II.

It was agreed that, during the minority of the king, the care of his person and education should be entrusted to the queen-mother † and Sir Alexander Livingston, of Callendar; while Sir William Crichton was appointed chancellor of the kingdom, and charged with the general administration of its affairs. So scanty and meagre are the records of the times, that it is impossible to determine whether these appointments originated with the parliament, or were made in accordance with the provisions contained in the will of the late sovereign. The evidence, however, preponderates in favour of the latter conclusion. Livingston and Crichton, though men of acknowledged talents, and descended from ancient families, belonged to the inferior class of barons, and had been elevated by James I. to a high place in his council, with the view of arresting the dangerous encroachments of the nobles. It was commonly believed that with them originated some of the most stringent measures of the late administration directed against the great barons; and it seems unlikely that anything but a desire to escape the suspicion of disloyalty, by carrying out the intentions of the murdered king, could have induced the nobles to sanction the appointment of such men to offices which conferred on them so great a measure of power, and so many opportunities for increasing it. The fears of the nobility may have been partly allayed, and their scruples removed, by the rivalry which had already sprung up between Crichton and Livingston, who, jealous of each other, and eager for personal aggrandizement, were disposed, as events subsequently proved, to sacrifice the revenues and power of the crown in order to promote their selfish schemes. The appointment, also, of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, to the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, was a sufficient concession to the pride of the nobles, and an ample guarantee for the protection of their privileges. Amid the convulsions of the kingdom, which had curtailed the prerogatives of the sovereign, and extinguished some of the noblest families, the house of Douglas continued to flourish, and had now risen

Settlement of the administration.

The Earl of Douglas appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii p. 36.
† Ibid. p. 54.

to a height of power which rivalled that of the crown itself. In addition to the extensive districts of Galloway and Annandale, and some of the fairest portions of the south of Scotland, the dignity of the earldom had been increased by the possession of the duchy of Touraine, and the lordship of Longueville, in France. Its retainers were numerous, and thoroughly disciplined by the incessant raids of border warfare, while the marriages of many of its members with the nobility, who coveted alliances with so princely a house, rendered its influence on the government immediate and powerful. The present earl, on whom devolved the lieutenancy of the kingdom, inherited the characteristic virtues and vices of his family. His military talents were of a high order, and fitted him, in an eminent degree, for the duties of his office; but he was fierce, and intolerably arrogant, jealous of the honour of his house, and his immunities as a noble; quick to revenge an injury, and by no means scrupulous as to the mode of gratifying his resentment. During the late reign, he had maintained the state of an independent sovereign, and met the measures of James with a haughty defiance, which threatened the kingdom with a civil war. From a government so constructed, unity of action could scarcely be expected. Crichton and Livingston viewed with suspicion and fear the vast power of Douglas, while the earl regarded them with scorn as his inferiors in birth, and hated them as the enemies of his order. Besides these important appointments, the attention of parliament was directed to the possessions of the crown, and the foreign relations of the kingdom. An inventory was ordered to be taken of the personal property of the monarch, while an act was passed revoking all alienations of lands, or other property belonging to the crown, since the death of the late king, unless granted with consent of the Three Estates; and declaring all future alienations void, save those warranted in a similar manner, until the king should have attained his twenty-first year.* A short time before the death of James I., hostilities had been resumed between Scotland and England. The temper of that monarch, and the many grounds of complaint against the English government, would have secured, had he lived, the vigorous prosecution of the war; but the Scottish parliament were not indisposed during the minority of their sovereign, to cultivate peace with the sister kingdom, and after some negotiations, a safe conduct was granted by Henry VI. to commissioners empowered to arrange with the English envoys the terms of a treaty between the two countries.† The English regency, involved in a contest with France, and struggling to retain the conquests of Henry V., dreaded the prosecution of a war with Scotland, and listened with favour to an arrangement which secured the neutrality of a dangerous neighbour. A truce between the two kingdoms was accordingly concluded for a period of nine years, dating from the 1st of May, 1438. The treaty embraced also a series of wise laws, regulating the commercial intercourse of the two countries during the truce, and anxiously guarding against the interruption of those friendly relations which had thus been established. On the part of England, the Dukes of Gloucester and Norfolk, with the Earls of Salisbury, Northumberland, and Westmoreland, and on that of Scotland, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, with the Earls of Angus, Crawford, and Avondale, and the Lords Gordon, Maxwell, Montgomery, and Crichton, bound themselves to maintain the provisions of the truce, and to punish those who presumed to violate them.*

Power of the Douglases.

Enactments of the parliament.

A truce concluded with England.

While these friendly negotiations were in progress, the spirit of faction, which had slumbered for a little after the death of the late king, became suddenly active, and filled Scotland with misrule and crime. Sir William Crichton, the chancellor, from whom, before the meeting of parliament, the queen-mother had solicited protection for her son, continued to retain possession of the young king, though the estates had appointed Joanna and Livingston of Callendar his guardians during his minority. The wily and unprincipled statesman seems to have employed his custody of the monarch as a pretence for large demands on the public treasury, and the unscrupulous appropriation of the royal revenues, while, in addition to these immediate advantages, he was desirous of gaining the affections of the young sovereign, with a view to the maintenance and increase of his own power. He not only refused, therefore, to permit James to leave Edinburgh, but resisted the right of Livingston to the charge of his pupil, and made the intercourse of the queen-mother with her son both vexatious and difficult. Remonstrances having proved in vain, Joanna determined to effect the freedom of her son by a strategem, which her access to the castle enabled her without difficulty to execute. At the close of a visit of a few days, during which she managed to lull the suspicions of Crichton, she left the castle with two coffers or chests, containing, as was affirmed, her wardrobe and ornaments; but in one of the chests she had dexterously contrived to conceal the young prince. On reaching Leith, she set sail for Stirling castle, at that time commanded by Livingston, who received her with joy, and took immediate measures for the retention of his charge, as well as for the punishment of the chancellor. At a meeting of the queen's friends, and those favourable to the views of Livingston, it was resolved to besiege Crichton in his stronghold, and to compel him either to resign his office, or to recognize the rights of the queen-mother and guardian. Joanna promised to supply the soldiers composing the expedition with provisions from her own storehouses

Conduct of the Chancellor Crichton.

The young king secretly conveyed from Edinburgh castle.

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 31.

† Rymer, Foedera, vol. x. pp. 679, 680, 684.

* Rymer, Foedera, vol. x. p. 695.

while the aid of the Earl of Douglas was confidently anticipated in the attempt to reduce the refractory chancellor. Emboldened by these prospects, Livingston left Stirling castle for Edinburgh, at the head of a considerable force, among whom were many barons and gentry belonging to his faction. The situation of Crichton was alike mortifying and perilous. Besides the disgrace, which he keenly felt, of having been outwitted by the queen, he was justly alarmed at the prospect of the speedy overthrow of his power, the surrender of his ill-gotten wealth, the vengeance of the factions whom his violence had exasperated, and, above all, the elevation of his rival, Livingston, whom he bitterly hated. Driven to extremities, he resolved at last to solicit the aid of the Earl of Douglas, and for this purpose despatched messengers to that noble, representing the peril to which the government was exposed, by the traitorous designs of Livingston, and offering his constant friendship in return for assistance in his present difficulties. The reply of Douglas was fierce and contemptuous. Besides rejecting the proffered friendship of the chancellor, he declared both Livingston and Crichton to be "mischievous traitors," whom it became not "the honourable state of noblemen" in any way to help, and concluded by expressing, in no equivocal terms, his desire for their speedy destruction. "As to myself, there is nothing more pleasant than to hear of war and discord between these two unhappy tyrants; and namely, when the beginning of their dissension is not founded upon a good cause, but upon a shameful and wicked ground. Would God I might see a miserable mischief to befall them both, seeing they have both deserved the same condignly, through their own ambition, falsehood, pride, and height: for I know it is the very just judgment of God that deceitful tyrants, setting their whole purpose and intent upon mischief and wreck upon others, according to their demerits, shall be punished in the sight of the world, and, specially, seeing they have so oft offended both noblemen and simple men of good condition."* Thus scornfully repulsed by Douglas, and beleaguered by the force of Livingston, which had vigorously commenced the siege of the castle, Crichton determined to arrange his differences with the opposite faction, by timely concessions. Having solicited, and obtained from Livingston a truce for two days, the rival statesmen met before the gates of the castle, each being attended by a company of friends. At the conference, Crichton repeated the words of Douglas, urged the necessity of immediate reconciliation as the only safeguard against their common enemy; and, in proof of his sincerity, offered to surrender the castle on the promise of honourable treatment. Livingston listened to these overtures with favour, and, after receiving the keys of the castle, entered it in triumph. A number of banquets followed, during which the rivals vied with each other in expressions of friendship, and Crichton, in return for his submission, having been reinstated in his chancellorship, harmony was restored for a time to the distracted government.*

Livingston lays siege to Edinburgh castle.

Crichton in vain solicits the aid of the Earl of Douglas.

Reconciliation between Livingston and the chancellor.

Meanwhile, the country was brought to the verge of ruin by the feuds of the nobles, which were greatly encouraged by the weakness of the executive. The stern administration of James I. had awed, into something like quietness, the fierce spirit of strife which had for many years disgraced and enfeebled the kingdom; but now that the government was conducted by men whom the haughty barons despised, and whose factious struggles seemed to countenance every enormity of aristocratic license, they hastened to renew the scenes of private war, and the whole south and east of Scotland were filled with "theft, reif, and slaughter." Alan Stewart, Lord of Darnley, who had obtained from the late king the superiority over Lennox, was treacherously slain at Polmais-thorn, between Falkirk and Linlithgow, by Sir Thomas Boyd, in consequence of an old feud which existed between their families.† To revenge the death of his brother, Alexander Stewart mustered a strong body of his friends and vassals, with whom he encountered the Boyds in a pitched battle, near Neilston, in Renfrewshire. The engagement was not only protracted and bloody, but marked by a savage determination, unusual even in those times. "It was foughten that day so manfully, that both the parties would retire and rest themselves diverse and sundry times, and recounter again at the sound of the trumpet."‡ Victory at last declared in favour of the Stewarts, and Sir Thomas Boyd and many of his friends were left on the field of battle. Besides these deadly conflicts, which the rank of the parties has rescued from oblivion, scenes of outrage and revenge were daily occurring among their vassals, or those who, connected with them, however remotely, by paction or by blood, were disposed to maintain their feuds. Crichton and Livingston either felt themselves unable to check these deplorable outrages, or secure in the possession of the chief power of the state, they seem to have regarded them with indifference. They have been accused even of fostering the spirit of faction, in order to prevent that union among the barons by which their own authority would have been endangered; while the bribes offered by rivals factions to the government, and the outlawries, which were frequently occurring, furnished opportunities for increasing their wealth, of which, it was affirmed, they unscrupulously availed themselves. The vast power and chivalrous

Distracted state of the country.

Feuds of the nobles.

* Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles of Scotland, vol. i. p. 11.

* Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 13—15.

† Ibid. p. 16.

‡ Ibid

character of Douglas might have restrained, had he lived, this savage spirit; but he was suddenly seized with malignant fever, at Restalrig, and died there on the 26th of June, 1439.* His great possessions and titles descended to his son William, a boy only seventeen years old, whose youth and inexperience rendered him totally unfit to wield the power and dignity which had descended to him, and who speedily added to the national troubles by his arrogant pretensions, and provoked the cruel vengeance to which, shortly afterwards, he fell a victim.

Death of the Earl of Douglas.

Crichton and Livingston were now, by the death of Douglas, sole rulers of the kingdom, and conducted affairs with an insolence and lust of power which made their administration both hated and feared. Joanna, the queen-mother, though ostensibly restored, on the reconciliation of the statesmen, to her office as guardian of the prince, found herself so jealously watched by Livingston, that, dreading the dangers of her defenceless position, she contracted a second marriage with Sir James Stewart, commonly called "The Black Knight of Lorn," a man of high rank and approved valour.† To the ambitious designs of Livingston, the marriage of the queen was eminently favourable, as, by placing her under tutelage, she was thus disqualified, by the laws of Scotland, from taking any part in the administration. But her husband was the friend of the Douglases; and the governor, alarmed at this accession of power to that great family, resolved to take advantage of the marriage to consolidate his own authority. His measures were speedily taken, and partook largely of his characteristic craft and cunning. Sir James Stewart and his elder brother, then residing at Sterling, were seized and thrown into prison, on pretence that they had conspired against the state;‡ and scarcely had the queen received intelligence of the fate of her husband, when, by orders of Livingston, her own private apartments were entered, and herself hurried to confinement on a similar charge, after a brave but unsuccessful resistance by her servants.§ These insolent acts were immediately followed by a convention at Stirling, summoned in name of the Three Estates, but composed entirely of persons in the interest of the governor. Before this assembly the unhappy queen was conducted, trembling for her own and her husband's safety; and there, affecting to yield to the necessities of the state, she surrendered, by solemn deed, the person of her son into the hands of Sir Alexander Livingston, of Callendar, resigning at the same time the royal residence of Stirling castle, and the annual allowance made to her by parliament as queen-mother. The last clauses of the deed were worded with a cautious duplicity which indicated the conscious tyranny of its framers, and their anxiety to save themselves from its probable consequences. Joanna is made to profess her cordial concurrence in the measures of the faction, as dictated by motives purely patriotic; and it was distinctly stated, that their conduct in the matter should at no future period be the subject either of revision or blame.* The deed of transference having been solemnly ratified, the queen and her husband were set at liberty, while the young king was delivered to Livingston, who forthwith retained him in a kind of honourable captivity.

Marriage of the queen-mother with Sir James Stewart—

—she and her husband are seized and imprisoned by Livingston—

—she is compelled to give up the custody of the king.

By the proceedings of the Stirling convention, the influence of Livingston became paramount in the state; and Crichton, who had calculated on an equitable division of power, saw, with surprise and dismay, the functions of government monopolized by his rival. He determined, therefore, with all speed, to restore the balance, and his measures were taken with great cunning, and were attended with complete success. Having consulted with his friends, and secured their co-operation, he rode, on a dark night, with a hundred chosen men, to the park of Stirling, where he placed his followers in small parties, to avoid suspicion and discovery. Fortunately for the success of his enterprise Livingston was at this time absent. At the break of day the king left the castle, as was his custom, to enjoy the pastime of hunting, attended by a small body of horsemen, and found himself suddenly surrounded by groups of armed men, who hailed him with every demonstration of loyalty. At the same time Crichton advanced, and kneeling before him, protested his devotion to his person, condemned the ungenerous captivity to which the jealousy and ambition of Livingston had consigned him, and offered the services of himself and his friends in securing to him immediate freedom from a state of undignified restriction. The young monarch, in spite of the opposition of his retinue, lent a willing ear to the solicitations of Crichton, with whom he hastened to Edinburgh, and made his entrance into that city, accompanied by an additional escort of four thousand men, before Livingston had received any intelligence of his movements.† The escape of the king, and the treachery of Crichton, filled the governor with mingled rage and fear, and had his power equalled his desire for vengeance, the authors of the plot would speedily have felt the weight of his vengeance. But he was in no condition to risk an appeal to force. The party of the queen, exasperated by late events, eagerly desired his downfall, and the aid of Douglas was hopeless, except on terms which must have placed him at the feet of that arrogant noble. Yielding, therefore,

The king is carried off by Crichton to Edinburgh castle.

* Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 191, and note.

† Duncan Stewart's History of the Royal Family of Stewart, p. 171.

‡ Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 34.

§ Royal Charter, by James II., March 7th., 1449-50, to Alexander Napier, of the lands of Philde. Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 191, and note

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 54.

† Lesley's History, p. 15.

to the necessities of his position he skilfully dissembled his mortification, and, hastening to Edinburgh, sent a message to Crichton, deploring their alienation, and expressing his willingness to submit their disputes to the arbitration of mutual friends. The exertions of Leighton, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Winchester, Bishop of Moray, aided by the dread of Douglas, speedily brought the rival statesmen to terms. They accordingly met in the church of St. Giles, and sealed their reconciliation by mutual concessions. The young king was restored to the custody of Livingston, and Crichton resumed, with increased power, his office of chancellor.

Livingston makes overtures to Crichton—

—their reconciliation.

The internal condition of the kingdom, during these disgraceful feuds, deepened its miseries. Availing themselves of the distraction of the government, a large body of marauders from the Western Isles, led by Lauchlan McLeod and Murdoch Gibson, two noted robbers, invaded many parts of the mainland, and especially the extensive district of Lennox, which they ravaged with fire and sword. The progress of the invaders was for a moment arrested by John Colquhoun of Luss, who, with his armed vassals, offered a gallant resistance near Inch-murran, on Loch Lomond; but, overwhelmed by numbers, they were quickly defeated, with the loss of their leader.* "After that victory," says an old chronicler, "traitors became so proud and insolent that they burnt and herried the country wherever they came, and spared neither old nor young, bairn nor wife, but cruelly would burn their houses and them together, if they made any obstacle; or else, if they made no debate, without consideration and pity would cut their throats, and thereafter carry away their gear and wares, with their wives and bairns, who, not witting of such incursions, were cruelly murdered and sticked in their beds without any regard of old or young. Thus they raged through the realm without any respect to God or man." †

The country is ravaged by a body of free-booters.

The country was next visited by a grievous famine, the result chiefly of an ungenial season, but aggravated by the interruptions to which husbandry was subjected amid the troubles of the times.‡ Great numbers of the poorer classes perished of hunger, and many who contrived to prolong life, enfeebled by insufficient or unwholesome food, fell victims to a virulent disease, which followed the dearth. "There reigned also a horrible pest at that time in the country," says Pitscottie, "for all men that were infected with it died the same day they took it, without any remedy."§ Appalled by these fearful visitations, and roused from their selfish inaction by the dangers which menaced the nation, the government convened a parliament at Stirling, and proceeded to consider the best means of healing the distractions of the realm. With this view various enactments were passed by the legislature, among which two deserve special notice, viz., "that the justiciars on the northern and southern sides of the Forth should hold their sessions twice a year, and that whenever intelligence was received of the occurrence of any rebellion, slaughters, burning, robbery, outrage, or theft, the king should instantly proceed in person to the spot, and summoning before him the sheriff of the shire wherein the crime was committed, see immediate justice done upon the offender before he left the district, in the execution of which ordinance all the barons, with one assent, were obliged to assist, "with their persons, vassals, and property."* These enactments, though framed in general terms, have special reference to the power of the house of Douglas, which had risen to a height that threatened the independence of the throne. William, sixth Earl of Douglas and Duke of Touraine, succeeded on the death of his father Archibald to the titles and vast possessions of his family. The princely inheritance which thus passed to him, would have been dangerous to one of mature age and experience, but in the earl, who was scarcely seventeen years of age, it rapidly developed all the vices which youth and irresponsible power are almost certain to produce. Proud of his ancestry, the owner of extensive domains, which included the richest and most important tracts of Scotland, connected with many of the first families in the kingdom, possessed of wealth equal, if not superior, to that of the sovereign himself, and able at any time to bring into the field a numerous following of highly disciplined soldiers, Douglas, instigated by his own haughty ambition, and the adulation of his friends, assumed all the state and independence of a king. Shortly after the death of his father, he despatched Malcolm Fleming, of Biggar, and Alan Lauder, of the Bass, to the court of France with his oath of fealty for the duchy of Touraine. His envoys were received with distinguished respect by the French monarch, and his rights as lord of that extensive principality solemnly confirmed.† Flattered by the countenance of France, and despising the government at home, the arrogance of the young noble prompted him to imprudent displays of power, which could not fail to excite the indignation of Livingston and Crichton. His personal attendance, when he rode out, consisted of a thousand horse; his household was conducted on a scale of dazzling magnificence; he is said to have held within his own dominion courts which rivalled the solemnity of parliaments, and to have dubbed knights with his own hand. To the commands of the sovereign requiring attendance and service, he

Famine.

—and pestilence.

Enactments of parliament.

Exorbitant power of the house of Douglas.

Character of William, sixth Earl—

* Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 34.
† Pitscottie's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 23.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid. vol. i. p. 24.

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 32, 33.
† Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 22.

either gave no heed, or returned a contemptuous refusal; while he spoke in scornful terms of the government as administered by traitors, who had usurped its functions and enslaved the king for their own selfish ends. Meanwhile his followers, secure in his countenance and protection,, filled the country with pillage and bloodshed. The worst spirits of the time hastened to enroll themselves among his dependants, and employed the sanction of his name in defence of their brutal outrages. The laws furnished no protection to the victims, as the authority of Douglas within his own jurisdiction was supreme, and beyond it, the number and strength of his dependants enabled him to defy the ordinary administrators of justice. There can be no doubt, that it is to the acts of grievous oppression, perpetrated by the followers of this baron, that Lindsay of Pitscottie refers when, speaking of the complaints made to parliament respecting the abuses which prevailed in the country, he says, "Many and innumerable complaints were given in whereof the like were never seen before. There were so many widows, bairns, and infants seeking redress for their husbands, kindred, and friends, that were cruelly slain by wicked bloody murderers; sicklike many for herschip, theft, and reif, that there was no man but he would have ruth and pity to hear the same. Shortly murder, theft, and slaughter, were come in such dalliance among the people; and the king's acts had fallen into such contempt, that no man wist where to seek refuge, unless he had sworn himself a servant to some common murderer, or bloody tyrant, to maintain him contrary to the invasion of others, or else had given him largely of his gear to save his life, and afford him peace and rest."* Irritated at last by the constant insults which the proud noble offered to the government, and convinced that so long as he lived their own power must continue insecure, Livingston and Crichton resolved to destroy him on a charge of high treason. A more cautious adversary would have detected and avoided the snare thus laid for him, but arrogant and full of the careless confidence of power, Douglas, both by his words and actions, furnished abundant materials for impeachment, which, being reported by the spies of the governor, were carefully treasured up in the prospect of his trial and doom. Besides openly defying the laws and maintaining a state dangerous to the throne, it has been conjectured that Douglas had subjected himself even to a graver charge by impugning the title of James II. to the throne, and preferring the claim of his uncle Malise, Earl of Strathearn, who as the descendant of Euphemia Ross, the second queen of Robert II., was supposed by some to have a better right to the crown than its present possessor. Though the ambition of the earl, and the interest he may be supposed to have taken in his kinsman's pretensions, render the conjecture far from improbable, no evidence has been furnished of its truth. His conduct in other respects afforded his enemies sufficient grounds to give at least the appearance of justice to their subsequent proceedings, and as soon as their plans were matured they took immediate measures to secure his person. The progress of the tragedy was marked by a baseness and cruelty worthy of its chief actors. Crichton, in his own name and that of Livingston, despatched a message to Douglas, in which, after professing the highest esteem for his character, and regret at the misunderstanding which existed between them, he anxiously solicited his presence at the court, that the earl might cultivate the friendship of the young sovereign, and lend the aid of his great talents and influence to the administration. Douglas was easily inveigled into the snare, and along with his brother David, his friend Malcolm Fleming, and a small retinue, set out for Edinburgh. On the way he halted for the night at Crichton castle, the residence of the chancellor, where a splendid entertainment tended still further to flatter his pride and remove suspicion. Attended by Crichton he proceeded to Edinburgh on the following day. But before he entered the town, some of his retinue observing that there were too many private messages passing between the chancellor and the governor, reminded the earl of the injunction of his father, that he and his brother should never go together where there was any appearance of danger, and urgently entreated them both to return, or if the earl persisted in going forward that he should at least send home his brother.* This prudent counsel was unfortunately rejected, and confidently relying on the honour of the chancellor and governor, Douglas rode fearlessly to the castle, where he was received in state by Livingston, who conducted him to the apartments of the king. The young monarch became speedily attached to the Douglases, whose high rank and youthful accomplishments qualified them in an eminent degree for his society, and some days were spent in unrestrained and pleasing intercourse. The gaiety of the young friends, however, was destined to be quickly and terribly broken. During a banquet at the royal table Crichton and Livingston dropped the mask and assailed their unsuspecting guests with loud and fierce charges of treason.† The astonished youths, rendered defenceless by the absence of their attendants, who had been carefully removed, and surrounded by armed men, who barred escape, were quickly bound and hurried to a neighbouring apartment, to undergo the formality of a mock

—his factious and turbulent conduct.

Crichton and Livingston plot his destruction

* Pitscottie's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 35.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 40, 41.

† Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 16. The story which represents a bull's head,—the signal of death,—as having been introduced, towards the close of the entertainment, and placed before the Douglases, is now generally rejected. No traces of any such custom are to be found in the records of authentic Scottish history. The fertile fancy of Hector Boece seems responsible for this and other embellishments which, carelessly adopted by succeeding writers came ultimately to be regarded as indubitable facts.—See Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 194.

trial. It is said that the youthful monarch, alarmed at these violent proceedings and the impending fate of the young noblemen, entreated the chancellor with tears to spare their lives.* His interference, however, was sternly rejected by Crichton, who reprimanded him in no measured terms for his desire to save the lives of the traitors who sought to overturn his throne. No record exists of the investigation which followed: even the nature of the charges brought against the unfortunate youths is only matter of conjecture; but as it has been well observed, "The extent of their power and the lawless character of their followers must have afforded enough of pretexts for condemnation when the sentence rested with judges who were determined to make no allowance for the youth and inexperience of the accused parties, for the artifices by which they had been brought within the danger of the law, and for their being totally deprived of constitutional or legal defenders." The proceedings of the court were speedily terminated by a sentence of death on the brothers, who were hurried to the back court of the castle, and there beheaded. Three days afterwards Malcolm Fleming, of Cumbernauld, their friend and counsellor, was brought to trial, as accessory to their crime, and shared the same fate.†

—his execution in Edinburgh castle along with his brother David.

The murder of the Douglases was a deed equally cruel and impolitic. It not only excited the fierce indignation of their numerous and powerful friends and followers throughout the country, but the youth of the victims, and the cold-blooded treachery with which they had been entrapped and murdered, called forth a general expression of sympathy, in which their grave crimes were overlooked or forgotten. From causes, however, which are now unknown, those, on whom what was then deemed the sacred duty of revenge devolved, seem to have taken no immediate steps to revenge the death of their relatives. The French title and possessions of the earl reverted to the crown of France. The earldom of Douglas proper, devolved upon his uncle James, Lord of Abercorn, surnamed the Gross, who quietly assumed the title and estates of his nephew without opposition;* and the large unentailed property of the late earl, comprehending Galloway, Wigton, Balveny, Ormond, and Annandale, descended to his only sister Margaret, who, from her great beauty, was commonly called the Fair Maiden of Galloway. Thus far the calculations of Crichton and Livingston, as to the probable consequences of Douglas's death, were justified by the removal of a dangerous enemy, the dismemberment of a princely house, and the consolidation of their own power. A course of unforeseen events, however, baffled their expectations and restored the house of Douglas to more than its former splendour. James the Gross died after two years' inglorious possession of his honours, and was succeeded by his son William, who inherited all the courage and ambition of his family. Eager to regain the lost appendages and power of his earldom, he hastily espoused his cousin Margaret of Galloway; and, by this union, the vast possessions of the family were once more united in his person. The indifference which Crichton and Livingston exhibited during the progress of this important alliance, has never been sufficiently explained. Policy dictated determined opposition to a union so fraught with danger to the government, and objections existed, which, if skilfully urged, must have prevented its formation. Margaret, besides being a ward of the crown, was a child scarcely twelve years old at the period of her brother's death. Earl William and herself were within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity, while the former was already married, and his countess was still living, so that a dispensation from Rome was necessary to procure a release from existing ties, and the sanction of the church to the contemplated marriage.* Some light is thrown on the supineness of the government by a conjecture, to which subsequent events give countenance, that Livingston had already formed a secret coalition with Douglas, in order to secure his own power, and ruin his rival, Crichton, who, though alive to the dangers of the alliance, was compelled to preserve a prudent neutrality. If so, the selfish policy of the governor recoiled on himself, and he lived bitterly to deplore the consequences of his baseness.

William, eighth earl, reunites the vast estates of the family.

Happily for Scotland, during these distractions, her relations with foreign powers were uniformly of the most friendly character. At this period an embassy arrived from Bretagne, proposing a marriage between Francis, Count de Montfort, son and heir of John V., surnamed the Good, and the princess Isabella, sister of the king. These overtures were favourably entertained by the Scottish court, commissioners were despatched to Bretagne, with the view of completing the arrangements, and, in the following year, Isabella left Scotland for France, where she was formally united to her betrothed husband.† The truce with England continued to be sacredly observed, and the friendly intercourse between the two countries exercised the most beneficial influence on their mutual prosperity. A war at this time broke out between England and the Netherlands; but the trade so long carried on by Scotland with the latter country does not appear to have suffered any material interruption.

Friendly relations between Scotland and other countries.

Meanwhile, the internal condition of the king-

The immediate consequences of this detestable deed.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 43.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 35. See Appendix, Note XV. According to the historian of the house of Douglas, the remarkable obesity of the new earl extinguished in him those quick feelings of honour which should have stimulated him to revenge. It has been conjectured, with more probability, that the trial and execution of the young earl was undertaken with the connivance, if not the assistance, of his successor.

* See Pinkerton's History, vol. i. pp. 194, 195.

† Ibid. p. 195, and ante.

dom, rent by faction, and groaning under all the miseries of a feeble and vicious administration, was, in every respect, deplorable. The laws ceased to be respected, and occasional attempts to vindicate their authority served only to provoke resistance. Sir William Ruthven, Sheriff of Perth, while conducting a Highland freebooter to the gallows, was attacked by John Gorme Stewart, of Athole, with a party of his associates, who endeavoured to rescue the criminal from the grasp of justice. Ruthven, a man of high spirit and determined courage, collected his followers, and gave battle to the assailants on the North Inch of Perth. The aggressors were defeated, but not until thirty men had been slain, including the leaders on both sides, Ruthven and Stewart.* About the same time, Sir Robert Erskine, whose claims on the earldom of Mar had been factiously resisted by the chancellor, stormed the castle of Kildrummie, and took possession of the extensive estates connected with it. In retaliation, Livingston and Crichton seized the castle of Alloa, the property of Erskine.

Distracted state of the country.

Feuds of the nobles.

During the progress of these savage feuds, William, Earl of Douglas, was silently maturing his plans to restore the political influence of his house. Already affianced to his cousin, and virtual possessor of her extensive estates, he bent the whole energies of his subtle and ambitious nature to secure that place in the administration, which he considered due to his ancient family and great power. The existing state of parties favoured his designs, and he skilfully turned to his advantage the jealousies and contentions of his rivals. To the nation at large, the government of Livingston and Crichton had long been odious, and a general desire existed for some change which seemed likely to remedy the evils under which the nation was groaning. James cherished a natural dislike to those who, for years, had made him their puppet, and sometimes cruelly wounded his feelings; while he had now reached an age when the restraints of a state of pupilage excite strong irritation and an ardent desire of independence. He was thus prepared to welcome the services of any party who could secure his good opinion, and relieve him from the indignities of his position. Douglas was no stranger to the feelings of the young monarch, and awaited only a favourable opportunity to render them subservient to his purpose. An incident, characteristic of the times, furnished him with the occasion for which he sought. Dumbárton castle was at this period commanded by Sir Robert Semple, as sheriff-depute to Sir Robert Erskine. Patrick Galbraith, a partisan of Douglas, in revenge of some injury done him by Semple, or, as some affirm, incited by Douglas himself, scaled the walls with a party of his followers, and took possession of the fortress, after killing the captain and some of the garrison * When the news of this outrage reached the court, suspicion naturally turned on Douglas as its chief instigator, and the earl, affecting deep concern for his honour as a noble, and his fidelity as a subject, hastened to Stirling with a few followers, and obtaining an audience of the king, denounced the conduct of Galbraith, placed his own life and estates at the disposal of the sovereign, and professed unbounded attachment to his person and crown. The manœuvre of the earl was completely successful. Prepossessed by the skilful address of Douglas, and agreeably surprised to discover a devoted adherent in one whom he had been taught to regard as a dangerous rival, the young and unsuspecting monarch lavished on his visitor every mark of kindness, made him a member of the privy council, and soon after elevated him to the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The course pursued by the persons chiefly affected by this sudden change in the administration indicated, with sufficient clearness, the part they had taken in promoting it. Livingston remained quietly at Stirling, though, on the plea of age, he surrendered his office as governor into the hands of his eldest son, Sir James, thus giving strong probability to the supposition that the veteran statesman had entered into a coalition with Douglas; while Crichton fled from the court, and threw himself into the castle of Edinburgh, where he proceeded to lay in provisions, and to strengthen the fortifications in the evident expectation of a siege. The proceedings of Douglas speedily justified the alarm of the chancellor. Armed with the royal authority, and accompanied by a portion of the household troops, besides his own retainers, the earl marched against Barnton castle, which belonged to Crichton, and demanded its immediate surrender. The governor, a near kinsman of the chancellor, at first resolved on resistance, but daunted by the display of the royal banner, and the prospect of a long siege, ultimately capitulated, and the fortalice, by the orders of Douglas, was immediately dismantled. This decisive movement was followed by a summons to Crichton requiring him, in the name of the king, to appear at Stirling, and answer for his many acts of treason against the state; but the proud baron, undismayed by the danger to which he was exposed, and confident in the strength of his fortress, replied only by an incursion into the lands in Lothian belonging to Douglas and his adherent, Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine, which he wasted with fire and sword.† In a parliament subsequently convened at Stirling, he was proclaimed a traitor, his estates confiscated, and his friends outlawed.‡

The Earl of Douglas is made lieutenant-general of the kingdom—

—his hostility to the chancellor—

The influence of Douglas was now paramount,

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 46. 47. Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 35. Stewart was the person who apprehended Sir Robert Graham, the murderer of James I.

* Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 35. Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp. 47, 48.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, pp. 36, 37. Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 51, 52.

‡ Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 49, 450.

and his subsequent conduct left no doubt as to his daring designs on the independence of the crown. The members of the late administration were quickly displaced, and the vacant offices filled by persons devoted to his interests. Three of his brothers, Archibald, Hugh, and John, were raised to the peerage. Archibald, who had married the youngest daughter of James Dunbar, Earl of Moray, succeeded on the death of his father-in-law to the title, in spite of the preferable claim of Sir James Crichton, son of the chancellor, who was the husband of the eldest daughter of the deceased earl. Hugh was created Earl of Ormond and John Lord of Balveny. To these grounds of alarm others were soon added of a more serious nature. Instigated by Douglas, the chief nobles determined to make common cause for the recovery of those privileges of their order, which, conceded by the weakness of former sovereigns, had been abolished by James I. as dangerous to the throne. The lieutenant-general became thus the centre of a powerful combination, including not a few of the great barons, who having suffered under the former reign, remembered with fear and hatred the restraints imposed upon them by the crown, and exulted in the prospect of curtailing and humbling the royal power. Though artfully veiled, the treasonable intentions of Douglas were too apparent to escape notice, and, in spite of his overgrown power, which rendered opposition most perilous, the nation found a leader, whose pure patriotism and unsullied virtues enabled him to vindicate its menaced rights. Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, a prelate of great wisdom and integrity, had been raised to the chancellorship on the disgrace of Crichton. His high talents, incorruptible honesty, and distinguished ecclesiastical position as head of the Scottish church, while they fitted him in an eminent degree for the office, rendered him the more formidable to Douglas, nor is it easy to account for the acquiescence of the latter in the appointment of the prelate, except on the supposition that the relation of Kennedy to the sovereign as the sister's son of the late king, combined with his known qualifications, rendered opposition for the time alike futile and impolitic. The sagacity of Kennedy speedily divined the intentions of the lieutenant-general, and took prompt and vigorous measures to defeat his insidious and traitorous machinations. In spite of the defection of the Livingstons there still remained a large party in the kingdom, composed chiefly of the minor barons, who viewed with dread the restoration of feudal supremacy, and were eager to defend the throne from the dangers which menaced it. The ablest of these nobles were sought out by Kennedy, who succeeded in imbuing them with his own resolute and patriotic spirit, and rallying them round the youthful sovereign. In this attempt to counterbalance the traitorous confederacy of Douglas, it was impossible to overlook Crichton, who, in spite of his vices, possessed not a few of the qualities of an eminent statesman, and by his determined resistance to the Douglas faction, was now assisting to maintain the cause of national order and independence. The sympathies of the bishop were therefore strongly attracted towards his predecessor, and having opened a correspondence with the besieged baron, he hesitated not to support him with the whole weight of his powerful influence. The manner in which Douglas resented the interference of Kennedy was in keeping both with his own character and the spirit of the times. The person of the prelate was sacred, but his lands in Fife and Angus were immediately invaded by a powerful force, headed by the Earl of Crawford, Alexander Ogilvy, Livingston, governor of Stirling, Lord Hamilton, and other partisans of the earl, who wasted them with fire and sword, thus converting the most peaceful and industrious portions of Scotland into a smoking desert. Kennedy, indignant at this savage raid, demanded instant reparation; and on receiving only contemptuous defiance, proceeded to visit Crawford and his adherents with the thunders of the church, and solemnly excommunicated them with book, bell, and candle.* Meanwhile Douglas had already commenced the siege of Edinburgh castle, which Crichton, in anticipation of attack, had stored with provisions, and now stood prepared to defend to the last extremity. After the lapse of nine weeks, however, the besiegers either finding that they were making little progress in the reduction of the fortress, or that the friends of Crichton were more numerous and powerful than they had at first supposed, entered into negotiations for peace, and the stout old baron capitulated on terms every way advantageous. His titles, honours, and possessions were restored to him, and at the solicitation of Douglas and Livingston he was induced to join the administration.† The results of this sudden coalition, in spite of the suspicious motives which led to it, were most important and beneficial to the country. Douglas, checked by a colleague so sagacious and powerful, found it necessary to dissemble, if not to abandon his treasonable designs, while the friends of the king, encouraged by the restoration of Crichton, determined to watch and defeat the plots of their enemies.

—his traitorous designs against the king—

—his schemes are thwarted by Bishop Kennedy—

—the bishop's lands are ravaged by the partisans of Douglas.

Reconciliation between Crichton and Douglas.

These faint indications of returning prosperity speedily passed away amid the fierce and bloody feuds which continued to convulse the kingdom. One of these, from the number and power of the parties engaged in it, as well as from its disastrous results, has been rescued from the oblivion to which other events of a similar kind, from their appalling frequency, have been consigned. The

* Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 39. Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 52, 53.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 37.

monks of Arbroath had made choice of the Master of Crawford as their feudal protector, but were induced, from causes not clearly explained, to dispense with his services, and to confer the bailiewick on Ogilvie, of Inverquharity, chief of that ancient sept. Crawford, whose ferocity afterwards procured for him the appellation of the "Tiger Earl,"* collected his vassals for the double purpose of revenging the insult which had been offered to him, and recovering the authority of which he had been deprived. On the other hand, the Ogilvies, who were greatly outnumbered by their opponents, were accidentally reinforced by Sir Alexander Seton, of Gordon, afterwards Earl of Huntley, who, on his return from the court, happening to lodge for the night at the Castle of Inverquharity, was compelled to take part in the fray by an ancient custom, which bound the guest to fight in the quarrels of his host, so long as the food eaten under his roof remained in his stomach.† The hostile armies were drawn up near the gates of the town of Arbroath, and the conflict was about to commence, when the Earl of Crawford, who, on receiving information of the intended combat, had hastened from Dundee for the purpose of averting it, suddenly arrived on the field, and commanded his son to halt, while he rode forward between the two lines, in order to propose terms. But a private soldier of the Ogilvies, unacquainted with his person, and mistaking his purpose, struck him in the mouth with his spear, and mortally wounded him. The hostile armies immediately joined battle with the utmost fury, and after a fierce and stubborn conflict the Ogilvies were defeated and driven from the field. Inverquharity himself was mortally wounded in the action, along with five hundred of his followers, among whom were John Forbes, of Pitsligo, a retainer of Huntley; Alexander Barclay, of Gartley; James Maxwell, of Teiling, and many others of the gentry of Angus. Huntley himself with great difficulty made his escape to the castle of Inverquharity, and was afterwards taken prisoner and conducted to the castle of Finhaven, the seat of the victor.‡ Tha Master of Crawford followed up his victory with characteristic ferocity, and assailed by a party of the Douglases, plundered and wasted the estates of the Ogilvies and their allies with fire and sword, burnt their castles, slew their vassals, and carried their wives and children into captivity. The earl his father, after lingering for a few days, died of his wound, and his body lay for some time unburied, on account of the sentence of excommunication.

Feud between the Crawfords and the Ogilvies.

Its disastrous results.

The death of the queen mother, which occurred (A. D. 1445) in the midst of these fierce commotions, deserves notice, not indeed from its political importance, but as an affecting example of fallen greatness, and the sad insecurity of the times. From the period of her marriage with Sir James Stewart, the Black Knight of Lorn,—an alliance formed mainly from the desire to secure a protection in her defenceless condition,—she sunk into obscurity; but the peace and safety which she sought to purchase by the abdication of rank do not seem to have followed her in her retirement. Stewart, who doubtless calculated that his connection with the royal family would improve his position, on discovering his mistake, and finding himself the victim of suspicion and persecution, became gradually alienated from his wife, and ultimately treated her with utter neglect. Compelled at last to flee from Scotland, in consequence of some incautious reflections on the despotism of Douglas, he deprived her even of the slender protection which his presence afforded. Thus abandoned by her husband, and pursued by the relentless malice of her enemies, the health of the unhappy princess gave way under her manifold griefs, and she closed her chequered life in Dunbar castle, then held by Patrick Hepburn, of Hailes, a fierce free-booter and partisan of Douglas. It is impossible to determine with certainty, whether she had sought a sanctuary in the fortress, or had been violently seized by its possessor; but the lawless character of Hepburn and his connection with Douglas render it highly probable that he had made her a prisoner to serve some sinister or selfish purpose. So great, however, was the power of his patron and the weakness of the government, that he not only escaped punishment, but received a pardon in the name of the king himself, who was thus made to sanction the unmanly cruelty which had been inflicted upon his own mother.*

Death of the queen-mother.

Misfortune continued to pursue the other members of the royal family. In the distracted condition of the kingdom, and to secure them from the ambitious designs of Douglas, the princesses Jane and Eleanor, on the death of the queen-mother, were sent to France on a visit to their sister the dauphiness. On their arrival they were greeted with the sad news of her early death in circumstances peculiarly painful. The marriage of Isabella had proved eminently unhappy. Her husband, afterwards the infamous Louis XI., treated her from the first with marked neglect. In despair of securing his affection her gentle spirit sought solace in the composition of poetry and in the society of literary men. But the charges of Jamet de Tilloy, who, with the connivance, if not at the instigation of the dauphin, accused her of conjugal infidelity, destroyed a constitution enfeebled by a course of harshness and neglect. She died protesting her innocence; and the equivocations of her base accuser, with the deep grief of her father-in-law, Charles VII., who, after her death, sought, but without effect, to obtain a dispensation from the pope for the marriage of

Departure of the princesses Jane and Eleanor to France, and death of the dauphiness.

* He was also called "Earl Beardy," from the length and bushiness of his beard.

† Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 18.

‡ Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 38. Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 54, 55.

* Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 37.

her sister Jane with the dauphin, leave no reason to doubt the truth of her solemn declaration.* The mourning princesses were received by the king with every mark of kindness and respect, and after a brief sojourn at the court of France, Jane returned to her own country, where she wedded the Earl of Angus; Eleanor was some years after espoused to Sigismund, Duke of Austria.

In Scotland meanwhile matters were gradually assuming a more favourable aspect. The influence of Douglas, indeed, was still paramount, and a treasonable treaty formed between that noble, the new Earl of Crawford and Alexander Ross, Lord of the Isles, threatened not only to disturb the peace of the country, but to destroy the independence of the crown. But the king, who was now seventeen years of age, began to take an important share in the administration of the affairs of the country, and by his prudence and sagacity excited the warmest hopes of his friends. No longer deceived by the professions of Douglas, he penetrated his dangerous designs, and cautiously, though firmly, took measures to defeat them. An open rupture with this powerful and arrogant noble would have hastened a crisis for which he was as yet unprepared. He sought, therefore, gradually, but steadily, to reduce the overgrown power of his turbulent subject, and selected as his confidential advisers Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, and the veteran Crichton, who was about this time reinstated in his office as chancellor. With the assistance of these experienced and sagacious councillors the friends of the reigning family rallied in support of the royal authority; while some of the nobles, who had been expatriated by Douglas and his faction, returned home at the solicitation of the king, and eagerly contributed to the downfall of a party, from which they had suffered so many wrongs. Among these were Sir James Stewart, the husband of the queen-mother, and Robert Fleming, son of Sir Malcolm Fleming, who burned to revenge on the Livingstons the murder of his father. Measures were also taken at this time by James to maintain the existing friendly relations with the courts of France and England, in order that he might give his undivided attention to the improvement of his own kingdom.

James takes part in the administration of the government—

—selects Kennedy and Crichton as his councillors.

The diplomacy of Crichton, to which these movements were mainly to be traced, was farther displayed in a matter deeply affecting the happiness of the sovereign. In company with John Railston, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Otterburn, Official of Lothian, he left Scotland for France, in order to choose from among the ladies of that friendly court a proper bride for the Scottish king. France at that time offered no suitable match, but, by the advice of Charles VII., the ambassadors proceeded to Burgundy, and, with the cordial concurrence of Duke Philip the Good, made their proposals to his kinswoman, Mary, the only daughter and heiress of Arnold, Duke of Gueldres. In the succeeding year the engagement was formally concluded at Brussels, in the presence of envoys from France. Philip promised to pay, in the course of two years, sixty thousand pounds of gold as the portion of the bride; and James, on the other hand, settled upon the princess the sum of ten thousand crowns, secured upon land in Strathern, Athole, Methven, and Linlithgow, as her jointure in the event of his own death, while he relinquished all claims on the Duchy of Gueldres in the event of a male heir being born to the present duke.* Besides effecting the main object of the embassy, Crichton succeeded not only in renewing the ancient league between France and Scotland, but in concluding a treaty of mutual defence between the latter country and Burgundy, in which Gueldres was also comprehended.†

The king is affianced to Mary of Gueldres.

These symptoms of returning prosperity received a temporary check by the renewal of hostilities upon the Borders. The truce between Scotland and England had just expired, and though there existed, on the part of both nations, a desire to maintain peace, their common distractions afforded tempting opportunities for incursion and plunder, of which the border chiefs were not slow to avail themselves. England was convulsed by three factions, which, under the Duke of Gloucester, the queen, and the able but ambitious Richard of York, were contending for supremacy; while the maladminstration of Douglas had weakened the authority of the government among the rude and turbulent inhabitants of the border districts. Incited, accordingly, by the hope of large spoil, the English, under the Earls of Northumberland and Salisbury, wardens of the Marches, poured in two great divisions into Scotland, and burned the towns of Dunbar and Dumfries. In revenge for this outrage, Douglas of Balveny, a brother of the earl, invaded Cumberland, and, after wasting that district, gave the town of Alnwick to the flames. The spirit of border warfare was now again exhibited in all its ancient ferocity. A force of six thousand men, led by the younger Percy and Sir John Pennington, crossed the river Sark at low water, and found themselves in front of the Scottish army, under the command of Hugh, Earl of Ormond, another brother of the Earl of Douglas. The details of the battle which followed are involved in much obscurity, though the engagement was the only one of importance which occurred on the borders during the interval between the conflicts of Homildon Hill and Flodden Field. Douglas, though his army was greatly inferior in numbers, immediately attacked the English, and after a brief but fierce struggle, in which he was ably seconded by Sir Thomas Wallace, the Sheriff of Ayr, he succeeded in breaking their ranks, and putting them to flight. Fifteen

Hostilities commenced on the Borders.

Battle of Sark, and defeat of the English.

* Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 199—201, and note.

* Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 206, note.

† Ibid. p. 207.

hundred men were slain, and five hundred were drowned while attempting to cross the Sark, now swollen by the returning tide. Many prisoners were taken, including the young Lord Percy and Sir John Pennington. The loss of the Scots was trifling, amounting only to sixty men; but their triumph was damped by the death of their gallant leader, Wallace of Craigie, whose bravery and skill had mainly contributed to the victory.* With the battle of Sark hostilities terminated for a time between the two nations. Both disclaimed being the aggressors, and professed equal anxiety for peace, which was happily restored, in the following year, by the conclusion of a permanent truce.

The Scottish court was now ingrossed in preparations for the reception of Mary, the intended consort of James. The parliament met at Stirling resolved that the royal nuptials should be conducted on a scale of splendour suited to the occasion. At length, on the eighteenth of June, the vessels containing the bride cast anchor in the Forth; and the princess, accompanied by a splendid train of knights from France and Burgundy, including the Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Brittany, and the Lord of Campvere, the brothers-in-law of James, along with the Dukes of Savoy and of Burgundy, landed at Leith. Here she was met by a great concourse of all classes of the people; and accompanied by an imposing body-guard of three hundred men-at-arms, she proceeded, amid the acclamations of the people, to Holyrood palace, where she was received and warmly welcomed by her future husband.† The week which intervened between her arrival and marriage was spent in a series of magnificent entertainments, during which, from her great beauty and amiable manners, she won the devoted affection of the attendant nobles and people. In accordance with the chivalrous spirit of the age, various tournaments were held, at which knights displayed their prowess. A contemporary chronicler has given a minute account of one encounter, which was rendered memorable by the high rank and distinguished valour of the combatants. Three nobles of Burgundy, two of them brothers, named Lelain, and the third Hervé Meriadet, challenged an equal number of the Scottish chivalry to a joust with lance, battle-axe, sword, and dagger. The challenge of the foreign knights was immediately accepted by Sir John Ross of Halket, and two Douglases, James, brother of the Earl of Douglas, and another James, brother to the Lord of Lochleven. A space near the castle rock of Stirling was selected for the lists, galleries were erected for the king and nobles, and an adjoining crag afforded accommodation for the ladies of the court, who were expected to grace the scene. On the day appointed for the encounter, the combatants appeared in the lists clothed in rich velvet dresses; the Scottish champions being attended by the Earl of Douglas himself, with a retinue of five thousand men. Having made their obeisance to the sovereign, they retired to their pavilions to arm. They were then knighted by the king, and at the sound of the trumpet the conflict began. Their lances were almost instantly shivered, and a fierce hand-to-hand struggle ensued, which was maintained with equal fortune by the brothers Lelain against James Douglas and Sir John Ross. Meriadet, however, who was engaged with Douglas of Lochleven, parried the thrust of his opponent, and, before the Scottish knight could use his battle-axe, struck him to the ground, on which the king threw down his truncheon, and terminated the conflict.* The foreign knights were afterwards entertained by James, who bestowed on them the meed of praise due to their valour and courtesy. The royal marriage, which took place at the conclusion of these stirring scenes, was celebrated at Holyrood, amid expressions of universal joy.

Arrival of Mary of Gueldres in Scotland.

Joustings and public rejoicings at the marriage of the king.

From the period of his marriage, James prosecuted with vigour his plans for the overthrow of those factions which had so long usurped the royal authority, and filled the kingdom with confusion and bloodshed. The counsels of Kennedy and Crichton had urged the necessity of some decisive measures for this end; and to these was now added the influence of the queen, a woman not only of great beauty, but of strong sense, who, alive to the honour of the crown, confirmed her husband in his resolution to restore and defend its authority. Douglas, from his tyranny and arrogance, was the most obnoxious of the confederated nobles, and had lately given new cause of offence, by an act of lawless revenge and insolent cruelty. Sir Richard Colville, of Ochiltree, having received some injuries from Sir John Auchinleck, a friend and follower of Douglas, seized the opportunity, while his enemy was on his road to wait upon the earl, to intercept and slay him. The crime of Colville certainly deserved punishment, but Douglas, without waiting for any formal trial of the criminal, treated the matter as an insult to himself, demanding prompt and summary vengeance. He immediately ravaged the lands of Colville, stormed his castle, and put that baron and his whole garrison to the sword.† This daring outrage filled James with the highest indignation. But as the vast power of the earl rendered a collision with him at that time eminently hazardous, the king prudently concealed his wrath, and awaited a more favourable opportunity for vengeance. In the meantime, he resolved to weaken the confederacy of which Douglas was the acknowledged head, by destroying its members in detail, and thus pave the way for the fall of the earl himself. The Livingstons were the first to feel the effects of his prompt and vigorous measures. Having received information of a pro-

Cautious policy of the king.

Lawless conduct of the Earl of Douglas.

Fall of the Livingstons.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 76—80.
† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 41.

* De Coucy, p. 567. Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 207.
† Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 84.

posed meeting of that faction, at the Bridge of Inchbelly, near Kirkintilloch, James took instant steps for the capture of their leaders, who, on reaching the place of rendezvous, were suddenly surrounded by the king at the head of his household troops, and committed to prison. By this bold step, Sir Alexander Livingston, of Callendar, the chief of his name, and now an aged man; James Livingston, his eldest son; Robyn, of Callendar, Captain of Dunbarton; David Livingston, of Greenyards; John Livingston, Captain of Doune castle; Robert Livingston, of Linlithgow; with James Dundas, of Dundas; and Robert Bruce, of Clackmannan, relatives and allies of the Livingstons, were entirely in the royal power; and in the brief space of forty days their whole estates were seized, their subordinates expelled from all places of trust, and every castle and fortalice held by them fell into the king's hand.* The interval between the arrest and trial of the culprits was wisely employed by James in securing the friendship of those foreign powers whose hostility would have embarrassed him in the resolute course which he determined to prosecute. The Bishop of Brechin, and the Abbot of Melrose, in company with Lords Montgomery and Grey, were despatched to England, with the view of arranging the terms of a truce between that country and Scotland, and succeeded in concluding a peace for an indefinite period; the treaty providing that, in the event of hostilities being resumed by either country, warning should be given six months before. The previous treaty with France, and the league with Brittany, were also confirmed by separate embassies.

Renewal of the truce with England.

Immediately after the adoption of these vigorous and prudent measures, James summoned a meeting of his parliament in Edinburgh, on the nineteenth of January, for the trial of the Livingstons. No record of the proceedings has been preserved; but the principal charge brought against them appears to have been their forcible seizure of the queen's person, on the third of August, 1439. As the facts could not be denied, they were all found guilty. Livingston himself, the aged head of the family, had his life spared; but he was deprived of his estates, and, along with his kinsmen, James Dundas, of Dundas, and Robert Bruce, brother to Bruce of Clackmannan, was imprisoned in Dumbarton castle, while his younger son, Alexander, and Robert Livingston, comptroller, were hanged, and afterwards beheaded, on the Castle-hill at Edinburgh.†

Trial and condemnation of the Livingstons.

After inflicting this signal punishment upon the Livingstons and their allies, the legislature proceeded to take into consideration the state of the country, and to provide a remedy for those grievous abuses which had grown up during the minority of the monarch. It was first of all declared, in the usual form, that the freedom of the holy church should be maintained, and that the civil power should carry into execution the sentences pronounced against heretics and others who had incurred the censures of the clergy. It was next provided that a general peace should be proclaimed throughout the realm, so that all men might travel in security, for mercantile or other purposes, in every part of the country, without any protection, save that of the king's peace, or the necessity of 'having assurance one of the other.' If any person, in spite of this enactment, should stand in fear of another, he was directed to repair to the sheriff, or nearest magistrate, and take oath that he was in mortal fear of his enemy; on which the officer was to exact pledges for the maintenance of the peace, according to the ancient estates of the realm. It was enacted that just and able judges, learned in the law, should be appointed to administer justice impartially, to the small as well as to the great, and that the justiciar should pass through the country twice in the year, as ordered by the old law.* It was declared, that rebellion against the king's person and authority should be punished according to the judgment of the Three Estates, who were to take into consideration 'the quality, and the quantity of the rebellion,' and that those who were guilty of open and 'notour' rebellion against the sovereign, or who should presume to make war upon the king's subjects, or to give encouragement or protection to such criminals, should be proceeded against by the sovereign in person, with the whole force of the country, and punished according to their deserts. An attempt was made, as we have seen, by James I.,† to secure to the tenants of the feudal barons protection from summary ejection from the lands which they held on lease; and it was now 'declared to be ordained, for the safety and favour of the poor people who labour the ground, that they, and all others, who have taken or shall take lands in any time to come, from lords, according to a lease, which is to run for a certain term of years, shall remain on the lands protected by their lease till the expiry of the same, paying all along the same yearly rent, and notwithstanding the lands should pass by sale or by alienation into different hands from those by whom they were first given in lease to the tenant;'‡—a most important provision for the security of property, and the improvement of the country. Severe enactments were passed against spoilers and marauders, and the sheriffs were peremptorily enjoined to make immediate inquiry into all outrages on property, and to compel the offenders to make instant restoration, and, in addition, to pay all expenses, and a fine to the king. It was provided, that the justiciaries, along with the justices, chamberlains, coroners, and other officers, in their progresses through the country, should travel with a moderate train, and not oppress the people by the number of their attendants.

Enactments of the parliament.

* Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 42.
† Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 60.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 35.
† See ante, p. 258.
‡ Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 35, 36.

It appears that, at this period, numbers of 'sorners, outlyers, masterful beggars, fools, bards, and runners about,' were in the habit of travelling through the country with their horses and hounds, and grievously oppressing the people by their exactions. For the remedying of this grievance, it was enacted, that all sheriffs, barons, aldermen, and bailies, should make inquiry into this matter at every court which they held, and all such rude and vexatious persons, on being discovered, should be put in prison till such time as the king 'had his will of them,' and their horses and hounds immediately confiscated to the crown. A similar enactment was passed against those that followed the profession of 'fools,' or such like runners about, who did not belong to the class of bards. On being discovered, they were to be put in prison or in irons, as long as they had any goods or substance of their own to live upon. If they had nothing to live upon, it was directed, that "their ears be nailed to the Tron, or to any other tree, and then cut off, and they themselves banished the country, to which, if they returned again, they were, upon their first apprehension, to be hanged." *

A committee, consisting of four persons, chosen from each of the Three Estates, was appointed to examine the acts of parliament passed during the reign of James I., and to select such as were calculated to promote the welfare of the realm, that they might be revised and submitted for approval to the parliament which was to be assembled at Perth. Stringent regulations were enacted for the prevention of forestalling in corn, and it was ordained, that all persons who were in the practice of buying victual or corn, and hoarding it up till the occurrence of a dearth, should be sought out and punished, and that the provisions which they had thus hoarded up should be forfeited to the king. The keeping old stacks of corn in the farmyard later than Christmas was strictly prohibited, and it was enjoined, that dealers in corn and other victual, should not be allowed to lay up a great store of grain, and keep it out of the market till the ripening of the next harvest; but at Christmas they were only to have so much grain in their possession as was required for the support of themselves and their families.†

A statute was passed, denouncing the penalties of treason against those who should make war against the king's majesty, or lay violent hands upon his person, or who should aid or supply with help or counsel, those who were traitors to the king's person, or who should garrison houses in their defence, or aid such rebels in the assault of castles or other places where the king should happen to be at the time;—an enactment evidently directed against a repetition of the lawless and disgraceful practices of Livingston, Crichton, and Douglas, who had each in turn sought to govern the kingdom by taking violent possession of the person of the sovereign. It was further ordained, that when those who had been guilty of theft or robbery were so powerful that the justiciar could not put down by legal measures their 'great and masterful theft,' information should be instantly sent to the king, that with the assistance of the privy council he might provide a remedy. But, with a lamentable perversion of justice and infringement of the rights of the people, the justice clerk was enjoined not to reveal to the offenders that a legal process was in preparation against them, or to alter the process in any way from the form in which it was given him '*except for the king's advantage.*' It was further ordained, that all the regalities belonging to the crown should be judged by the king's justiciary, and that the freeholders of such regalities should appear in parliament equally with those of the royal domains. Regulations were also made respecting the importation of bullion by the merchants, the circulation of the money then current, and the new coinage and its issue; and strict injunctions were issued for the apprehension of those carrying money out of the kingdom, and for the punishment of all false strikers of gold and silver, and all forgers of false groats and pennies. And, finally, several important privileges were bestowed upon the clergy, whose influence had been most beneficially exerted in counteracting the exorbitant power of the barons, and in promoting the social welfare of the people. In a charter, dated on the 24th January, 1449, the king declared that, "for the salvation of his own soul, and that of Queen Mary, his consort, with consent of the Three Estates, and in terms of a schedule then presented to him, he conferred upon all bishops of cathedral churches in Scotland, the privilege of making their testaments, of levying the fruits of vacant sees, and converting them to their use, the vicars-general of the cathedrals rendering a true account of the same." These laws, which show the grievous abuses that had prevailed in the kingdom during the minority of the sovereign, were, for the most part, wise and just; but there is reason to fear that, owing to the weakness of the government, they were, like former enactments of a similar kind, neglected, or openly violated, by the very persons who had assisted in framing them.

Vigorous and prudent conduct of the king.

The young king having now assumed the reins of government, displayed great intelligence, prudence, and vigour in the management of public affairs. In order that he might give his undivided attention to the improvement of his own kingdom, he was careful to maintain amicable relations with England, and to encourage by every method in his power the friendly intercourse which subsisted between the two countries. He cautiously carried out a systematic plan for the reduction of the overgrown power of the Earl of Douglas, and without attempting at once, and by any arbitrary measure, to deprive this haughty chief of his high office as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, he gradually

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 36.
† Ibid.

withdrew from him his countenance, and entrusted the management of public affairs to able and prudent councillors, on whose fidelity and attachment he could rely. This conduct was attended with the best results. Douglas, finding his consequence decreasing, and his power on the wane, retired for a season from the country, and attended by a splendid retinue, consisting of six knights, with their own suites, fourteen gentlemen of the best families in Scotland, with their servants and a body of eighty men-at-arms, he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome.* At Paris he was joined by his brother, afterwards Earl of Douglas, who appears to have been at this time prosecuting his studies at the university there.† He was received by the French court with the distinction due to his rank, and the memory of his ancestor who fell at Verneuil, in the service of France; and even at Rome, which he reached during the season of the jubilee, his reputation and rude magnificence seem to have attracted attention and regard. During his absence, however, the disorderly and turbulent conduct of his vassals disturbed the peace of the country, and drew down upon them the vengeance of the government. His brother, the Lord of Balveny, on whom he had conferred the office of administrator of his estates, excited universal discontent by his insolent and tyrannical abuse of his authority. Symington, the earl's bailiff in Douglasdale, when cited to answer for the conduct of his retainers, contumaciously refused to obey; and when the Earl of Orkney, then chancellor of Scotland, was sent to make inquiry into these complaints, and to distrain the rents and goods of the earl, in order to compensate those who had received injury from his tenants, he met with open resistance and insult. The king, justly provoked at this contumacious opposition offered to the highest law officer of the realm, marched in person into the territories of Douglas, made himself master of the castles of Lochmaben and Douglas, razed the latter to the ground, and inflicted summary punishment on the marauders who had carried on their depredations under the protection of their powerful chief.‡

Douglas retires from the kingdom—

—disorderly conduct of his vassals—

—they are chastised by the king—

When the tidings of these vigorous measures reached Rome, the Earl of Douglas set out immediately on his return to his own country. On reaching Scotland he found that the royal authority had gained ground so rapidly during his absence, that he must for the present, at least, act a subordinate part to his sovereign. He, therefore, sent a submissive message to the king, expressing his indignation at the excesses committed by his vassals during his absence, and his resolution to observe the laws and to maintain order among his dependents, on which he was again received into favour. Soon after his submission to the royal authority, Douglas was appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate the continuation of the truce with England; but there is too much reason to suspect, that, along with the Earl of Crawford, another of the commissioners, and several other disaffected barons, he used his influence rather to disturb than to confirm the friendly relations existing between the two countries, and that in concert with the Yorkist faction, he entered into a secret intrigue against the authority of his sovereign and the peace of the kingdom. In the following month he obtained from the English court a protection to visit England for himself, his three brothers, twenty-six gentlemen, and sixty-seven attendants.* And as the chief persons mentioned in this safe conduct afterwards followed the house of Douglas in their rebellion, there can be little doubt that their journey to England was closely connected with their treasonable designs against their sovereign. On his return to Scotland, Douglas took up his residence on his extensive estates in Annandale. Although he had now been deprived of the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the youthful monarch, unwilling to come to an open rupture with his too powerful subject, had invested him with the office of warden of the west and middle marches, and had besides confirmed by a deed of entail the earldoms of Wigton and Douglas to the earl and his descendants. But the arrogant noble, instead of exhibiting any symptoms of gratitude for the kindness shown to him by his sovereign, was only the more emboldened to set at defiance both the restraints of law and the authority of the king. He had the audacity even to attempt the life of the king's chief minister, the Chancellor Crichton, who, while he was passing through the southern suburb of Edinburgh, was suddenly attacked by an armed band of ruffians, hired and placed in ambush for the purpose by Douglas. But encouraged by the presence of his son, a young man of great spirit and bravery, the veteran statesman courageously defended himself, and after killing one and wounding another of his assailants, succeeded in effecting his escape to Crichton castle, Indignant at this unprovoked outrage, and resolved upon revenge, the chancellor immediately collected a strong body of friends and adherents, marched rapidly to Edinburgh, and attacking Douglas, who lay there with a small retinue, unsuspicious of danger, compelled him in his turn to flee from the metropolis.

—return and submission of the earl—

—he resumes his treasonable practices—

—his attack on the Chancellor Crichton.

When such an outrageous attack was openly made upon the person of the chief minister of the crown, it may readily be supposed that Douglas was not slow to evince his total contempt of the royal authority; and that the minor barons who refused to join his faction and promote his designs

Outrages on the loyal barons.

* Contin. of Bower, p. 519. Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 85.
† Lesley, p. 22.
‡ Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 86—89.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 90—91.

were, in one way or other, made to feel his vengeance. Sir John Herries of Terreagles, a gentleman of ancient family in Nithsdale, and of eminent loyalty, having refused to become an ally and follower of Douglas, had his estates repeatedly ravaged and plundered by a lawless banditti from Douglasdale. Having frequently sought redress from the earl, but without effect, Herries at length retaliated by invading the lands belonging to the vassals of Douglas, and attempting to recover by force of arms the property of which he had been robbed. But he was unfortunately defeated and made prisoner by his powerful enemy, who cast him into irons, and soon after caused him to be ignominiously hanged, in contempt of a positive injunction of the king requiring his release.* Shortly after this, Sir John Sandilands of Calder, a kinsman of James, was murdered by Sir Patrick Thornton, a follower of Douglas; and two other knights, Sir James and Sir Allan Stewart, lost their lives at the the same time.†

It had now become evident to all men that a crisis was at hand, and the conduct of Douglas speedily brought matters to an extremity. With an evident view to an open insurrection against the royal authority, he sought to compel not only his own vassals, but the gentry in all the neighbouring districts, to join in his treasonable association with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, and to execute leagues and bonds, by which they engaged to support each other, and to make common cause with Douglas against all persons whatsoever, 'within or without the realm.' In the words of an old chronicler, he "sought and persuaded all men under his opinion and servitude, and in special the gentlemen of Galloway, with Coile, Carrick, and Cunninghame, and all other parties that were near adjacent unto him, desyreing them daylie to ride and goe with him as his own household men and servantis, and to assist him in all thingis whatsomevir he had to doe, whether it was ryght or wrong, with the king or against him." The treasonable character of his proceedings had now, however, become apparent, and a few of the men of influence in Galloway defied the threats of the formidable chief, and refused to join in his designs against the independence of the crown and the peace of the country. "Therefore they would not assist him, nor take part with him, nor ride, nor gang with him, nor be his men."

Cruel murder of the tutor of Bomby.

Among the most prominent of these was a gentleman named Maclellan, tutor or guardian of the young Lord of Bomby, ancestor of the Earls of Kirkcudbright, and sister's son to Sir Patrick Gray, captain of the king's guard. Enraged at his opposition to his schemes, Douglas suddenly besieged the residence of the family, took Maclellan prisoner, and threw him into a dungeon in the castle of Douglas. Intelligence of this outrage having reached the court, Sir Patrick Gray, anxious to avert the too probable fate of his nephew, obtained from the king a letter to Douglas under the royal seal, entreating rather than commanding the immediate release of his prisoner. Sir Patrick proceeded with the utmost speed to Douglas castle, where he was received by the earl with great apparent courtesy and respect. He inquired if his visitor had dined, and receiving an answer in the negative, he declined entering upon business until Gray had partaken of some refreshment, remarking that there was 'no talk to be had between ane full man and ane fasting.' He accordingly pressed Sir Patrick, with an affectation of great hospitality, to partake of the cheer which was presently set before him. But well aware of the object of Gray's errand, and determined to defeat it, he gave private orders that Maclellan should be immediately led out into the courtyard of the castle, and there beheaded. Meanwhile, Sir Patrick, having concluded his meal, presented the king's letter to the earl, who received it with affected reverence, and seemed much gratified by the contents. He thanked Sir Patrick, and declared that he was much beholden to him for bringing so gracious a letter from his sovereign, especially considering their mutual relation at that time; and as to the request contained in the royal epistle, it should be thankfully granted to the king, and the rather for Sir Patrick's sake. Thus saying, the ruthless savage took Gray by the hand and led him to the castle green, where the bleeding trunk of his poor kinsman lay covered with a cloth. "Yonder, Sir Patrick," said he, "lies your sister's son; unfortunately he wants the head, but you may take his body and do with it what you will." "My lord," said Gray,—who was compelled by a sense of danger to conceal his indignation at the atrocious deed, and the heartless mocking of the murderer,—"Since you have taken the head you may dispose of the body as you will," and instantly calling for his horse, he mounted him, and with a sad heart rode across the drawbridge. But unable any longer to suppress his burning resentment at the insult and injury with which he had been treated, in spite of the dangerous situation in which he was placed, he sternly said to the earl, "My lord, if I live, you shall be rewarded according to your demerits for this day's work." Douglas, incensed at this ebullition of natural indignation, instantly called to horse; and though Sir Patrick, seeing the fury of the earl, rode off with the utmost speed, he was closely pursued by the followers of Douglas till near Edinburgh, and would have been taken but for the uncommon fleetness of his led horse.*

This wicked and cruel deed, which manifested an utter contempt both for the person of the sovereign, and the authority of the law, appears to have filled up the cup of the king's resentment against the Earl of Douglas. It had now become evident that either the overgrown power of this arrogant and sanguinary noble must be diminished or the royal authority would be reduced to a mere shadow. His treasonable league with Ross

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 95.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 45.

† Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 96—100.

and Crawford, which had now been discovered, as well as his intrigues with the Yorkist faction in England, against the peace of his own country, had exposed him to the highest penalty of the law. But James was well aware, that if open war was declared, the combined power of the three earls could bring into the field a force superior to that of the crown, and he therefore prudently hesitated to bring matters to such an extremity. It was finally resolved, by the advice of Crichton and other experienced counsellors, that the earl should be invited to court, in order that the king might try the effect of a personal remonstrance with him respecting the flagrant outrages he had committed, and offer to forgive his past offences on condition that he should make reparation to the relations of those whom he had injured, and abstain in future from such aggressions against the royal authority. James accordingly sent a message to Douglas by his friend Sir William Lauder, of Hatton, inviting him to a personal conference in the castle of Stirling, and assuring him of his forgiveness and restoration to the royal favour, provided only that the earl would express his regret for the offences which he had committed. It appears that, about the same time, Crichton and Sir Patrick Gray had proposed to accompany Douglas and his brother James, with Lord Hamilton, his faithful ally, three bishops, and various other nobles, upon a pilgrimage to Canterbury, and that a safe conduct was granted by the English king to permit this strangely-mixed party to visit the shrine of Thomas à Becket.*

Douglas invited to court.

In the absence of all historical documents, it is impossible to say how far the invitation and promises of the king and his ministers were sincere. Be this as it may, the earl was induced, by the representations made to him, to visit the court about the beginning of Lent, 1452. It is asserted by a contemporary chronicler, that before venturing himself within the king's power he was furnished with a letter of safe-conduct under the great seal, and signed by the principal nobles of the court. Trusting to this security, Douglas, who was naturally rash and fearless, repaired to Stirling, with a small retinue, and, upon Shrove Tuesday, he received an invitation to dine at the royal table, which he accepted without hesitation or suspicion. The earl was kindly received by the king, and not only dined but supped with the court. After the royal feast, James led his guest apart into an inner room, where there were none present but Sir Patrick Gray and a few of the privy councillors, and introducing the subject of the bond or league in which Douglas had engaged with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, remonstrated with him on his illegal conduct, and the lawless outrages which he had committed upon the loyal subjects of the king, and condescended to entreat him to renounce this treasonable confederacy, as inconsistent with his allegiance, and dangerous to the state. Douglas, however, declined to comply with the entreaties addressed to him. The king urged him more earnestly, and assured him of his pardon and favour if he would return to his allegiance. The earl not only gave a haughty and positive refusal, but upbraided the king with his conduct towards him, in depriving him of the office of lieutenant-governor of the kingdom, and declared that he could not, with his honour, renounce the solemn engagement which he had made with Ross and Crawford, nor would he do so for the words of any living man. The king, whose temper was naturally fiery and impetuous, lost all self-command at this insolent defiance, and passionately exclaiming, "By heaven, if you will not break the league, I shall!" drew his dagger, and stabbed the earl, first in the throat, and then in the lower part of the body.* Upon this, Sir Patrick Gray, who had sworn revenge upon Douglas for the murder of his nephew, struck him with his battle-axe, and the rest of the nobles who were present, showed their zeal by stabbing the dying man with their knives and daggers. The dead body of the murdered noble, pierced by twenty-six wounds, was then cast out into an open court adjoining the royal apartments, and was afterwards ignominiously buried upon the spot.

—his assassination by the king.

The atrocious murder of Douglas by the hand of his sovereign, and while under the protection of the public faith, was utterly indefensible, and set a most pernicious example to the turbulent and lawless barons whom it was the object of James to subject to the authority of the government and of the law. But very little sympathy can be felt for his victim, whose ambitious, treasonable, and cruel conduct merited the most condign punishment, and whose death can be regarded in no other light than as a public benefit. There is no reason to believe that the death of Douglas was a premeditated action, for, to say nothing of other considerations, the designs of the king and his counsellors were likely to be injured rather than promoted by a deed which was calculated to shock public feeling, and to precipitate that struggle between the crown and the aristocracy, which it was the interest of the crown to delay till some more favourable opportunity. It was evident that the overgrown power of the house of Douglas would not be diminished by taking the life of its chief, when he had four surviving brothers, men of courage and ability, to inherit his vast influence and estates, and to lead his followers and vassals. There can be little doubt, therefore, that this lamentable deed was the result of sudden passion, not of preconcerted treachery and bad faith; though it is by no means improbable that the king and his councillors had determined, if Douglas proved intractable, to detain him a prisoner, and perhaps even to bring him to trial for his manifold crimes against the state.

The murder of Douglas was immediately followed

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xi. p. 303.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 100—103. Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 47.

by a fierce struggle between the royal party and the friends and vassals of the unfortunate baron. The four brothers, who were then in the town of Stirling, on learning the fate of the earl, instantly assembled themselves along with Lord Hamilton and other friends of their family, and recognized James, the eldest of the four, as his successor in the earldom. The new earl exhorted the assembly to attack the castle of Stirling and revenge the blood of his murdered brother.* But his retainers and followers were of opinion that the fortress was too strong to be assaulted at that moment with any hope of success, and they agreed to meet in arms at Stirling on the 25th day of March. They accordingly collected their vassals and returned to Stirling on the day appointed, accompanied by six hundred barons and gentlemen, the supporters of the house of Douglas, and with the sound of horns and trumpets proclaimed King James a false and perjured man. They then took the letter of safe conduct which had been granted to Earl William, and after exhibiting it publicly at the cross proceeded to nail it to a board and dragged it in scorn through the streets, at the tail of a miserable cart horse. After this bravado they pillaged and burnt the town of Stirling, but finding themselves still unable to attempt the siege of the castle they drew off their forces and retired to their own estates. †

The consequences of this crime.

Guided by the counsel of the experienced Bishop Kennedy, James endeavoured to separate Douglas from his adherents; and, by liberal promises of lands and honours, succeeded in inducing many, who had hitherto wavered in their allegiance, to give their strenuous support in this struggle to the royal authority, and the cause of order and good government. The king's most powerful adherent was the Earl of Huntley, the chief of the great family of Gordon, whom he promoted to the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and entrusted with the task of putting down the rebellion of Crawford and Ross. Huntley immediately collected a numerous army, including the greater part of the northern barons, whom the promise of reward, or the hope of indemnity for past offences, attracted to the royal standard, and marching towards Stirling, he encountered the Earl of Crawford, who, at the head of his retainers and vassals, had taken post near Brechin, for the purpose of intercepting the royalist forces. The battle was fought on the 18th of May, 1452, at the Hair Cairn on the moor about two miles north-east of the town. The most determined courage was displayed on both sides, and though the royalists far outnumbered their opponents, at one period the royal standard was in danger, and Crawford was on the point of gaining the victory. At this critical moment, providentially for the welfare of the country, the desertion of one of his most trusted vassals turned the tide of battle, and caused the signal defeat of the Tiger Earl. This was John Collace of Balnamoon or Bonnymoon, the commander of the left wing of the Angus billmen, who, before the engagement, had requested Crawford to put his son in fee of the lands of Ferne, which lay near his house, and convenient for him. "The time is short," replied the earl; "stand bravely by me to-day, and prove yourself a valiant man, and you shall have all and more than you desire." Balnamoon, disatisfied with this answer, which he regarded as an evasion of his claims, and, perhaps, also, as the historian of the Lindsays conjectures, having had some prior pique against the earl, during the heat of the conflict deserted to the enemy with his whole division, consisting of three hundred men, armed with bills, broad-swords, battle-axes, and long spears, on whom the earl chiefly relied, and in 'whose hands the haill hope of victory stood that day.' The centre of Crawford's army was thus left exposed and unprotected, and Huntley, seizing the opportunity, made a vigorous assault on the troops thus laid open, and put them to flight in spite of the frantic efforts of the Tiger Earl to retrieve the fortunes of the day. Sir John Lindsay of Brechin, and Pitcairlie, brother of Crawford, Dundas of Dundas, with sixty other lords and gentlemen, were among the slain; while Huntley lost his two brothers, Sir William and Sir Henry Seton, and Gordon of Methlic, ancestor of the Earl of Aberdeen. The Tiger and his discomfited followers fled to his castle of Finhaven. A son of Donald, Thane of Cawdor, pursued the fugitives so fiercely that he became involved among the personal attendants of the earl, and found it necessary for his safety to pass for one of their number. On reaching the castle he heard with horror the oaths and blasphemies which poured from the lips of the savage baron, who, rendered furious by defeat, called for a cup of wine on alighting from his horse, and declared that he would willingly pass seven years in hell to gain the honour of such a victory as had that day fallen to Huntley.* The intruder sat at supper among the crowd in the great hall of the castle, when a false alarm was given that Huntley was upon them. In the terror and confusion caused by this announcement he effected his escape, carrying off with him Crawford's silver goblet, which he presented to Huntley at Brechin as a voucher for his strange adventure.†

Battle of Brechin, and defeat of Crawford.

The king lost no time in inflicting the penalties of treason upon the insurgent baron, and in reward-

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 103.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 47.

* According to tradition the words used were, "He wad be content to hing seven years in hell by the breers o' the e'e" (eyelashes).—Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i. p. 137.

† This adventurous youth is said to have been the ancestor of the Calders of Assuanlee, an estate which the historian of the Gordons asserts to have been given him by Huntley, in reward of his daring—though it is probable that a former grant was only confirmed upon this occasion. He adds that "George, Duke of Gordon, had a cup made of silver and gold, and embossed as like to the original as a work could be, and gave it to this Mr. Calder of Assuanlee, to be kept in his family by him and his successors."—Gordon's Hist. of the Family of Gordon, vol. i. p. 71.

ing his victorious lieutenant-general for his important services on this occasion. The 'life, lands, and goods,' of Crawford 'were declared forfeit' to the state; his lordship of Brechin, with the hereditary sheriffdom of Aberdeen, were conferred upon Huntley; and while the armorial coat of the victor was honourably augmented, that of the rebel was torn, and his bearings abolished and 'scrapit out of the Book of Arms for ever.'*

Civil war between the king's friends and the Douglases.

Meanwhile the civil war between the royalists, and the partisans of the Douglas family, raged fiercely in other parts of the country. The Earl of Angus, though himself a chief of a younger branch of that house, espoused the cause of the king against his own kinsman. A similar course was followed by Sir John Douglas, of Dalkeith, who became on that account exceedingly obnoxious to the partisans of the head of the family. His castle of Dalkeith, a place of great strength, was besieged by them, and the adjacent town and villages ravaged and burned. But the garrison defended themselves with so much courage and resolution, that the assailants were ultimately compelled to raise the siege.† In other districts of the country, the operations of husbandry and the pursuits of trade and commerce, were completely interrupted by these bloody feuds, and life and property were alike rendered insecure. In the north, the Earl of Moray, one of the brothers of Douglas, sought to take vengeance on Huntley, for his overthrow of the Earl of Crawford, by burning his castle of Strathbogie and ravaging his estates. Huntley himself, who was recalled to the north by this disastrous intelligence, was afterwards surprised by Moray, and lost a considerable number of his followers in a morass, called Dunkinty.‡ In revenge for this outrage the Gordons invaded the fertile district of Moray, and after laying it waste with fire and sword, razed to the ground that half of the city of Elgin which belonged to the friends of the Earl of Moray;§ while the Tiger Earl of Crawford, exasperated by his defeat at Brechin, spoiled the lands and destroyed the houses of the king's friends in Angus, taking terrible revenge on all who had either refused to support him, or had deserted his banner in the recent engagement.

The Earl of Douglas meanwhile, not contented with having inflicted upon the country all the miseries of civil war, entered into a treasonable correspondence with the English government, then in the hands of the faction of the Yorkists, and promised to swear homage to the English king as his lawful sovereign.* On receiving intelligence of these intrigues, the king, by the advice of the sagacious Kennedy, resolved to adopt prompt and vigorous measures for the punishment of Douglas and his accomplices, and for this purpose a meeting of the Three Estates was assembled at Edinburgh on the twelfth of June, 1452. In this parliament the sentence of forfeiture against the Earl of Crawford was ratified and confirmed, 'his gudis and gear confiscat, his landis dealt, and his name abolished and blotted out of the buik of arms for evir.' The Earls of Douglas, Moray, and Ross; James, Lord Hamilton; and John, Lord Balveny, were summoned to appear before the parliament on a certain day to answer for the crimes laid to their charge. During the night, however, previous to the day appointed for their appearance, a paper, signed with the names of the Earl of Douglas, his brothers, and Lord Hamilton, was affixed to the church doors, declaring that they would not obey the summons; and renouncing their allegiance to the king as a murderer, a perjured prince, a violator of the laws of hospitality, and an 'ungodly thirster after innocent blood, without just quarrel or occasion.'† James was highly incensed at this gross insult, and took immediate and vigorous measures to inflict condign punishment on those who had thus openly defied his authority. A solemn deed was unanimously passed by the parliament, declaring that the late Earl of Douglas was at the time of his death an avowed enemy to his sovereign, and in a state of open rebellion, and that, in such circumstances, it was lawful for the king to put him to death.‡ The earldom of Moray, forfeited by Archibald Douglas, was bestowed upon Sir James Crichton, the eldest son of the chancellor, who had claims upon it by marriage. Lord Hay, Constable of Scotland, a zealous supporter of the king in his struggle with the Douglases, was rewarded with the earldom of Errol. Sir George Crichton, of Cairnes, was created Earl of Caithness; the dignity of lords of parliament was bestowed upon Hepburn of Hailes, Boyd, Fleming, and other loyal barons; and Lord Campbell, and his son, Sir Colin Campbell, Sir David Hume, Sir Alexander Home, and Sir James Keir, were rewarded with grants from the crown lands, and the forfeited estates of the rebel barons. After taking these steps to encourage his friends, and to intimidate and weaken his enemies, the king proceeded to issue a summons for the assembling of an army on the moor of Pentland, near Edinburgh, with the intention of invading the estates of the insurgents, and compelling their submission. The summons was so cheerfully obeyed by the nobility and their retainers, that in a short time the king found him-

Meeting of parliament at Edinburgh.

Douglas renounces his allegiance.

Vigorous measures adopted by the king.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 105—107.
† Ibid. p. 104.
‡ This repulse gave rise to a jeering song, which ran thus:—

"Where did you leave your men,
Thou Gordon so gay?
In the bog of Dunkinty,
Mowing the hay."

§ Hence the proverb, when a thing is imperfectly finished, that it is 'Half done, as Elgin was burned.'

* Lesley, pp. 23, 24.
† Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 109.
‡ Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 73.

self at the head of an army of thirty thousand men.

Submission of Douglas.

Accompanied by this powerful force James marched in person against the Earl of Douglas, through Ettrick forest, Annandale, and Galloway, 'burning the corns and harrying the countrie' of this arch-rebel, who did not venture to meet his sovereign in the field.* At length, when the royal army appeared before Douglas castle, the earl, by the advice of his chief vassals and supporters, laid down his arms, and implored the clemency of the king. James, who was fiery and impetuous in his temper, but not vindictive, readily extended his forgiveness to the insurgent chief and his retainers, upon certain conditions, which were formally specified in a written bond. In this deed, which was subscribed by the earl with his own hand, and solemnly sworn to on the holy gospels, he bound and obliged himself to abstain from any attempt, direct or indirect, by law or any other manner of way, to obtain possession of the earldom of Wigtown, or the lordship of Stewarton, forfeited by the late earl; and in his own name and in that of his brother and Lord Hamilton, he engaged to remit and forgive all manner of rancour of heart, feud, malice, and envy, which they had entertained against any of the king's subjects, and more especially against those who were art and part in the slaughter of William Earl of Douglas, his brother, and promised, 'at the ordinance and advyce of his sovereyne lord,' to take such persons 'in heartliness and friendship.' He next obliged himself 'to allow his tenants and rentallers to remain unmolested in their farms till Whitsunday come a year,' except those tenants who occupied the granges and farm 'steadings,' which were in the hands of Earl William at the time of his decease, for his own proper use; but even these were to be permitted to remain upon their farms till the ensuing Whitsunday. The earl also became bound to dissolve all the leagues and bonds into which he had entered against his sovereign, and to enter into no more illegal confederacies in time to come; he engaged to bring no claim against the king for any rents which he or the queen might have levied in Douglasdale or Galloway, and to make reparation for all the injuries which had been done to the persons who enjoyed letters of protection; and, finally, he bound himself to maintain and defend the Borders, to keep the truce between England and Scotland to the best of his ability, and to pay to his sovereign lord the king all honour and worship, 'he having such surety as was reasonable for safety of his life.'†

Having thus succeeded in restoring the southern districts of the country to a state of comparative quiet and security, the king undertook an expedition to the north, accompanied by his privy councillors and a strong body of troops. As the royal procession advanced through Angus, the Tiger Earl of Crawford suddenly presented himself before the king, bareheaded and barefooted, and clad in miserable apparel, and throwing himself at his sovereign's feet, confessed his treasons, and implored the royal forgiveness. His earnest petition for mercy was powerfully supported by Bishop Kennedy and the Chancellor Crichton, by whose advice Crawford had made his submission in this humble guise, and the king moved by the penitence of the offender and their intercession in his behalf, granted him a full pardon. He assured the earl that he desired neither 'lands, lives, goods, nor gear' of his barons, but their hearts and friendship, and that he wished no other vengeance for his repeated treasons than the sight of his penitence and submission. He, therefore, freely forgave him and his associates all their offences against the royal authority, and restored them to their honours and estates.* The stubborn heart of the rude chief seems to have been powerfully affected by the wise and generous conduct of his sovereign. At the head of a chosen company of the barons and gentry of Angus, he accompanied the king in his future progress to the north, and on his return in the following month, he entertained him with great magnificence at his castle of Finhaven. It is said that James had sworn to make the highest stone of the earl's castle the lowest; and that on the occasion of his visit to Finhaven, he climbed to the top of the battlements, and throwing a stone, which was lying loose there, down into the moat, thus accomplished his vow, if not in the spirit, strictly in the letter.† The king had no reason to regret his clemency to the Tiger Earl, for from this time till the period of his decease he continued a loyal subject and a firm supporter of the cause of order and good government. On this account, his death, which took place from fever, six months after his restoration to the royal favour, was regretted both by the king and the nation.

Submission of the Earl of Crawford.

Meanwhile, it soon became apparent that the submission of the Earl of Douglas had not been sincere, and that the peace which had been patched up between the king and that factious and turbulent chief was not likely to be of long continuance. The power of Douglas was already too great for a subject, and he had recently obtained from the pope a dispensation for his marriage with the heiress of Galloway, the widow of his deceased brother, and had thus united in his person the immense entailed and unentailed estates of the family. He had also renewed his treasonable negotiations with the Yorkist party, who had now obtained the supremacy in the government of England, and received from them the promise of an immediate supply of money and of troops, on

Renewal of the contest between the king and the Douglases.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 109.

† Tytler, vol. iv. Illustration E.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 113—123.

† In Goodcroft's time, nearly two hundred years afterwards, this stone was still preserved at Finhaven, secured with an iron chain.

condition that he and his associates should take the oath of homage to the English crown. At this critical emergency, the royal cause received a severe blow from the death of the sagacious and experienced Crichton, who died at the castle of Dunbar in the end of the year 1454; and the aspect of affairs was so threatening, that it is said to have been a question in the king's mind whether he should abide the conflict or retire to France.

On hearing of the formidable army which the Douglases were assembling, and the number and power of the barons who had espoused their cause, James, in great perplexity and alarm, repaired with all speed to St. Andrews to ask counsel of Bishop Kennedy in this hour of need. The mode in which the prudent prelate tendered his advice to his youthful sovereign is related by the venerable Pitscottie in the following simple and graphic terms:—"The bishop was ane wyse and godlie man and answered the king in this manner as after follows, saying, 'Sir, I beseech your grace that ye take a little meat to refresh you and I will pass to my orature and pray to God for you and the commonwealth of this realme and countrie.' This being spoken the king passed to his disjoine and the bishop to his orature to make his prayer to Almightie God to open his mouth, to give him knowledge and utterance, to give that noble prince who was destitute and comfortless of all good counsel, that he might give him instruction and learning how he should escape that great perrel and danger apparentlie to fall at that time. Then this bishop took the king's grace be the hand and led him to his orature, beseiking him to make his earnest prayers to the Almighty that he would strengthen him with his Holy Spirit, that he might with ane bold courage resist his enemies who were risen against him contrair the commandement of God and commonwealth of the countrie, beseiking God of his mighty power and grace that he would grant him victorie of these conspirators and rebellers who were risen against him, but (without) any cause made be him, and speciallie that he would grant him the upper hand of the Earle of Douglas, and his complices, like as he had done before against him and his oppressors when they oppressed the commonwealth of the countrie. This being done, the king passed in this manner to his devotion, as this holy bishop had commanded him. And after, when the king had ended his prayer to Almighty God, then this bishop seeing the king desolate of good counsel and dispaired of good hope or success of any victorie to fall to him contrair his enemies, caused him to pass into his studie, or secreit house, where his bowes and arrowes lay, with other sundrie jewels of the said bishop's. Then the bishop let this noble prince see ane similitude, the which might bring him to experience and comfort, how he might invade against the uproar of the conspiratoris, and speciallie against the Earl of Douglas and the leave (rest) of his complices. The said bischope pulled out ane great sheaffe of arrows, knit together in ane quhange of leather and delyvered them to the king in his hand and bade him set them to his knee and break them. The king answered, 'It is impossible, because thair is so manie togither of the said arrowes, and knit so fast with leather that no man can break them at once.' The bishop answered and said, 'That is true, but yet he would let the king see that he could breake them,' and pulled out one by one, or two by two, till he had broken them all, and said unto the king, 'Sir, ye must evin doe in this manner with your barons that have risen against you, which are so many in number, and knit so fast together against you in conspiracy, that ye on no ways can get them broken. But be this practick that I have showen you be the similitude of thir arrowes, that is to say, ye must conquer and break by lord and lord be himselfe, for ye may not deal with them all at once: and farder, make ane proclamatione out through your realme to all theiffes and traitouris, and all them that have offendit against you, to grant them free remissione to be good men in time coming, and now to serve your grace at this instant time in your necessitie. The which being done, I trust your grace shall get more favours, nor shall your contrair pairtie.' The king hearing this wyse counsel took courage, and maid his proclamationes as forsaid is in all pairts of his realme to the effect forsaid." *

Prudent counsel of Bishop Kennedy.

Acting upon this sagacious advice, James caused private representations to be made to some of the most powerful of the adverse party, pointing out the danger which must arise, not only to the independence of the crown, but to the peace and welfare of the country and to their own interests, from the ambition and overgrown power of the Douglas family; and made liberal promises to those who, in this moment of extremity, should abandon their cause, and join the party of the sovereign. Induced by these promises and expectations, as well as by the dread of the overwhelming predominance of the Douglases, many of the most powerful of the barons rallied round the crown, and the king soon found himself at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army. With this force he marched into Douglasdale and Avondale, laying waste, with fire and sword, the estates of the Earl of Douglas and Lord Hamilton, and, by threats of immediate and condign punishment, compelled the barons and gentry of the disaffected districts to renew their allegiance and join his banner. His lieutenants, the Earls of Orkney and Angus, then laid siege to the strong castle of Abercorn, on the Frith of Forth, belonging to the Earl of Douglas. For a whole month this fortress resisted the utmost efforts of the besiegers, though battered by powerful engines, and especially by a large cannon, which was directed by a French engineer; but, at length, it was taken by assault, and the leaders of the garrison hanged. Meanwhile, Douglas, and his kinsman and ally Lord Hamilton, having collected a numerous and highly-disciplined army,

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 123—130, note.

advanced to the relief of the beleaguered fortress. A battle appeared to be inevitable, and the situation and character of the two parties left no doubt that it would be desperately contested, and that the result would be decisive. But the Bishop of St. Andrews had already opened a secret negotiation with the allies and vassals of Douglas, and addressed himself so successfully to their hopes and fears, that some of the most powerful of their number were gained over to the royal cause.

Negotiations of Kennedy with the rebel chiefs.

The representations of the sagacious prelate produced a deep impression upon the mind of his kinsman, Lord Hamilton, who commanded a chosen body of three hundred horse, and as many infantry, in the army of Douglas. But although this powerful baron returned a favourable answer to the overtures of the prelate, he was sincerely attached to the cause of Douglas, and hesitated to abandon him at this critical conjuncture. Meanwhile, the king sent a herald to the rebel army, charging them to disperse, under the pains of treason; but at the same time promising pardon to all who should lay down their arms. To this message Douglas returned a scornful answer, and immediately caused his trumpets to sound; and placing his troops in battle array, marched forward to encounter the royal army. Imagining, however, that the proclamation of the king had produced an unfavourable impression on the minds of his followers, and made them waver in their adherence to his cause, he resolved to delay the engagement till next day, and accordingly led his troops back into his camp, hoping to re-animate their drooping courage, and to inspire them with greater confidence and zeal. But this injudicious movement had a most unfavourable effect on his most powerful adherents, who saw in this wavering and undecided conduct a proof of the unfitness of the earl to conduct so perilous an enterprise. Douglas had no sooner entered his tent, than Hamilton came to expostulate with him, and inquired whether it was his intention to fight, or not; assuring him that every day's delay would augment the royal forces, and diminish the number of his own adherents. Douglas contemptuously answered, 'If you are tired, you may depart when you please.' Hamilton straightway took the earl at his word, and that very night passed over to the king, with all the troops under his command.

—they abandon the cause of Douglas.

His example was so generally followed by the other insurgent chiefs, who had a high opinion of Hamilton's prudence and sagacity, that before morning the camp of Douglas was almost entirely deserted, and scarcely one hundred men remained in it, besides his own household troops and immediate dependents.* The unfortunate baron, thus abandoned by his friends, and exposed to the unmitigated vengeance of the king, hastily broke up his encampment, and fled to the wilds of Annandale, where, for a time, he eluded the pursuit of his enemies. Hamilton, whose desertion of Douglas had mainly contributed to his overthrow, for the sake of appearances, was committed to prison for a short time at Roslin, and was put under the charge of the Earl of Orkney; but he was soon released, and rewarded for his services to the royal cause with large grants from the forfeited estates.

James followed up his success by vigorous measures for the complete overthrow of the house of Douglas, and the establishment of the royal authority throughout the kingdom. At the head of a powerful army, he marched through the western and southern districts of the country, and, after a slight resistance, reduced the various strongholds which Douglas and his adherents had fortified against the government. Douglas castle itself, with the strong fortresses of Strathavon, Thrieve, Lochendorb, and Tarnaway, were in this way successively taken and dismantled. Douglas had in the meantime fled into England, but his three brothers, the Earls of Ormond and Moray, and Lord Balveny, remained on the borders, and succeeded in collecting a numerous army of their own retainers, and other lawless marauders, with which they plundered and laid waste the country. They were encountered at Arkinholme, on the river Esk, by the Earl of Angus,* at the head of a powerful force, composed of the Scotts, Maxwells, Johnstons, and other borderers, who had been lately numbered among the vassals of Douglas, but now abandoned his sinking cause, and hastened to enrol themselves in the ranks of the victorious party.† After a desperate conflict, the insurgents were totally routed. The Earl of Moray was slain in the action; Ormond was wounded and taken prisoner, and shortly after executed; and of the brothers of Douglas, Balveny alone made his escape into England. James, who at the time this action was fought was prosecuting the siege of Abercorn, received the first intimation of this signal victory from a soldier, who laid at his feet the bleeding head of the Earl of Moray. 'He was received by the king,' says Pitscottie, 'with very great thanks.'‡

Surrender of the strongholds of the rebels.

The Douglases are defeated at Arkinholme.

James having thus triumphed over the formidable rebellion, which had menaced not merely the independence, but the very existence of his throne, returned to the capital to meet his parliament,

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 131—133, note.

* The prominent part taken by the Earl of Angus in the overthrow of the elder branch of his family, gave rise to a popular saying, founded on the different complexion of the two branches of the house of Douglas, 'That the Red Douglas had put down the Black.'

† Various charters exist conferring grants of land on Sir Walter Scott, the ancestor of the Duke of Buccleuch, and on the Beattisons, and other clans, for their services in the battle of Arkinholme.

‡ Chronicles of Scotland, vol. i. p. 136. According to Pitscottie, the earl himself was present at the battle of Arkinholme, and, along with his brother, very narrowly escaped through a wood; but in the letter of James to Charles VII. of France, giving an account of the overthrow of the rebels, it is stated, that Douglas had shortly before fled to England with only four or five attendants.—See Pinkerton, vol. i.—Appendix, p. 486.

which had been summoned to assemble there in the month of June, 1455. In this meeting of the national council, the Earl of Douglas, his mother, Beatrice, Countess of Douglas, and his brothers, Archibald, Earl of Moray, who had fallen at Arkinholme, and John Douglas of Balveny were declared traitors, and their estates and offices were forfeited to the crown. The seals of the bishops, earls, and barons who sat in the parliament, and of the burgh of Haddington, in the name of the whole body of the commissioners of the burghs, were appended to the instrument of forfeiture, in order to give additional weight and solemnity to the sentence. After having thus directed the vengeance of the laws against the arch-rebel and his family, the parliament proceeded, on the fourth of August, to adopt measures for strengthening the authority of the crown, and providing for the defence of the kingdom, with the view of preventing the dilapidation of the royal revenues. It was first of all declared that "since the poverty of the crown is ofttimes the cause of the poverty of the realm, and of many other inconveniences which it would be tedious to enumerate, it had been ordained, by the advice of the full council of parliament, that there should be from this time appointed certain lordships and castles in every part of the realm, where, at different periods of the year, the sovereign may be likely to take up his residence; which were to belong, in perpetuity, to the crown, never to be settled or bestowed, either in fee or franctenure upon any person whatever, however high his rank or estate, except by the solemn advice and decree of the whole parliament, and under circumstances which affected the welfare and prosperity of the kingdom." As an additional security against the alienation of the crown lands, it was further declared, "that, even if the present monarch or any of his successors should alienate or convey away to any person the lordships and castles which were the property of the crown, such a transaction, being contrary to the will of parliament, should not stand good in law; but that it should be permitted to the king for the time being to resume these lands into his own hands without the solemnity of any intervening process of law; and not only to resume them, but to insist that those who had unjustly occupied those royal estates should refund the whole rents and profits which they had received, till the period of their resumption by the crown." And that every possible precaution might be taken to prevent the violation of this solemn demand, it was finally enacted, "that the present king and his successors should be obliged to take an oath that they shall keep this statute and duly observe it in every particular."

Forfeiture of the Earl of Douglas and his mother and brothers.

Statutes enacted by the parliament in Aug., 1455.

After this enactment, a particular account is given of the lands and revenues belonging to the crown. Mention is first of all made of the customs of the kingdom, as they stood at the death of James I. Then follows a specific enumeration of the crown lands, among which we find the lordship of Ettrick Forest and the principality of Galloway, which had formed part of the extensive domains of the family of Douglas: the remainder of the forfeited estates of that formidable house having been divided among the nobles who assisted in suppressing the rebellion. The other chief territories recorded as belonging to the crown are the castle of Edinburgh, with the lands of Ballincrieff and Gosford, and all the other estates pertaining to the king within the sheriffdom of Lothian—the castle of Stirling, with the lands connected with it—the castle of Dunbarton, with the lands of Cardross, Roseneath and the pension from Cadyow, with the pension of the "ferme meill" of Kilpatrick—the whole earldom of Fife, with the palace of Falkland—the earldom of Strathern, with the rights belonging to it—the house and lordship of Brechin, with the services and superiority of Cortachy—the castles and lordships of Inverness and Urquhart, with the water mails, or rents, due for the fishings of Inverness—the lordship of Abernethy and the several baronies of Urquhart, Glenorchane, Bonnechen, Bonochar, Annache, Edderdail, Pecty, Brachly and Strathern; and lastly, Redcastle, in the south-east of Rosshire, with the appended lordship of Ross.

Enumeration of the crown lands and revenues.

It was also provided by the parliament, that all the regalities which at this time belonged to the king should be inalienably annexed to the royalty; and that in future no regalities should be granted without the sanction of the parliament. It was decreed that the important office of warden of the Borders, which had long been held by the house of Douglas, should henceforth cease to be hereditary; and that the wardens should have no jurisdiction in cases of treason, except where these were out of breach of the truce. It was also ordained that in future "no office should be given in fee or heritage, whilst such as had been so disposed of since the death of the late king were revoked and abolished; due care being taken that any price or consideration which had been advanced by the possessor should be restored"—a judicious and most important statute, which struck at the root of a grievous abuse, and was calculated to diminish the exorbitant power of the nobility. An exception, however, was made in favour of the wardenship of the march, bestowed upon the second son of the king, Alexander, Earl of March, and Lord of Annandale.* Various enactments were also passed for the arrest of false coiners and *sorners*, or sturdy vagrants, who were to be punished as thieves or robbers; and it was provided that for the settlement of petty suits a council of eight or twelve persons, according to the size of the town, should be appointed by the privy council. A curious sumptuary statute followed, prescribing with great minuteness of detail the particular dresses to be worn respectively by earls, lords of parliament, commissaries of burghs, and advocates, or 'forespeakers' at all meetings of parliament and general councils, under a heavy penalty to the king.†

At an adjourned meeting of the parliament, held

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 43. † Ibid.

at Stirling, on the 13th of October, preparations were made for the defence of the kingdom against any sudden invasion 'of their auld enemies of England;' and it was directed that watchmen should be stationed at all the fords of the Tweed between Roxburgh and Berwick, whose duty it was to give notice of the enemy, by lighting a beacon. Regulations were also enacted regarding the number of beacon-fires that were to be kindled, to make known the strength of the invading force, and the certainty or uncertainty of its approach. And minute arrangements were made, prescribing the manner in which the inhabitants, not only of the border-districts and of Lothian, but also of Fife and Stirling, should be warned of the invasion. A subsequent statute ordered a guard of two hundred bowmen, and an equal number of spearmen, to be maintained on the east and west marches, at the expense of the Border lords; and a force of one hundred bows and one hundred spears, to be kept up for the defence of the west marches; while strict injunctions were issued to the Border barons to have their castles well garrisoned and provisioned, and their vassals in readiness to join the force under the command of the warden. The abstraction of any part of the general booty captured during a warden march, or invasion of England by the warden in person, or any theft of the plunder, or the prisoners belonging to the leaders or their men, was forbidden under the severest penalties; and it was declared that any person who should furnish supplies to the English garrisons of Roxburgh or Berwick, or give warning to the English of an intended invasion of the Scots, or undertake a private journey into England, without the king's or the warden's safe conduct, should be punished as a traitor, with the loss of life and estate.*

Prorogued meeting of the parliament, October, 1455.

Regulations for the defence of the Borders.

Meanwhile the tranquillity of the country was again threatened by the Earl of Douglas, who, after the battle of Arkinholme, had renewed his alliance with John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles. This ocean prince, in consequence of the remoteness and inaccessibility of his territories, had hitherto escaped the vengeance which had fallen so heavily on his confederates, and he was now induced by Douglas to make another attempt to overturn the Scottish throne. Having collected a force of five thousand men, he embarked them on board a fleet of a hundred galleys, and gave the command of the whole to his near kinsman, Donald Balloch, Lord of Isla. This powerful chief, who had great influence not only in Scotland but in the north of Ireland, entered readily into the projects of Douglas, and, animated by hereditary antipathy against the royal family, he undertook a predatory incursion against the western coast of Scotland, and laid waste the country from Innerkip to Bute, the Cumrays, and the island of Arran. But, owing to the prudent precautions taken by the king to repel the invaders, the main object of the expedition was frustrated, and the loss sustained was by no means so great as might have been expected. In the words of a contemporary chronicler, "There was slain of good men, fifteen; of women, two or three; of children, three or four. The plunder included five or six hundred horse, ten thousand oxen and kine, and more than a thousand sheep and goats. At the same time they burned down several mansions in Innerkip around the church, harried all Arran, stormed and levelled with the ground the castle of Brodick, and wasted with fire and sword the islands of the Cumrays. They also levied tribute upon Bute, carrying away a hundred bolls of malt, a hundred marts,* and a hundred marks of silver.† The expedition concluded by a fierce attack on Lauder, Bishop of Lismore, a son of the baron of Balcomy, in Fife, who was obnoxious to the rude islanders, both as a stranger and as a supporter of the royal cause. The unfortunate prelate, who had three years before been plundered and maltreated by the rude inhabitants of his diocese, on the present occasion narrowly escaped with his life, while the greater part of his attendants were savagely murdered.‡

Donald Balloch invades the western coast of Scotland.

After the failure of the expedition of Donald Balloch, the Earl of Douglas returned to England, where he was cordially welcomed by his ally, the Duke of York, who, in consequence of the imbecility of Henry VI., was at this time regent of the kingdom, and received from him, as the reward of his services, the grant of an annual pension of five hundred pounds, "to be continued to him until he should be restored to his possessions, or to the greater part of them, by the person who then called himself the King of the Scots."§ Justly indignant at the gross insult, James sent a spirited remonstrance to the English monarch, complaining of the encouragement given by his government to a convicted traitor like Douglas, and warning him of the danger which he incurred by this attempt to foster rebellion, and to disturb the tranquillity of a friendly state.‖

The Earl of Douglas protected and encouraged by the Yorkists.

These representations, however, seem only to have had the effect of provoking the Yorkist faction to offer still farther indignities to the Scottish king; and, in reply to his letter, they transmitted to him the following foolish and insolent epistle:—"The king, to an illustrious prince, James, calling himself King of Scotland, sends greeting. We presume it to be equally acknowledged and notorious, that fealty and homage are due by the King of Scots to the King of England, upon the principle that it becomes a vassal to pay such homage

Extraordinary letter to the King of Scotland.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, pp. 44, 45.

* Cattle intended for winter consumption.
† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 55.
‡ Ibid. p. 51.
§ Rymer, Foed. vol. xi. p. 367.
‖ Ibid. vol. xi. p. 383.

to his superior and overlord; and that from times of so remote antiquity that they exceed the memory of man, even to the present day, we and our progenitors, kings of England, have possessed such rights, and you and your ancestors have acknowledged such a dependence. Wherefore, such being the case, whence comes it that the subject hath not scrupled insolently to erect his neck against his master? And what, think ye, ought to be his punishment, when he spurns the condition, and endeavours to compass the destruction of his person? With what sentence is treason generally visited? Or have you been so ignorant of all things as not to be aware of the penalties which await the rebel, and him who is so hardy as to deny his homage to his liege superior? If so, we would exhort you speedily to inform yourself upon the matter, lest the lesson should be communicated by the experience of your own person, rather than by the information of others. To the letters which have been presented to us by a certain person calling himself your lion-herald and king-at-arms, and which are replete with all manner of folly, insolence, and boasting, we make this brief reply:—It hath ever been the custom of those who fight rather by deceit than with open arms, to commit an outrageous attack, in the first instance, and then to declare war; to affect innocence, and shift their own guilt upon their neighbours, to cover themselves with the shadow of peace, and the protection of truces; whilst beneath this veil they are fraudulently plotting the ruin of those they call their friends. To such persons, whose machinations we cordially despise, it seems to us best to reply by actions. The repeated breaches of faith, therefore, which we have suffered at your hands; the injury, rapine, robbery, and insolence, which have been inflicted upon us, contrary to the rights of nations, and in defiance of the faith of treaties, shall be passed over in silence, rather than committed to writing; for we esteem it unworthy of our dignity to attempt to reply to you in your own fashion, by slanders and reproaches. We would desire, however, that in the mean season you should not be ignorant that, instead of its having the intended effect of inspiring us with terror, we do most cordially despise this vain confidence and insolent boasting, in which we have observed the weakest and most pusillanimous persons are generally the greatest adepts; and that you should be aware that it is our firm purpose, with the assistance of the Almighty, to put down and severely chastise all such insolent, rebellious, and arrogant attempts, which it hath been your practice contumeliously to direct against us. Wishing, nevertheless, with that charity which becomes a Christian prince, that it may please our Lord Jesus Christ to reclaim you from error, into the paths of justice and truth, and to inspire you for the future with a spirit of more enlightened judgment and counsel, we bid you farewell."*

This extraordinary letter, which furnishes an amusing specimen of the boasting which it professes to condemn, was followed by the renewal of hostilities on the Borders; and a desolating warfare was carried on between the two countries, which inflicted severe injuries upon both, and led to no important results. The Scottish monarch having received information from the borderers, that the important town of Berwick was weakly garrisoned, and might easily be taken by surprise, collected a numerous army, and made a rapid and secret march to the frontier. But an English fugitive, who had come into Scotland protected by a safe conduct, and had bound himself by an oath not to retire without the royal permission, broke faith with the king, and contrived to make his escape and to give the alarm. So that when James appeared before the town, he found the English on their guard, and was constrained to abandon the enterprize.*

Renewal of hostilities with England.

About this period, Margaret, Countess of Douglas, widow of Earl William, who fell by the king's hand in Stirling castle, and wife of his successor, the banished earl, fled for protection to the Scottish court, and threw herself on the royal mercy, complaining of the misery which she had suffered from her forced and unnatural union with the brother of her first husband.† James, moved by her beauty and misfortunes, welcomed her with the utmost kindness and sympathy, and married her to his uterine brother, Sir John Stewart, on whom he soon afterwards conferred the earldom of Athol, and the forfeited barony of Balveny. The example of Margaret was followed by the Countess of Ross, the wife of the rebel earl of that name, and a daughter of Sir James Livingston, who implored the protection of the sovereign, against the harshness and cruelty of her husband, whom she had married through the persuasion of the king himself, in the hope that her influence might soften the disposition of the savage chief, and retain him in the royal interest. James received her with the courtesy due to her rank and claims, and assigned her an ample revenue for her maintenance.‡ About the same time, the Princess Annabella, sister to the king, whose intended marriage with Louis, the second son of the Duke of Savoy, had been broken off, returned to the Scottish court and was provided with a husband in George, second Earl of Huntley.

The Countesses of Douglas and Ross throw themselves on the king's mercy.

Meanwhile, the house of Lancaster having regained a temporary ascendancy in England, the warfare on the Borders began to languish, and the Scottish monarch, anxious to avail himself of this favourable opportunity to re-establish peace be-

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xi. p. 383.

* Letter of James to Charles VII. of France. Appendix to Pinkerton's History, vol. i. pp. 487, 488.

† She was the only sister of Earl William and his brother, who were murdered in Edinburgh castle, and inherited their immense estates. Before her marriage she was known by the name of the Fair Maiden of Galloway

‡ Buchanan, book xi. chap. xiv.

tween the two countries, sent the Abbot of Inchure, Lord Graham; Vaux, Dean of Glasgow, and Mr. George Fala, burgess of Edinburgh, as his commissioners, to the English government, to negotiate a truce, which was ultimately concluded for two years, terminating on the sixth of July, 1459. But notwithstanding this termination of hostilities between the two kingdoms, the banished Earl of Douglas succeeded in assembling a considerable force, and, along with the Earl of Northumberland, made an inroad into the Merse of Berwickshire, and laid waste that fertile district with fire and sword. He was at length encountered, and totally defeated by the Earl of Angus; a thousand of the English were left on the field, and seven hundred were taken prisoners, and the merciless renegade was again compelled to take refuge in England. The Earl of Angus was rewarded for the important services he had rendered to the crown, by a grant of the lordship of Douglas, and the extensive estates appended to this dignity; and the numerous and powerful vassals of the Douglases immediately recognized this rising noble as their chief. The imprudent liberality of the king thus rendered the house of Angus nearly as powerful and as formidable as the elder branch of the family had long been to the independence of the crown and the tranquillity of the kingdom. But probably the blame of this impolitic measure must be attributed not so much to the sovereign, as to the feudal constitution of the country, which left him no other way of securing the assistance and rewarding the services of the loyal barons, in the frequent struggles which took place between the aristocracy and the crown.

A truce concluded between England and Scotland.

Defeat of the Earl of Douglas.

Extensive grants made to the Earl of Angus.

About this period, the tranquillity of the country was threatened by a dispute with the Norwegian court, respecting the payment of the money due by the Scottish king, for the Western Isles, and the little kingdom of Man. These islands had been purchased by Alexander III. in 1266, for the sum of five thousand marks, and in 1426, the treaty was renewed by James I., who agreed to continue the annual payment of a hundred marks to the Norwegian monarch. A complaint was now made by Christian, King of Norway, not only that a large amount of arrears was due, but that the Scottish authorities had violated the treaties between the two countries, by seizing and casting into prison the Lieutenant of Iceland, with his wife, and his attendants, who had been compelled by a storm to take refuge in one of the Orkney islands.* Fortunately for the welfare of both kingdoms, it was ultimately agreed to refer the dispute to the arbitration of their mutual friend and ally, Charles VII., of France; but his final decision was not pronounced till the year 1460.

Dispute with Norway.

* Torfœi Orcades, p. 184.

The Scottish king thus freed from foreign quarrels and hostilities, devoted his attention to the important work of providing for the security of his kingdom, by cultivating the warlike character of his people, and carrying into effect various parliamentary enactments for the defence of the Borders against the attacks of England. In a meeting of the national council held at Edinburgh, on the 19th of October, 1456, various enactments were passed respecting the defence of the country, the value of the current coin, the administration of justice, and the 'governance of the pestilence,' which it appears was now for the fifth time desolating the kingdom. It was ordained, that all the subjects of the realm, possessed of lands or goods, should provide themselves with armour and weapons, according to the value of their property, and that on the first intelligence of an invasion, all the males between the ages of sixteen and sixty should hasten to join the muster, except those who were unable from extreme poverty to furnish themselves with weapons. It was also ordered, that every man worth twenty marks should furnish himself at least with a jack and sleeves, close to the wrist, or a pair of splints, together with a prickit-hat, a sword and a buckler, a bow and a sheaf of arrows, if he can procure them; if not, he was to have an axe and a targe, made either of leather or of wood, with two straps in the inside. The proper officers were instructed to warn the inhabitants of every county to provide themselves with the proper weapons, and to attend the 'weapon-schawing,' or armed muster before the sheriffs, bailies, or stewards of regalities, on the morrow after the 'lawe days of Christmas.' A curious enactment followed, which we give in the words of the statute. "It is thought speedful that the king make request to certane of the great burrowis of the land, that are of ony might, that they make carts of war, and in ilk cart twa guns, and ilk ane to have twa chambers with the remanent of the graith (tackling), that afferis thairto, and ane cunning man to shoot them; and gif they have no craft (skill) in the shooting of them, they may learn or the tyme come that will be needful to them." * It was declared to be the opinion of the parliament, that the defence of the Borders did not require to be provided for this season at the public expense, as the inhabitants of these districts were better able to defend themselves than at any former time, while their enemies were worse provided than before, having suffered great losses in the war during this summer, and will, it is hoped, experience the same cost and labour in the summer which is approaching.† With regard to the pestilence which was now committing its fearful ravages in the kingdom, an attempt was made to prevent the spread of this dreadful scourge, by shutting up the people for a season within their houses. It was declared, that no person who had

Parliamentary enactments regarding the defence of the country, arms, the pestilence, &c.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 45.

† Ibid.

provision enough to maintain himself and his servants should be expelled from his own residence, unless he will not remain in it; but should he refuse to keep himself in his own dwelling, he was to be expelled from the town. Those who were too poor to maintain themselves, or to remove their families from the town, were to be supported at the expense of the citizens, so that they might not wander through the kingdom, and carry infection, or 'fyle the countre about thame.' It was also directed, that those who attempted to escape from the station where they had been shut up, should be brought back and punished, and compelled to remain in durance. The houses which had been deserted as infected, or in which the whole inhabitants had died, were not to be burned, unless this could be done without injury to the neighbouring tenements; and finally, the bishops were directed to make general processions throughout their dioceses twice in the week, for the stanching of the pestilence, and to grant indulgences to the priests who exposed themselves by walking in these processions.*

The money and coinage of the kingdom.

The parliament then proceeded to take into consideration the important subject of the money and coinage of the realm. A previous meeting of the Three Estates, held at Stirling, in the year 1451, had passed an act fixing the value of the coins, both foreign and domestic, then current in Scotland, but it appears that this value had been found to be too low, so that the merchants and traders, discovering that the coins were worth more than the price fixed by parliament, had kept them up and exported them to other countries. To put a stop to this exportation of the precious metals, which seems to have been viewed with great alarm by the statesmen of this period, an act was now passed raising considerably the value of the current coins both of foreign countries and of home coinage.† It was also provided that in time of fairs and public markets goods and wares of so small a bulk as to be carried to the fair, either in the arms or on the backs of men, or on barrows and sledges, should be exempted from imposts, but that a temporary tax should be levied upon the proprietors of merchandize of a larger quantity and value; which however was to be restored to them, provided they had committed no trespass, nor excited any disturbance during the continuance of the fair.‡

The Lord of the Isles submits to the king.

Soon after this, the clemency of the king was implored by John, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, the associate of the Earls of Douglas and Crawford in their formidable conspiracy against the throne. This turbulent chief, now finding himself alone in rebellion, became alarmed for the consequences, and sent a submissive message to his sovereign, entreating forgiveness, and promising the most devoted loyalty and obedience for the future. To this application James returned an ambiguous answer, neither wholly forgiving the suppliant nor yet shutting out all hope of pardon. "The Earl of Ross," he said, "did not deserve remission at his hands, for his many and aggravated offences against the state, but, as it became all men, especially kings and princes, to show mercy to the penitent, he was willing to extend forgiveness to the humbled rebel. It was the prerogative of God alone, however, to discern the inward thoughts and hearts of men; these could be made known to their fellow men only by outward tokens and signs. Now Ross had as yet given no proof of any change in his disposition. If therefore he wished his professions of penitence to be believed, he must evince his sincerity by repairing the injury done to the fortalices, villages, and towns which he had burned and destroyed, restoring the 'goods and gear' which he had plundered, and performing some notable exploit which might obliterate the memory of his former crimes." On these conditions he was to be absolved from the consequences of his rebellion, and reinstated in the royal favour.* By what 'notable exploit' the earl evinced the reality of his repentance has not been recorded, but his appointment, in 1457, to the important office of Warden of the Marches, and his presence in the royal army, three years later, at the siege of Roxburgh, with a body of three thousand of his vassals, sufficiently show that he had by some means or other succeeded in effecting a reconciliation with the king.

Conditions of his pardon.

A meeting of the national council was held at Edinburgh, on the sixth of March, 1458, and, after lengthened deliberation, enacted a considerable number of judicious and important laws. The regulations adopted by the previous parliament, respecting the supreme court of judicature, were revised, and it was decreed that the committees of parliament for the administration of justice should consist of nine members, three being chosen from each Estate, and that they should sit three times in the year, for forty days at a time, in Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen; but it was unwisely and unjustly ordered that the judges should defray their own expenses.† The parliament next proceeded to take measures for the defence of the country, and ordered 'weapon-schawings,' or military musters of the whole fighting population of a district, to be held four times in the year. In order to encourage the practice of archery, the games of foot-ball and golf were peremptorily forbidden, and strict injunctions were issued, that, adjoining to each parish church a pair of butts should be erected, where shooting should be practised every Sunday; that every man was to shoot six shots at the least, and that if any person refused to attend he was to be amerced in the fine of two pence, to be given to those who came to the bow-marks, for drinking. In every head town of the shire there were to be a good bow

Regulations of parliament regarding the administration of justice, military musters, &c.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 46.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid. p. 47.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 142—144.
† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 48.

maker, and 'a fledger,' or arrow-maker, who were to be furnished by the town with the requisite materials for their trade, so that every man within the parish, between the ages of twelve and fifty, should be furnished with his weapons, and practise shooting. The next subject to which the estates directed their attention, was the alleged impoverishment of the realm, by the sumptuous dresses of men and women, and the necessity of a revision of the laws against immoderate costliness in apparel. A curious sumptuary law was passed, regulating the dresses which ought to be worn by the different classes of the community, and enjoining all men within burghs, that lived by merchandise, to take especial care to make their wives and daughters to be habited in a manner correspondent to their estate.* Several praiseworthy statutes were enacted for the promotion of agriculture, and it was ordained that with regard to 'feu-farms' and other leases, the king should begin and set a good example to the rest of his barons, so that the tenants on estates in the hands of the crown, upon which leases had been granted, should not be removed, but remain upon the land, paying to the king the rent which had been stipulated during the currency of the lease. It was declared that all rights and privileges belonging to 'regalities' should be interpreted by the strictest law, and that every lord of regality, who abused his privileges, to the breaking of the king's laws and the injury of the country, should be rigorously punished.†

The parliament then proceeded to take into consideration the grievances arising out of the manner in which the itinerant chamberlain courts of the king were held, and peremptorily forbad the king's constables and other officers to levy any tax upon the merchants and tradesmen who brought their goods to market during the sitting of parliament, and of the session unless, the right of exaction belonged to the constable 'of fee,' for which he must show his charter.‡ The custom of entering into 'bands or leagues,' which had been productive of the most pernicious consequences to the prosperity of the country, was forbidden under the penalty of forfeiture of life and property. Lawless and 'wasteful persons' who seized other men's lands by force of arms were to be summarily expelled from the ground by the sheriff, or committed to the king's ward, on their refusal to obey his summons. All persons who attended the justice ayres or sheriff courts, whether barons, lords spiritual, or simple freeholders, were enjoined to come with their ordinary attendants, and to take care that on entering their inn or lodging they laid aside their harness and warlike weapons, using for the time nothing but their knives. When any persons at deadly feud happened to meet at such assemblies,—an incident which must have been of very frequent occurrence, the sheriff was directed to take pledges of both, binding them to keep the peace, and for the better maintenance of order among the great and mixed multitude which assembled at the period when the courts were held, the king's justice was commanded to seek out and apprehend all wasteful beggars, all idle sorners, all itinerant bards, and feigned fools, and either to banish them from the country, or commit them to the common prison. Dyers were forbidden to buy or sell cloth; and for the purpose of restricting the multitude of sailors, it was decreed that no persons should be allowed to sail or trade in ships but such as were of good reputation and ability, who should have at least three serplaiths of goods, either belonging to themselves, or entrusted to them by others; and that those who traded by sea in merchandise ought to be freemen and indwellers within burghs.*

It appears that the operations of husbandry were neglected amid the almost incessant feuds by which the kingdom was distracted; hence the parliament found it necessary to issue injunctions that certain quantities of wheat, pease, and beans should be regularly sown by every tenant possessed of a plough and of eight oxen, and by every baron in his own domain, under the penalty of ten shillings for each offence. In consequence of the disappearance of the woods and forests of the country, all freeholders, both spiritual and temporal, were recommended to make it a provision in their leases, that their tenants should plant woods and trees, make hedges, and sow broom in places best adapted for these purposes.† Stringent regulations were made for the preservation of partridges, plovers, wild ducks, and such other birds and wild fowls as 'are gainful for the sustentation of man;' while, on the other hand, encouragement was given to all manner of persons utterly to extirpate all 'fowls of reiff,' such as erns, buzzards, gleds, mytalls, rooks, crows, wherever they might be found to build and harbour, and the whole population of each district were commanded to assemble three times in the year to hunt the wolf and the fox. The well-known statute of James I. against leasing-making, or the crime of propagating false reports between the king and the people—an enactment which afterwards became in the hands of the government an instrument of great oppression, was re-enacted and confirmed; as were also the statutes of the same monarch respecting the non-attendance of the smaller freeholders in parliament; the use of one common measure throughout the kingdom; the restriction of 'muir-burning' after the month of March, till the corn had been cut down; and the publicity to be given to the acts of the legislature by the sheriffs and commissaries of burghs.

The enactments of this important meeting of the Estates concluded with a peroration remarkable for the affectionate spirit, and the tone of honest freedom by which it is pervaded. "Since," it declared, "God of his grace had sent our sovereign lord such progress and prosperity that all

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 49.
† Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 50.

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 49. † Ibid. p. 51.

his rebels and breakers of justice were removed out of his realm, and no potent or masterful party remained there to cause any disturbance, provided his highness was inclined himself to promote the peace and common profit of the realm, and to see equal justice distributed among his subjects; his Three Estates with all humility solicited and required his highness so diligently to devote himself to the execution of these acts and statutes above written that God may be pleased with him, and that all his subjects may address their prayers for him to God, and give thanks to their heavenly Father for his goodness in sending them such a prince to be their governor and defender."* It has been conjectured with great probability that in this solemn exhortation and prayer there is an allusion to the unjustifiable proceedings of James regarding the earldom of Mar, which had occasioned some unquiet surmisings in the minds of his nobility, that he possibly intended to imitate the designs of his father in seeking to augment the power of the crown at the expense of the rights and privileges of the aristocracy.†

In the short space of two years, the hopes so earnestly expressed by the estates were unhappily blighted, and Scotland was once more subjected to all the evils of a long minority. Amid his exertions to promote the peace and prosperity of his kingdom, James unwisely suffered himself to be entangled in the contests between the rival houses of York and Lancaster. The faction of the Yorkists had exhibited, throughout, an inveterate antipathy to the Scottish king, and by their intrigues with the Douglases, and other rebel barons, had done everything in their power to disturb the tranquillity of the country. On the other hand, the Lancastrians had shown the utmost anxiety to cultivate the friendship of James, and to maintain the peace between the two kingdoms. In the the year 1459, Henry the Sixth, for a brief period, regained the ascendancy, and succeeded in expelling his enemy, the Duke of York, from the kingdom. Shortly before this event James had despatched an embassy to England for the purpose of conferring with the English monarch upon certain 'secret matters' affecting their mutual interest, and at a private conference between the English and Scottish commissioners, it was agreed that the counties of Northumberland and Durham, along with some adjoining districts which were anciently the property of the Scottish crown, should be transferred to James, on condition that he should assist the English monarch in his contest with his domestic foes.* In fulfilment of the terms of this secret treaty, the Scottish king assembled a numerous army in the month of August, 1459, and breaking across the English frontier, ravaged the country with fire and sword, and in the short space of a week destroyed seventeen towns and fortalices.† Henry soon found that the presence of the Scottish army in England was calculated to injure rather than to assist his cause, and sent a message to the camp of James, to inform him that he trusted to be able, in a short time, to put down his enemies without requiring the assistance of his ally, and requesting him therefore to withdraw his forces into his own kingdom; a request with which James readily complied.‡

Secret treaty with Henry VI.

James invades England.

On the retreat of the Scottish army, the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury, with other English nobles, led to the borders a body of more than forty thousand men; but owing to the dissensions amongst the leaders, they returned home without performing a single exploit.§ In the course of a few months, the civil war between the Yorkists and the Lancastrians broke out again with redoubled fury, and the desertion of the Duke of York by his army, at Ludlow, on the 14th of October, 1459, gave a temporary triumph to the party of the king. James lost no time in despatching the Bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen, with the Abbots of Holyrood, Melrose, and Dunfermline, and the Lords Livingston and Avondale, as his ambassadors to the English court, to congratulate his ally on his success, and to renew the truce between the two kingdoms. But within the course of a few weeks the Yorkists gained a complete victory over their opponents, at Northampton, the unfortunate Henry was a second time taken prisoner, and the queen, with her son, Prince Edward, after many adventures, found refuge in Scotland.

Abortive expedition of the Duke of York.

James received the royal fugitives with the greatest cordiality, and treated them with the consideration due to their misfortunes and their rank. He immediately proceeded, in accordance with the terms of the recent treaty, to take measures for the assistance of his friend and ally, and with this view he issued writs for the assembling of an army, and commanded the Earl of Huntley, his lieutenant-general, to superintend the organization of the troops. The Scottish barons promptly obeyed the summons of a prince whom they respected and loved. Even John, the Lord of the Isles, eager to atone for his former crimes, and to prove himself worthy of the clemency and favour of his sovereign,

James prepares again to invade England.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 52.

† Tytler, vol. iv. p. 148. Since the death, in 1435, of Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, this wealthy earldom had been made the subject of litigation, being claimed by the crown as *ultimus hæres*, and by Robert Lord Erskine, the descendant of Lady Elyne Mar, sister of Donald, twelfth Earl of Mar, who was slain at the battle of Dupplin Moor (see ante, p. 185). There can be no doubt that the claim of Erskine was just and legal, but by a verdict given in 1457, which was founded upon a gross perversion both of the facts of the case and of the ancient law of the country, the earldom was wrested from the hands of its lawful possessor and awarded to the king. The Erskines did not regain their rights till the reign of Queen Mary, after the lapse of 130 years, during which the earldom had been enjoyed by four earls of different families. Douglas's Peerage p. 467. See ante, p. 268.

* Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 29.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 57.

‡ Tytler, vol. iv. p. 136.

§ Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 57.

Looking up

appeared in the royal camp with a powerful body of his vassals, armed with shirts of mail, two-handed swords, bows, and battle-axes, and offered to take the vanguard of the army, and to march a mile before the main body, in their intended invasion of England, so as to encounter the danger of the first onset.* James, finding himself at the head of a powerful force, well provided with cannon and other warlike machinery, resolved to commence his campaign by attempting the reduction of the important border fortress of Roxburgh, which had remained in the hands of the English since the disastrous battle of Durham, and was now commanded by Lord Fauconberg, a relative of the famous Earl of Warwick, the King-maker, and the main pillar of the cause of the Yorkists.† This castle was strongly situated on an eminence, near the junction of the Teviot and the Tweed; and James, finding that the garrison, confiding in the strength of the fortress, were determined to offer a most strenuous resistance, resolved to proceed by a regular siege. He therefore established, on the north bank of the river Tweed, a battery of such rude pieces of ordnance as were constructed at that time, and caused them to play upon the castle. After the siege had lasted some time the Earl of Huntley arrived, with a gallant body of fresh troops, and the king, who entertained a peculiar regard for his faithful adherent, in company with the Earl of Angus and others of the nobility, conducted him to see the battery. One of the pieces of artillery was a huge gun of Flemish manufacture, rudely constructed of iron bars, girded with metal hoops, which were made fast by strong oak wedges, and as the king was standing in its vicinity, watching the effect of the discharges, the clumsy piece, which through the ignorance of the engineer had been overcharged, suddenly burst, and one of the wooden wedges unfortunately striking the king on the groin, broke his thigh, and killed him on the spot. The Earl of Angus, who was standing by, was severely wounded at the same time.‡

Lays siege to Roxburgh castle.

His death.

Thus perished James II., in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. This calamitous event, which deprived the country of a sovereign of remarkable talent and energy, in the prime of life, and exposed it to all the confusion and perils of a long minority, was deeply bewailed by all classes of the community. The combined wisdom and vigour which James displayed in the administration of public affairs—his zealous efforts to promote the agriculture and commerce of the country, and to protect the middle and lower classes of his subjects against the oppressions of the nobles—the success with which he had crushed the formidable rebellions that threatened the very existence of his throne,—the good sense which he displayed in choosing wise councillors, and in following their advice—the kindness of his disposition and the affability of his manners, gained him both the respect and esteem of his people, and entitle him to an eminent place on the roll of wise and good princes. That his natural temper was hasty and violent, was lamentably proved by his unjustifiable assassination of the Earl of Douglas; but his disposition was by no means implacable, and his clemency to the Earl of Crawford and the Lord of the Isles, in spite of their aggravated offences against his authority, sufficiently shows that he knew how to temper justice with mercy, and does equal honour to his judgment and to his heart. The person of James was vigorous and robust, and he is said to have excelled in manly and warlike exercises. His countenance was handsome and intelligent, but partly disfigured by a red spot which procured him among his contemporaries the name of 'James with the fiery face.' He left three sons—James, his successor; Alexander, Duke of Albany; and John, Earl of Mar; with two daughters—Mary, wedded to Lord Boyd, and subsequently to Lord Hamilton, and Margaret, who married Sir William Crichton, son of the Chancellor. Another son, named David, and a daughter, died in early infancy.

His character.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 158. † Pinkerton vol. i. p. 243.
‡ Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 159. Lesley's Hist. p. 31.

CHAPTER XX.

JAMES THE THIRD.

1460—1488.

JAMES the Third was only seven years of age when the death of his father called him to the throne. His coronation, however, took place without delay. His mother, stifling her grief, to meet the sudden emergency in the spirit of the age, hastened with him to Roxburgh, where her chivalrous appeal to the troops, aided by the presence of their youthful sovereign, produced such an impression, that the siege was immediately renewed with enthusiasm; and the fortress surrendered, it is said, on the very day of her arrival in the camp. In the flush of this victory, the prince was crowned at Kelso * with the usual solemnities. The court then returned to Holyrood, to perform the funeral rites of the late king; and the army taking the field again, reduced Wark castle, and terminated with honour a campaign which had opened so disastrously. Soon after, the parliament met, and was numerously attended, both by the loyal and by the turbulent of the nobility; the former desirous to provide against, and the latter eager to profit by, the evils consequent on the tender age of the king. The administration of the government during his minority was the principal matter requiring attention; and it was not settled without controversies which nearly terminated in violence and bloodshed. The claim of the queen-mother to the regency, and the tutelage of her son, received the support of a considerable party; but many of the proud barons could not brook the idea of submitting to the sway of a woman, though high-born, energetic, and able, as Mary of Gueldres was. The dispute was ultimately adjusted, by associating Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, with her in the guardianship of the young monarch, investing the Earl of Angus with supreme military power as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and adding a small cabinet council, selected from among the partisans on both sides.† This arrangement was probably the best that could have been adopted in the existing circumstances of the country. At all events it wrought well: and harmony being restored, the vigour of the queen, the wisdom of the prelate, and the high martial reputation of Angus, made the commencement of the new reign fair and promising.

Coronation of James III.

Appointment of a regency.

It may be questioned whether peace with neighbouring countries conduces to the stability of the throne during a minority, when the elements of intestine discord in a nation are so numerous and active as they then were in Scotland. But the rulers, at times, have scarcely the liberty of a choice. The wars of the Roses were still raging among the English with unabated virulence, and varying success. The late king had espoused the cause of the Lancastrians, and bound himself by a secret treaty to aid them against the house of York. The expedition in which he fell had been undertaken with this view, and his death drew the hearts of his mourning kinsmen and subjects with quickened sympathy towards Henry the Sixth. Nor had that feeble and unfortunate prince ever been in greater need of prompt and energetic assistance. The battle of Towton had terminated in the total defeat of his army, and compelled him to take refuge within the Scottish territories; where the spectacle of his misfortunes, and the influence of his high-spirited consort, Margaret of Anjou, made a powerful appeal in his favour, which he was prepared to confirm, by ceding to James the valuable frontier-towns of Berwick and Carlisle. Besides, Edward of York had been tampering with the loyalty of some of the Scottish nobles. By the aid of the exiled Douglas, he had induced the Earl of Ross, and others, to conclude a treaty with him, which contemplated the subjugation of Scotland under the English sceptre, and the investiture of the traitorous chiefs with the feudal sovereignty of the greater part of the realm.* In the face of all these considerations, Bishop Kennedy stood forward as the zealous advocate of peace. Convinced that the cause of Henry was well-nigh hopeless, and deprecating the expenditure of the national resources on a foreign war, when the authority of the new administration called loudly for support and enlargement at home, he urged his pacific counsels on his coadjutors in the government, and would gladly have persuaded them to seek a cessation of hostilities. But the position of affairs, and the martial temper of the nobility, proved too strong for him. The queen and Angus cast the weight of their influence into the preponderating scale, and it was resolved that the struggling house of Lancaster should continue to receive the countenance of the Scottish court, and, if occasion was presented, the succour of a Scottish army. Animated by this prospect, Margaret of Anjou, whose courage and energy had so often compensated for the imbecility of her husband, passed over to the continent, and after visiting her father, the King of Sicily, carried the tale of her calamities to the Duke of Bretagne, and Louis the Eleventh, at the court of France. Successful in her appeal to these potentates, she made her appearance again on the coast of Durham, with her exchequer replenished, and accompanied by an army of two thousand men, under the command of Sieur de Breze, the Seneschal of Normandy. Her landing was unopposed, and the principal strongholds of the district surrendered to her arms. But her rival was neither unprepared

Relations with England.

The Scottish government resolve to assist the Lancasterian party.

* Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 58.

† Lesley, p. 311. Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 247, note.

* Rymer, vol. xi. pp. 483, 484, 492. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 407.

nor inactive. Hastening northwards with a large body of troops, Edward turned the tide of victory; and Margaret was compelled to take refuge in her ships, leaving the greater part of her adherents to defend themselves behind the fortifications of Bamborough and Alnwick. All this passed so rapidly, that the issue was decided before the Scottish auxiliaries could reach the scene of conflict. But Angus was not the man to retire and disband his army without attempting to strike a blow for the honour of his country, and in support of a cause which he had zealously advocated. His wardenship of the Marches had made him familiar with the tactics of border-warfare: and there were many under his command who loved nothing better than a *raid* into the lands of the Southron. With a chosen company, he swept across the country, appeared unexpectedly before the walls of Alnwick, and brought off the French troops, who had been left to garrison the town, from under the eyes of the astonished Yorkists.* This brilliant exploit seems to have been the last triumph of the doughty earl, who died soon after, leaving a son too young to succeed him in his military rank and influence.

Death of the Earl of Angus.

The death of Angus was a serious loss to the war-party in Scotland; and other events occurred about the same time still more unfavourable to the interests of Henry. The reputation of Mary of Gueldres, the queen-mother, who was still in the prime of life, and possessed of great personal attractions, began to suffer in connexion with the names of the Duke of Somerset,† and Hepburn, of Hailes,‡ ancestor to that Earl of Bothwell who brought so dark a cloud over the good name of another more beautiful and more unfortunate Mary. Her partiality for the house of Lancaster also was weakened by the intrigues of the celebrated Earl of Warwick, who came as the ambassador of the victorious Edward, to flatter her with a proposal of marriage from that accomplished prince. At length her sudden death, on the sixteenth of November, 1463,§ threw the whole power into the hands of Bishop Kennedy, who found it an easy matter, after the departure of Henry, and his disastrous defeat at Hexham, to carry out the pacific policy for which he had constantly laboured. Negotiations were opened without delay, and a truce was concluded between commissioners from the two kingdoms. The capture of the Duke of Albany, the eldest brother of James, by an English vessel, while he was on his way to Guelderland, under a safe conduct from Edward, threatened to interrupt the friendly compact almost as soon as it was established. But the danger passed by. Kennedy assumed an attitude of resolute resistance, his peremptory demands procured the speedy release of the prince, and the truce was finally ratified for a period of fifteen years.‖

* Lesley, p. 313. Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 169.
† Wyrcestre, p. 495. ‡ Mair, p. 327.
§ Lesley, p. 36. Bannatyne edition.
‖ Abercromby, vol. ii. p. 390.

Meanwhile the seditious spirit, fomented by Edward in the wild north-western districts of the country, had broken out in a revolt, which, after assuming a serious aspect, had terminated without shaking the stability of the government. Donald, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, obtaining possession of Inverness by stratagem, had assumed the state as well as the title of an independent sovereign, and marching southwards with a considerable army, had ravaged the lands of the Earl of Athole as far as Blair castle, which he attacked and stormed. If he had been seconded by an invasion on the side of England, under the conduct of the Earl of Douglas, as had been stipulated in their secret treaty with the Yorkist prince, the throne of James would have been in imminent danger. But Douglas had not the means in his own hand; and Edward failed to supply them, either because his affairs at home required all his attention and forces, or because he had resolved to try the effect on the mind of the queen-mother of a more wily and less hazardous policy. The insurgent islander was left to his own resources, and speedily lost the advantage which his rapid and merciless inroad had gained. His downfall is said to have been accompanied by tokens of the wrath of heaven, consequent upon a sacrilegious act, which he committed in the pride and power of conquest. The chapel of St. Bride, in the neighbourhood of Blair, then enjoyed the reputation of distinguished sanctity. Thither Athole had fled when his castle was taken; but the excited passions of the victor were as deaf to the terrors of superstition, as to the dictates of humanity. Violating the sanctuary, he seized the persons of the earl and his countess, transported them to a dungeon in one of the Hebrides,* and even attempted to destroy the sacred edifice in which they had vainly sought shelter. From that time forward misfortune tracked his footsteps, notwithstanding a humiliating and painful penance performed by him at the shrine which he had outraged. His fleet was shattered by a fearful tempest; the greater part of his booty went down into the depths of the sea; he was compelled to liberate his prisoners without ransom; distraction and remorse unhinged his reason, and he retreated to spend a few miserable years at Inverness, and to perish there by the dagger of an assassin.†

Rebellion of the Earl of Ross—

—his overthrow and miserable fate.

In 1466, died James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews; and Scotland mourned the loss of her ablest and most upright counsellor. The great influence which he had so long exercised in the kingdom may have been owing, in some degree, to his high birth, and the magnificence which he exhibited on all public occasions. But it had a better and more stable basis in the simplicity of his private life, his unquestionable probity and patriotism, and his distinguished reputation as an ecclesiastic, a scholar,

Death of Bishop Kennedy.

* Gregory's History of the Western Islands, p. 48.
† Lesley, p. 34.

and a statesman. An old chronicler calls him 'vondrous godlie and wyse, weill learned in divine sciences, and in the civill lawis,'—an encomium not unmerited by one who seems to have outshone in learning and piety his brethren of the episcopate, as much as he excelled in integrity and prudence his coadjutors in the government. Sensible of the abuses which had crept into the church, he ruled his diocese with resolute fidelity, visiting regularly the various parishes under his inspection, and urging upon the inferior clergy the conscientious discharge of all their pastoral functions. Nor was he less anxious to promote other interests nearly connected with the national prosperity. The story of a wonderful ship, which he caused to be constructed for trading purposes, and on which he is said to have expended an immense sum, may be taken as an indication of his desire to foster the industrial arts and commerce of the country; while the College of St. Salvator's, which he founded at St. Andrews, and richly endowed out of his episcopal revenues, furnished a more lasting memorial of his zeal in the patronage of education and literature. But it was chiefly as a statesman that he rendered important service to his king and country. Gifted with a strong intellect, which he had improved by study, and furnished with stores of useful knowledge, he brought to the conduct of political affairs other qualifications, then more rare and always more valuable. Moderate in his views, firm of purpose, upright, public-spirited, zealous for peace, averse to intrigue and faction, he had effectually aided James II. in many a critical conjuncture; and he did more than any other man in the realm to benefit the throne and the nation during the minority of his successor.*

Rise of the Boyd family.

For some time previous to the death of Bishop Kennedy, Robert, Lord Boyd, High Justiciar of Scotland, had been secretly working his way to prominence and power in the state. Taking advantage of his frequent access to the royal presence in the discharge of his official duties, and aided by the address of his brother, Sir Alexander Boyd, of Duchol, whose knightly reputation and skill in military exercises had preferred him to the superintendence of that department of the young king's education, the ambitious baron had insinuated himself into the good graces of James, whose disposition was peculiarly susceptible of flattery and favouritism. Having further strengthened his family influence by a close alliance with some of the leading members of the nobility, he was on the watch for a suitable opportunity of seizing the supreme administrative authority, when the death of the bishop removed the only remaining obstacle from his path. He at once determined to get possession of the royal person; and this he speedily effected, by an act in unison with the rude and lawless temper of the times. The king was at Linlithgow, presiding in a session of his Exchequer Court, when Boyd, with a strong band of his confederates and retainers, appeared before the palace, entered the council-chamber in the middle of the deliberations, and broke up the assembly, by carrying off James to Edinburgh. There seems to have been no remonstrance or opposition to this outrage, except on the part of Lord Kennedy, elder brother of the deceased bishop; but his interposition was in all likelihood merely to save appearances, for he, as well as Lord Livingston, the chamberlain, whose office devolved upon him the guarding of the Exchequer Court, was bound to the interests of the Boyds by a previous compact of mutual aid and advancement.* The audacity of the deed, however, and its treasonable character, were too flagrant to be passed over without some semblance of reparation. At an early meeting of the parliament, the offender, kneeling before the throne, intreated an indemnity, which he easily obtained.† The king having declared that he left Linlithgow with his own free will, a formal pardon was made out under the great seal; and by a further enactment of the assembly, Boyd was legally confirmed in the power which he had usurped, being appointed governor of the king and his two brothers. Not long after, he also obtained the control of the public revenues, by procuring his investiture with the office of lord chamberlain, and put the copestone on his family honours by marrying his son and heir to the Princess Mary, the king's eldest sister; the bridegroom being created Earl of Arran, and gifted with large estates in several of the western and midland counties.

The king is carried off by Lord Boyd and his confederates—

—they obtain a pardon from the king and parliament.

Parliamentary enactments.

The meeting of parliament in October, 1466, which proved so lenient to the crime of Lord Boyd, and so subservient to his ambitious designs, passed various enactments for the regulation of the trade and commerce of the country. With reference to the church, while its general privileges were ratified, the old law, forbidding Englishmen to hold livings in Scotland, was revived, and some regulations were adopted to restrict pluralities, and the purchase of benefices. On account of the scarcity of coin, it was decreed, that no money should be taken out of the kingdom, except in the case of travellers, who were permitted to carry with them what was sufficient for their necessary expenses. Merchants who exported hides and wool, were enjoined to bring to the mint a proportionate amount of silver, for which a certain price would be allowed; and it was resolved that a new coinage of copper farthings should be issued, to supersede the rude old custom of cutting the silver penny into quarters. For the repression of feuds and outrages in the land, it was ordered, that castles held against the king, or his eldest brother, the Duke of Albany, should be reduced by force, unless immediately surrendered on

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 71. Mair, p. 328. Buchanan's History, book xii. chap. 23.

* Crawford's Officers of State, p. 316. Buchanan's History, book xii. chap. 22.

† Appendix to Crawford's Officers of State, p. 473.

a royal summons; and that heavy fines should be exacted from guarantees, if assault were committed on person or property by those for whom they had given pledge. At a subsequent meeting, in January, 1467, some laws were added for the regulation of commerce. None but freemen of burghs were to have the right of engaging in foreign trade,—an exception being made however in favour of the nobility and clergy, who might sell abroad the produce of their own lands. Artisans were excluded from mercantile pursuits, unless they had previously and wholly abandoned their handicraft. Shipmasters were forbidden to put to sea during winter, or to take a freight without a written agreement; by which they bound themselves to have their vessels properly manned, to make good all loss resulting from careless or insufficient stowage, to supply their merchant-passengers with water, fire, and salt, while at sea, and to refer all cases of dispute with their employers to the burgh-court of the town to which the vessel was chartered. The ports of France and Norway were declared open to the Scottish traders, but those of the Netherlands were interdicted, with the exception of Middleburgh. It would appear from this last-mentioned enactment, that an unfriendly feeling existed at the time between the Scottish court and Charles of Burgundy, who then held the sovereignty of the Low Countries. The cause and extent of the misunderstanding are not exactly known; but it cannot have been very serious, as the act of parliament refers to intended negotiations for the purpose of putting the trade between the two kingdoms on a better footing.*

James was now approaching an age, which drew the serious attention of the state-councillors to the question of his marriage; and a chain of previous events clearly indicated with which of the royal families of Europe a matrimonial aliance might be most advantageously formed.

Settlement of the dispute between Norway and Scotland.

Christiern, King of Denmark and Norway, had been insisting for many years on the payment of a sum due to him from Scotland on account of the Hebrides, the sovereignty of which had been ceded by one of his predecessors to the Scottish crown for an annual quit-rent of one hundred marks. In 1456 the matter had been referred to the arbitration of the King of France; the arrears and fines being estimated by Christiern at more than four hundred thousand marks; while it was urged on the part of James II. that the debt was proscribed and the claim void by desuetude. Various delays having occurred, it was not till 1460 that the umpire, unable to obtain a sight of the original documents, recommended an amicable adjustment of the dispute by a marriage between the heir of the Scottish crown and Margaret, daughter to the King of Norway. The proposition was favourably entertained by the commissioners on both sides; and although the sudden death of James II. before Roxburgh prevented a formal ratification of the compact, enough had been done to preserve a friendly understanding between the two courts, till the prince and princess reached a marriageable age.

Proposals for the marriage of the king.

Such was the position of affairs in 1468, when the chancellor, Lord Evandale; the grand almoner, Martin Vans, and Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran, with the Bishops of Glasgow and Orkney, were appointed by the parliament to repair to Norway, and renew the suspended negotiations respecting the proposed alliance. They found Christiern ready to give the hand of his daughter to their king; nor did he make any objection to renounce at the same time all claim to past arrears and future tribute for the Hebrides. Their commission, however, included another matter, which required more delicate and careful management. Orkney and Shetland belonged to Norway, but the earldom of these isles had passed by marriage into the Scottish family of St. Clair, or Sinclair. Occasional disputes could hardly be avoided under this arrangement; and it may have been doubtful at times whether the feudal baron, in the event of a war, would choose to endanger his possessions and honours in his native land, by rendering military service to the Norwegian crown, or prefer to risk the loss of his Northern earldom by marshalling his retainers under the opposite banner. Peace, however, had been maintained between the two countries, and had proved highly beneficial to Scottish interests. The Sinclairs clung firmly to their national partialities; many of their countrymen were induced by their influence to settle in their insular domains, and the population there had generally acquired a strong bias in favour of the Scottish kingdom, with which they seemed to be also naturally connected by local proximity. Accordingly the commissioners entrusted with the settlement of the royal mariage were instructed to negotiate with the Danish monarch respecting these islands, that the cession of them might be included in his daughter's dowry. Christiern, with all his liberality of spirit and desire for the proposed union, hesitated to part with territories of such extent and value; but the terms to which he ultimately agreed issued in the annexation of these islands to the Scottish crown. The portion of the bride was fixed at sixty thousand florins, in addition to the relinquishment of the long-pending claim on the Hebrides; and as the exhausted state of the Danish exchequer could only furnish two thousand florins, the Orkneys and Shetland were impledged for the remainder, which was never paid, so that the islands have thenceforward belonged to Scotland.*

The Orkney and Shetland islands ceded to Scotland.

Meanwhile the winter had come on, and as it was not thought proper to expose the princess to the perils of a voyage during the stormy months, the ambassadors returned alone. But the following spring saw the Earl of Arran again at the Danish court, with a gallant retinue of Scottish nobles, to do honour to their future queen; and in the month of July, 1469, the 'Maiden of Norway' landed at Leith in the

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 85—87.

* Torfœi Orcades, p. 188.

presence of an immence crowd of spectators, and amid the general rejoicings of the nation. The marriage and coronation speedily followed, and gave occasion to prolonged festivities in the metropolis, and plentiful congratulations throughout the kingdom. Nor was the flattering welcome undeserved by the queen; in the bloom of youth and beauty, amiable and virtuous, educated in all the feminine accomplishments of the age, and so richly dowered, she brought as valuable an accession of lustre to the court, as of territory to the kingdom.*

The marriage of the king.

The influence of the Boyds was now in the last stage of its decline. Their ambition and arrogance had rendered them objects of dislike to many of the nobles, and they had found the favour of the inexperienced and capricious monarch too feeble a prop to sustain their overgrown power. During the absence of the Earl of Arran in Denmark, his father and uncle had been unable to stem the tide of opposition which then set in with increased force against their ascendancy, —and when he arrived in the Frith of Forth with the royal bride, the prejudices awakened against him had become so obvious and powerful that he did not venture to land. Warned of his danger by his wife, the Princess Mary, he escaped with her to the continent, and avoided by a voluntary exile the personal injury to which he was exposed. His flight only hastened the downfall of his relatives. The aged lord justiciar, after a vain attempt to retrieve his fortune by arms, took refuge in England, where he soon afterwards died. Sir Alexander Boyd was brought to trial on a charge of treason, for the part which he had taken in the seizure of the king's person at Linlithgow, and, notwithstanding the formal pardon granted under the great seal, was found guilty and executed.† The fate of Arran is not so well known. He seems to have attached himself to the Duke of Burgundy, and to have acquired considerable distinction in the service of that prince. But he did not long survive his banishment from his native country. His large estates and numerous titles were transferred to the eldest sons of the Scottish monarchs; and his wife, recalled from the continent by her royal brother, and compelled to submit to a divorce, was re-married to Lord Hamilton, whose descendants became by this alliance the nearest heirs to the crown of Scotland.‡

Downfall of the family of Boyd.

The parliament which was convened, 20th Nov. 1469, to give a legal sanction to the proceedings against the Boyds, made some additions to the statute-book of the kingdom. The following were the principal laws passed in this and in the following parliament, held on the 6th of May, 1471.—The officers of justice were empowered to seize manslayers, who had fled to sanctuary, that they might be brought to trial before a jury and punished according to their guilt. Insolvent debtors, whose lands had been brought to a judicial sale, were to have the right of redeeming them within seven years. The property of a tenant was not to be liable for his landlord's debts, except to the amount of the rent due by him at the time. The provosts, baillies, and councillors of burghs were to continue in office for a year, and to have the privilege of nominating and appointing their successors. The church was empowered to elect its dignitaries, but the clergy were forbidden to collect for the papal treasury more than the usual statutory tax, or to seek from the papal court the gift of any benefice which had not been previously at its disposal. Judges were enjoined to be considerate of the poor, and to grant them in all cases an impartial measure of protection and justice. An attempt was also made to encourage and improve the fisheries, by ordering certain of the nobles and wealthy ecclesiastics, together with some towns, to equip efficient vessels for that important branch of the national resources—but this act was left incomplete, and speedily sank into oblivion. One part also of the enactments respecting the church soon became a dead letter: within two or three years the monks at Dunfermline having exercised their privilege of choosing a successor to their deceased abbot, the king, instigated it is said by a pecuniary bribe, annulled the election, made another appointment, obtained its ratification from the pope, and thenceforward claimed the prerogative of nominating all the superior ecclesiastical dignitaries.*

Laws enacted by the parliament.

Freed from a control which he had latterly felt to be irksome, and roused to manlier thoughts by his happy marriage, the young king, though he had not yet reached his majority, began to assume a more prominent position in the government, and to discharge in his own person many of the functions of royalty. But elegance of form and a refined taste, both of which he possessed, were very inadequate qualifications for the rule of a martial nation in unsettled times. He had no proper conception of the regal prerogatives and responsibilities, no wise discernment of the national wants and dangers; and even if his political plans had been formed on sounder and more comprehensive principles, he would in all likelihood have sadly failed in the execution of them, for his facile and fickle temper, joined to his avarice and love of pleasure, were destructive of that energy and perseverance, without which no great and arduous enterprise succeeds. Patrick Graham, the successor of Kennedy in the bishopric of St. Andrews, was one of the first who had bitter reason to lament these serious defects in the character of his sovereign. This learned and virtuous prelate, anxious to vindicate the independence of the Scottish church, which, having no primate of its own, was claimed by the Archbishop of York as subject to his jurisdiction

Character of the king.

Shameful persecution of Bishop Graham.

* Mair, p. 328. Lesley, p. 38. Ferrerius, p. 389.

† Crawford's Officers of State, p. 316. Ferrerius, p. 387.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 270,-note.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 96.

in matters ecclesiastical, had visited Rome and procured from the pope a bull, erecting his see into an archbishopric, and constituting him metropolitan, papal nuncio, and legate *a latere* in Scotland. His character and position marked him out as the fittest person to enjoy these prerogatives, which he had sought not less on public than on private grounds; but he could not help feeling that he occupied an insecure position, and he had lingered for some time on the continent, hesitating to make known the results of his mission in his native country. The event justified his apprehensions; no sooner had he returned home and assumed his honours, than a spirit of bitter envy and opposition broke out violently against him. Though the inferior clergy rejoiced in his advancement, the dignitaries of the church became his inveterate enemies, and they found a clever and unscrupulous partizan in William Schevez, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, who had a private pique against his diocesan, and was prepared to push the matter to the most violent extremities. The dispute being ere long brought under the king's cognisance, the course adopted by James was neither a wise nor an honourable one. Accepting a bribe from the discontented bishops, and giving way to the resentment which they excited in his bosom, by charging Graham with an infringement of the royal prerogative, in having applied to the papal court without his license, he drove the archbishop into a state of degradation and indigence, which rapidly shortened the days of the unfortunate prelate, and bestowed his honours upon the able, but unprincipled and profligate Schevez.*

At this period, proposals were made for the renewal of pacific relations with the English court, which, fortunately for the interests of both countries, were ultimately brought to a successful termination. The battle of Tewkesbury had seated Edward the Fourth firmly on the English throne; and his designs with respect to France made it important for him to secure the friendship, or at least the neutrality, of James in the anticipated struggle. This object at first threatened to be difficult of attainment, for the politic Louis had anticipated him by the mission of the Sieur Concressault to Scotland, for the purpose of persuading James to invade the county of Brittany, which he promised to assign to the Scottish crown;† and a levy of six thousand men was already ordered there for the conquest and occupation of that province, to which the ambitious views of the English monarch were particularly directed. But an influential party among the Scottish barons and prelates threw impediments in the way of the projected expedition;‡ and Edward, taking advantage of the consequent delay, stepped in with an offer which appealed not less powerfully to the cupidity of James than to his patriotism. The proposal of the English king was, that his youngest daughter Cecilia, then in her fourth year, should be betrothed to the Prince Royal of Scotland, an infant only two years old; and that her dowry of twenty thousand marks should be paid by annual instalments, commencing from the date of the contract. On this basis a peace was concluded, the ceremony of its ratification being performed, along with that of the betrothal, in the church of the Gray Friars, at Edinburgh, where the Earl of Lindsay and Lord Scrope appeared as the representatives of their respective sovereigns.

Treaty of peace with England.

Meanwhile, John Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, undeterred by the miserable fate of his father, and by his own solemn promise of submission to the authority of the crown, thinking this a favourable opportunity to pursue his ambitious schemes, had renewed his confederacy with the banished Earl of Douglas, and entered into a treasonable league with the English court, by which he became the sworn vassal of Edward, and agreed to assist him in all his wars. As soon as the terms of this nefarious treaty came to light, it was determined by the Scottish government to proceed against Ross, as an avowed traitor and rebel. He was accordingly summoned to appear before the parliament to be held in Edinburgh, in December, 1475, to answer for his numerous acts of rebellion committed in 1455 and 1461, as well as for his more recent intrigues with the enemies of his country. Having failed to obey the summons, a sentence of forfeiture was immediately passed against him, and an order issued for the equipment of a strong naval and military force under the Earls of Crawford and Athole, for the purpose of assailing the rebel chief, both by sea and land, in his insular and mountainous strongholds. He had sufficient prudence however to avoid the hopeless contest; and by a timely submission he saved the lordship of the Isles, but not the earldom of Ross; which, with his other dignities and estates on the mainland, was taken from him and annexed to the crown. This was almost the last act that reflected any honour and advantage on the administration of James III. In 1477, he attained his full majority of twenty-five, and the whole of the regal authority passed into his own hands. But the defects of his character were of a kind which commonly increase with the augmentation of liberty and influence. Sacrificing to his taste for the fine arts, and his love of adulation, the time and attention which he owed to the responsibilities of his office and the interests of his kingdom, he withdrew himself more and more, not only from the stirring exercises of the chase and the tilting-yard, but also from the graver duties of the cabinet and the council-room, to spend his time in the society of ignoble favourites, who speedily acquired an influence in the realm, to which they had no title by hereditary rank, and as little claim on the ground of personal merit.

Rebellion of the Lord of the Isles.

His submission and pardon.

Impolitic conduct of the king.

* Ferrerius, p. 389. Lesley, p. 317. Buchanan, book xii. chap. xxxiii.—xxxv.

† Duclos, History of Louis XI., vol. ii. p. 73.

‡ Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 102.

Cochrane, an architect; Rogers, a musician; Torphichen, a fencing-master; Andrews, an astrologer; Hommil, a tailor; and Leonard, a smith, were the principal persons on whom he bestowed such an injudicious and dangerous preference. A high-spirited and arrogant nobility could not but feel the slight thus put upon them: alienated from their sovereign, they attached themselves to his brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar,

Character of Albany and Mar.

who were distinguished by their brave and active disposition, their delight and skill in military exercises, their open-handed generosity, and the splendid array of friends and retainers with which they surrounded themselves. Hence arose jealousies and contentions in the royal family, which issued ere long in the exile of Albany, the death of Mar, and the bitter mortification which James experienced at Lauder. For some time, however, the kindled spark smouldered among the embers without awakening any anxiety, or indeed, attracting much attention. Various measures were adopted for composing the feuds which still existed among the leading families of the nobility and gentry; and an attempt was also made to strengthen the foreign relations of the kingdom by marrying the Duke of Clarence, brother of the English king, to the Princess Margaret, James' youngest sister, and the Duke of Albany to the Duchess of Burgundy, whose husband had recently fallen at Nanci. At length, the king's jealousy of the popularity acquired by his brothers, and his fear of the treasonable designs which he suspected them of cherishing, became so strong, that he ordered their

Their imprisonment by the king.

arrest. Albany was put in ward in the castle of Edinburgh, and Mar found a prison in the castle of Craigmillar. There is no evidence that these princes had as yet entertained designs inconsistent with their allegiance. Certainly they had not, up to this period, been guilty of any overt act of rebellion. The intrigues of the Homes and Hepburns, who were dissatisfied with some of Albany's proceedings in his wardenship of the eastern Marches, the illwill of the royal favorites towards the powerful princes, who were known to be strongly dissatisfied with their influence at court; and the predictions of an astrologer, who had practised upon the superstitious credulity of James by fortelling that the lion would be devoured by his whelps, seem to have precipitated a measure of imprudent and unjustifiable severity, which afterwards bore bitter fruits of disquietude and danger.

Albany effected his escape from his prison in a

Albany's escape.

manner highly characteristic of his daring spirit. The captain of a small trading vessel, laden with French wines, cast anchor in the Frith of Forth, near the quiet port of Newhaven, and landed two casks of Malmsey as a present to the imprisoned duke. These being admitted into his chambers without examination were found to contain a coil of rope, and a paper of instructions, enclosed in a cake of wax, exhorting him to lose no time in making his escape, as his enemies were resolved to put him to death. The duke did not hesitate to avail himself of the mode of escape thus pointed out to him, though surrounded with considerable difficulty and danger. Inviting the captain of the guard to sup with him, he and his chamberlain succeeded in reducing both the officer and the three soldiers, who kept watch in the outer room, to a helpless state of intoxication, in which they were easily overpowered and secured, or, according to some accounts, slain. The fugitives then made their way, unnoticed, to a sequestered part of the outer wall, and prepared for their descent. The darkness, however, prevented them from seeing that the rope was too short; and the trusty attendant, claiming the first trial, slid down to the lower end, and letting himself drop to the ground, had his leg broken by the fall. With wonderful self-possession and hardihood, Albany at once returned to his sleeping apartment, took the sheets from his bed, and knotting them to the end of the rope, effected his descent in safety. His first care was to convey his disabled chamberlain to a friendly shelter; after which he hastened to the shore, and on making the preconcerted signal, was taken on board the vessel which had brought him the means of deliverance, and set sail for the castle of Dunbar. This fortress, however, had been invested by the royal troops; and as there was no probability of its long resisting the siege, the duke was speedily compelled to flee to France, where he was hospitably received at the court of Louis, and treated with the distinction due to his rank. A different fate befel his younger brother, the Earl of Mar, who was accused of having employed magical arts to accomplish the king's destruction. He was not brought to a public trial, and some uncertainty has been cast on the closing scene of his brief career. It is asserted by Lesley and Buchanan, that he

Mysterious death of Mar.

was secretly removed from Craigmillar to a house in the Canongate of Edinburgh, and placed in a hot bath with his veins opened, where he bled to death—this unusual mode of execution being, it is said, the result of his own choice.* But a different and more probable account is given by Drummond of Hawthornden, on the authority of Bishop Elphinstone. According to his version of this mysterious transaction, Mar, being attacked with fever, was removed to Edinburgh, and placed under the care of a physician, who prescribed bleeding and the hot-bath for the disease; and the unfortunate earl, being neglected by the attendants, tore off the bandages from the lancet-wounds, in his delirium, and expired from loss of blood before the fatal act was detected.†

Shortly after these unhappy events war broke out with England, the causes of which are in-

* Ferrerius, p. 393. Buchanan, book xii. chap. xxxviii. Lesley's History, pp. 43—44.

† Drummond's History of the James's, p. 48; see, also, Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 294, 503.

volved in considerable obscurity. It will be readily imagined that the French monarch was far from unwilling to see the strife rekindled, for he had reason to fear that the peace which he had concluded with Edward a short time before, stood on no secure basis, and would be readily overthrown by the latter, at the first favourable opportunity. To divert the thoughts of the English prince from foreign conquest, by the necessity of defending himself against the incursions of a less distant foe, accorded with the line of policy which Louis loved to pursue; and it seems that the mission to Scotland (A.D. 1479), of Dr. Ireland, a learned ecclesiastic, of Scottish extraction, who had been educated in France, was designed, not only to plead for the pardon of the Duke of Albany, but also to sow the seeds of renewed hostility between James and his southern neighbour. The ambassador was courteously received, but it may be doubted whether the influence of France, so soon after the honourable treatment of the refugee duke in that country, would have been sufficiently powerful with the Scottish court to produce another war with England, if the way had not been paved for a rupture by the conduct of the English monarch himself. He had ceased to remit the annual instalments of the dowry which he had promised with his daughter Cecilia, on her betrothal to the Prince Royal of Scotland; he had also returned an evasive answer to the proposal of marrying his sister, the Duchess of Burgundy, to the Duke of Albany, and his brother Clarence to the Princess Margaret; nor was a subsequent project for the union of this princess with the Earl of Rivers likely to reach a more favourable termination, although the negotiations had gone so far that the passports of the bride were made out, and a sum of money voted by the Scottish parliament, to defray the expenses of the nuptials. The cordiality of the friendship between the two governments being thus shaken, the immediate occasion of hostilities was probably furnished by disputes among the borderers, whose restless national antipathies, and inveterate habits of marauding, made them ever ready to break through the restraint of treaties, and eagerly to welcome every opportunity of resuming their favorite pursuits of war and plunder. It is more certain that the first ostensible military movements were on the Scottish side: in 1480, the Earl of Angus crossed the Marches, attacked and burnt Bamborough, ravaged hastily the adjacent districts, and carried off a large spoil of prisoners and property from the surprised and unresisting Northumbrians.

Renewal of hostilities with England.

The die was now cast, and James prepared for the consequences. At a meeting of parliament, held in the month of April, 1481, instructions were issued, ordering that all the lieges liable to military duty should hold themselves in readiness for immediate service; directing the wardens of the marches and the commandants of fortresses, without delay to put the frontier and the sea-board into an efficient state of defence; and making particular provision, by a tax of seven thousand marks, for the security of the town of Berwick, which was likely to be one of the first and most important points of attack.* But the Scottish forces did not take the field in earnest until an envoy had been sent to Edward, to remonstrate with him on account of the aid which he was granting to Burgundy against France, and to offer an adjustment of the border grievances on the principle of mutual acknowledgment and redress. This overture was treated by the English monarch with frigid and insulting indifference. Having appointed his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, his lieutenant-general, in the north, and taken measures to weaken the hands of the enemy at home, by opening negotiations with the Lord of the Isles and the Duke of Albany, Edward was willing to try once more the fortune of war: and his army was already under marching orders, with a special view, in the first instance, to the capture of Berwick. The collision being thus inevitable, both parties prepared for the conflict with considerable spirit; but the season passed without important successes on either side. The Scottish army as it entered England, was met by the papal legate resident in that country, who denounced and forbade, on pain of excommunication, the infringement of the European peace, at a time when Christendom was threatened by the impetuous Turkish hordes, whose shouts of triumph over the fall of Otranto had already wakened ominous echoes in the Vatican.† It was the obvious interest of James to disregard this mandate. If he had pushed on resolutely he might have secured important advantages before the forces of his adversary could traverse the longer distance which separated them from the scene of conflict. But both he and his followers were too much under Romish influence to venture on such a step; and he consented to disband his troops, expecting that the English would find themselves similarly constrained to abandon for the time their hostile intentions. Edward, however, had no such design: the interposition of the papal legate is said to have been merely a stratagem of his, for the purpose of gaining time and disconcerting the measures of the enemy. At all events, his army continued to advance, and entering the Scottish territories, committed some devastations, though not of a very important character; while a fleet of English ships appeared in the Frith of Forth, burned the village of Blackness, captured a few vessels, and would have inflicted more serious injuries on the shipping and the coast, if it had not been defeated and driven off by Andrew Wood, of Leith, a rising officer, whose name,

Measures adopted by the parliament for the defence of the country.

The Scottish army stopped on their march by a papal bull.

The English invade Scotland.

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 132.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 458. Ferrerius, p. 394. Lesley's Hist. p. 321.

better known under the subsequent title of Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, is associated with many daring and gallant exploits in the naval warfare of his country.

Intrigues of Edward.

In the following year the intrigues of Edward effected more for him than his arms. The Scottish parliament indeed, which met in March, displayed a zealous spirit of loyalty, designating the English monarch a usurper and a robber, recording their resolution to stand by their own sovereign to the death, and enlarging their former ordinances to call forth the military resources of the nation in full efficiency. But the attachment of some of the leading barons to James was far from strong; and his rival hazarded little by making their lingering attachment to the Duke of Albany the means of alienating their zeal from the prosecution of the war. That nobleman, having married in his exile a daughter of the Count D'Auvergne, had at first built his hopes on the good offices of the French monarch; but the early death of his wife, and the obvious interest of Louis to maintain friendly relations with the Scottish court, speedily convinced him of the vanity of expecting effective aid from that quarter, and he now threw himself into the arms of Edward, who gladly welcomed him to England, persuaded him to aim at the acquisition of his brother's throne, and artfully shifted to this new ground his ostensible reason for prosecuting the war. A treaty was concluded between them at Fotheringay castle, in virtue of which Albany took the title of Alexander, King of Scotland, promising to do homage to the English crown for his sovereignty, to break off the hereditary friendship with France, to give up Eskdale, Annandale, and Liddesdale, with the town of Berwick, and the castle of Lochmaben to Edward, and to cement the projected union of the two countries by a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of England.* This compact, which committed the duke to an unjustifiable attack on the birth-right of his elder brother, and a disgraceful sacrifice of the honour and independence of his country, would hardly have found favour, for a moment, with any influential portion of the Scottish nobility, if they had not been goaded to angry disaffection by the continued preferment and increasing arrogance of the royal favourites.

Treasonable conduct of Albany.

Arrogant and imprudent behaviour of Cochrane.

Dignities and emoluments were still showered upon them—particularly upon Cochrane, who was distinguished by a form of noble proportions and great bodily strength, together with undaunted courage and an insinuating address, qualifications sufficient to have secured for a man of higher birth or humbler pretensions a secure and prominent place in the council-room and the battle-field. But his ignoble extraction could not be overlooked by the arrogant nobles, and his overweening presumption justified, while it provoked, the keen jealousy and dislike with which he was now regarded by all classes. His unpopularity had been lately aggravated by the adulteration of the coin in a season of scarcity, for it was more than suspected that the unwise and injurious policy had been adopted by his advice:* and, still more recently, the cup of odium and resentment against him had been filled to the brim by his unseemly investiture with the revenues of the late Earl of Mar, in whose death he was generally believed to have had a willing, if not the principal, hand.

No one bore all this with more indignant impatience than Archibald, Earl of Angus, the head of the new house of Douglas, whose haughty, martial spirit prompted him to regard the literary tastes of James as the tokens of an effeminate and most unkingly temper, and to chafe at the preferment of the upstart favourites as an insufferable affront to the whole nobility. Nor did he fail to find others, among the heads of the baronial families, who were fully prepared to sympathize with him in his discontent. The Earls of Argyle, Huntley, Crawford, Orkney, and Lennox, with Lords Home, Fleming, Hailes, Gray, Seton, and others of the barons, with certain of the higher clergy, whose names are not recorded, joined the conspiracy which was organized by Angus, in conjunction with Edward and Albany, and had for its object the destruction of the royal favourites, and the delivery of their unsuspecting sovereign into the hands of his enemies. There is no evidence, indeed, to prove that any considerable number of these nobles actually gave their approval and adherence to the treasonable paction of Albany with the English monarch, and it is probable that they were, for the most part, kept in ignorance of the ulterior designs of the exiled prince and his confidential associates, for men in their position had no motive to induce them to disparage the hereditary rights of their sovereign, or to surrender the independence of their country. The majority of the malcontents, in all likelihood, were only prepared to take advantage of the plot arranged at Fotheringay, in so far as it might facilitate the accomplishment of their own more moderate and less guilty designs. But a dark cloud of infamy hangs over the characters of Angus, Lord Gray, and Sir James Liddal of Halkerston, on whose full concurrence and co-operation Albany counted so confidently that he had appointed them his commissioners, to carry out the provisions of his treaty with Edward. They did not scruple to act, afterwards, on the powers granted them in that commission; and the presumption is that they were already contem-

Conspiracy of the Scottish barons against the king.

Base designs of Angus.

Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. p. 156.

* The debased coin was called 'the Cochrane plack;' and the story goes, that when the haughty favourite, from whom its nickname was borrowed, was told that it would be speedily recalled, he answered contemptously, 'The day I shall be hanged;' 'Whilk prophecie cam to pas heirefter,' adds Pitscottie—the prediction probably suggesting its own accomplishment.

plating a revolution which would transfer the sceptre of James to his brother Albany.

Such was the position of affairs, when the Scottish forces were ordered to assemble on the Boroughmuir, in the immediate neighbourhood of Edinburgh:

Muster of the Scottish army.

and thither the conspirators repaired with their retainers, giving no signs of their base intentions, or of the dangerous spirit that rankled in their breasts, save by the gloomy looks which they directed to the spot where Cochrane, who had assumed the title of Earl of Mar, magnificently arrayed, and attended by a body-guard of three hundred halberdiers, had taken his station as captain-general of the artillery.

It was Midsummer of 1481, when the gallant army of fifty thousand men defiled from the muster-ground beneath the walls of the ancient capital, and directed their march across Soutra-Hill towards the border, with the prospect of plunging into a fierce and protracted struggle; for Richard of Gloucester, with Albany, and the banished Douglas was at no great distance, leading a well-appointed force nearly equal in numbers. But a single day sufficed to make a total change in the aspect of affairs. It was in war rather than in peace, in the camp rather than in the parliament, that the Scottish barons felt themselves in a condition to cope successfully with the royal authority, and to wring from their reluctant sovereign the redress of their grievances, or the concession of their demands. Angus and the other malcontents perceived that a favourable opportunity to carry their nefarious schemes into effect had arrived, and they were not slow in making use of their advantage. The army halted for the first night at Lauder; and next morning the principal conspirators held a secret council in the church to arrange for the immediate execution of their designs. After some discussion it was resolved, that the person of the king should be seized, and that summary vengeance should be inflicted on Cochrane and his compeers. It was evident, however, that the execution of the plot must be attended with considerable danger, and while they were hesitating as to the best mode of proceeding, Lord Gray quoted the well-known fable of the mice, who, being grievously annoyed by the persecution of the cat, resolved in solemn council, that for the common safety a bell should be suspended round the neck of the enemy to give warning of her approach, but were sorely puzzled to find any one willing to undertake the perilous office. The pause of uncertainty and hesitation which followed this pointed apologue was broken by Angus, who with characteristic boldness exclaimed, 'I shall bell the cat'; an expression which procured for him the appellation of Archibald Bell-the-Cat, by which he was ever afterwards familiarly designated. While the conspirators were thus engaged, Cochrane, who as well as his royal master, seems to have been entirely unsuspicious of the plot which had been concerted for his destruction, came to ascertain the object of the meeting. "Clad in ane ryding-pie of black velvett," says Pitscottie, "with ane great chain of gold about his neck, to the value of fyve hundred crowns, and ane fair blowing horne in ane reckle of gold, borne and tipped with fyne gold at both endis, and ane precious stone called ane berryl, hanging at the midst thereof," the favourite rode stoutly to the entrance of the church, and knocked at the barred door with the impetuous manner of one who came by authority and in haste. Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, who guarded the entrance, inquired who it was that knocked so rudely. 'It is I, the Earl of Mar,' was the proud reply. Admission was immediately given to the unhappy favourite, who was totally unsuspicious of the fate that awaited him, and carried only a riding whip in his hand. On advancing into the midst of the assembled peers with his usual arrogant air, he was met by Angus, who tore the chain from his neck, with the taunt that a halter would better become him; while Sir Robert Douglas, of Lochleven, snatched his hunting-horn from his side, telling him that he had been too long a hunter of mischief. 'Is it jest or earnest, my lords?' exclaimed Cochrane, in sudden surprise at this contemptuous and violent treatment. 'Earnest it is, and earnest you shall find it,' was the reply; 'you have too long abused the king's favour; you shall do so no longer, but receive the recompense you have deserved.' Having secured with such unexpected ease and speed the principal object of their aversion, the conspirators kept him quietly in durance within the walls of the building till a small party had proceeded to the royal quarters, and seized without greater difficulty Rogers, * Hommil, Preston, and the rest of the obnoxious parasites; and they were all hanged, without trial, or remorse, or delay, over the parapet of the bridge. It is mentioned by Pitscottie, that Cochrane besought those who were hurrying him to the place of execution not to bind him with a hempen rope, like a thief, but to use one of the silken cords of his pavilion. But even this was denied him by his brutal murderers, who told him that he was worse than a thief, he was a traitor, and deserved no better; and for the purpose of inflicting additional pain and disgrace on their unfortunate victim, they hanged him with a halter of horse-hair, as the most degrading mode of execution which they could invent. The only one of the royal favourites, who escaped, was

Seizure of the king, and murder of his favourites at Lauder.

* Rogers was an eminent English musician, who accompanied the ambassadors of Edward IV. into Scotland in 1474. James was so delighted with his performances, that he persuaded him to remain at his court, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. "Under the instruction of this man, the most celebrated of his profession," says Ferrerius, "numerous eminent musicians arose in the Court of Scotland; and, even so late as 1529, many great musicians boasted that they were of his school."

John Ramsay of Balmain, a youth of sixteen years of age, who probably owed his life more to his tender years and honourable extraction than to the earnest intercession of his royal master.* After these cruel and infamous transactions the confederated nobles returned to the capital, carrying with them their unhappy sovereign, and committed him a close prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh.

This tragic and guilty scene closed the second act in the historic drama of James the Third. The prosperous part of his administration may be said to have terminated when he emerged from his minority; during which he had seen an honourable peace concluded with England under the auspices of Bishop Kennedy—a severe blow struck against the turbulent spirit in the northern and western districts of this kingdom, which never wholly recovered the humiliation—a matrimonial alliance, at once popular and advantageous, formed with one of the most powerful of the European monarchies—and a valuable addition made to his dominions by the acquisition of the Orkney and Shetland Isles. At Lauder the curtain fell on a subsequent period of six years, characterized by culpable and fatal errors; his abetting of Schevez against the worthy successor of Kennedy in the see of St. Andrews, his impolitic conduct towards his brothers, his concurrence in the interested and artful suggestions of the French king, and above all, his alienation of the hearts of the nobility and the people by his blind attachment to his ill-chosen favourites—a series of culpable and fatal errors, which overgrew and cast into deep shadow the desultory and feeble efforts which he made to promote the fine arts, encourage commerce, and heal up the sores of feudal strife among his half-civilized and turbulent subjects. Another period of six years is to follow, darkened by misfortune and weakness: with his influence abroad waning, and his power at home circumscribed—an object of mistrust to his nobles, and of cold indifference to the rest of his people—grieved by the death of his amiable consort, the renewed rebellion of his brother, and the secession of his son to the ranks of his enemies, the unhappy monarch passes on to conclude his inglorious reign by perishing under the hand of an obscure assassin, on the field of Sauchie.

Berwick is taken by the English.

In consequence of the base betrayal of their country's interests by the confederated Scottish nobles, the English obtained possession of the important fortress of Berwick, which never afterwards returned to the dominion of Scotland; and the Duke of Gloucester, who, along with Albany, commanded the English forces, advanced to the capital without opposition. They soon discovered, however, that although their accomplices among the Scottish nobility had readily united with Angus for the purpose of destroying the royal favourites, they were not disposed to support that ambitious noble in his treasonable schemes for the deposition of their rightful sovereign; and no sooner were his real intentions made known, than the more loyal of the barons immediately separated themselves from his cause, and, taking up arms, assembled a considerable force near Haddington, in order to maintain the rights of the crown, and the independence of the kingdom.* The infamous treaty which Albany had entered into with the English court was probably not yet fully known to any but his own confederates, and finding it at present hopeless to carry its stipulations into effect, they readily entered into a compromise with the royal party. A reconciliation was accordingly effected between Albany and his brother, through the intervention of Schevez, Archbishop of St. Andrews; Livingston, Bishop of Dunkeld; Evandale, the chancellor; and the Earl of Argyle.† It was agreed that Albany should be pardoned, and restored to his estates and honours on his return to his allegiance, and that his friends, with a few exceptions, should be included in the indemnity. It was also stipulated that these conditions should be ratified by the king, and by the three Estates at their next meeting.‡ The Earls of Athole and Buchan, however, who commanded the castle of Edinburgh, in which the unhappy monarch was imprisoned, refused to concur in the terms of this negotiation;§ and not only retained possession of the person of their sovereign, but, according to the assertion of James himself, would actually have put him to death, had not Lord Darnley and other barons remained in his apartment by night and day for the purpose of protecting him. Albany, after his reconciliation with his royal brother, collected an army and laid siege to the castle, which, after a short resistance, was surrendered into his hands.‖

Reconciliation between the king and Albany.

Meanwhile, the English forces had returned to their own country, and in order to facilitate the maintenance of peace between the two kingdoms, the provost and merchants of Edinburgh agreed to repay the sum which had been advanced as the dowry of the Princess Cecilia, if her father should think proper to break off the marriage between his daughter and the eldest son of the Scottish king. Two months after, intimation was given by Edward that the proposed alliance was not to be completed, and the money was accordingly repaid.¶

Retreat of the English army.

* Lesley's Hist. of Scotland, p. 49.

† Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. p. 160.

‡ Ibid. p. 161.

§ These nobles were the sons of Sir James Stewart, the Black Knight of Lorn, by Joanna, queen dowager of James I. Mr. Tytler thinks it highly probable that the faction of Athole and Buchan, instead of having a separate interest from Albany, were only branches of the same party, and kept possession of the king's person, that the duke, by the éclat of delivering his sovereign from imprisonment, might regain somewhat of the popularity which he had lost.—History, vol. iv. p. 237.

‖ Lesley's Hist. of Scotland, p. 50.

¶ Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. p. 160.

† Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 189—193. Ferrerius, p. 395. Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 48.

The reconciliation between the king and Albany was now apparently so complete that the two royal brothers used the same chamber, the same table, and the same bed, and on one occasion they rode together, mounted on the same horse, from the castle of Edinburgh along the principal street of the city down to the abbey of Holyrood.* James was, however, in reality entirely under the control of the duke, who, in concert with his confederates, assumed the sole direction of public affairs. The chancellor, Evandale, one of the few friends of the king, was deprived of his office, which was conferred upon Laing, Bishop of Glasgow; while the bishopric of Moray, along with the office of keeper of the privy seal, was bestowed upon Andrew Stewart, brother to the Earls of Athole and Buchan; and all the principal offices of the government were filled by the creatures and supporters of Albany. A meeting of the three Estates was held at Edinburgh on the 2nd of December, 1482, and all the proceedings were conducted according to the directions of Albany.† The king was constrained to express his deep obligations to his brother for his delivering him from imprisonment, and to confer rewards upon the confederates of the duke for their alleged services to the state. The unfortunate monarch was also made to entreat the usurper to accept the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with a suitable allowance for the support of his dignity. In addition to this high office, which virtually conferred upon him the supreme authority of the country, he received the grant of the extensive earldom of Mar and Garioch as a reward (to use the words of the royal charter which are evidently dictated by Albany) "for the faith, loyalty, love, benevolence, brotherly tenderness, piety, cordial services, and virtuous attention" manifested in delivering the sovereign from imprisonment.‡

Albany is made lieutenant-general of the kingdom—

The possession of these high honours and dignities, however, served only to whet the ambition of this unprincipled noble, and he speedily showed the inherent baseness of his character by renewing his treasonable intrigues with the English monarch, while, in order to save appearances, he issued orders to the lieges to make preparations for hostilities with England. His traitorous accomplices, the Earl of Angus, Lord Gray, and Sir James Liddal, were despatched to negotiate a secret treaty with the commissioners of Edward, by which it was stipulated that there should be good amity, love, and favour between the King of England and the high and mighty prince Alexander, Duke of Albany, and between the subjects of either prince dwelling within the one realm or the other—that the King of England and the Scottish ambassadors should not only preserve inviolate the truce between the two kingdoms, but, if need be, should assist Albany in the conquest of the crown of Scotland 'to his proper use,' while he in his turn engaged to annul for ever the league between Scotland and France, to renounce all right or title to the town and castle of Berwick, to restore the banished Earl of Douglas to the possession of his lands and dignity in Scotland, and after obtaining the crown to marry one of the daughters of King Edward as soon as he could make himself 'clear of other women.' It was also agreed by Angus, Gray, and Liddal, for themselves and their confederates, that in the event of Albany dying without heirs they would maintain their castles and strongholds against James, now King of Scots, and 'live under the sole allegiance of their good and gracious prince the King of England.' Edward on his part undertook to promote these base and treasonable designs of Albany and his accomplices by sending them the immediate aid of three thousand archers, paid and provisioned for six weeks, and placed under the command of his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., and his cousin, the Earl of Northumberland, and to help them with an army sufficient for their protection if there should happen 'a great day of rescue,' or any other immediate danger.*

—his treasonable league with Edward—

As soon as this infamous transaction transpired, it excited deep indignation among the great body of the nobility and gentry, who, though they had taken part in the plot against the king's favourites, were yet hostile to all attempts to subvert the rights of the crown, and the independence of the country. They showed their detestation of the designs of Albany, by rallying once more around the king, and enabling him to make a successful stand against the plots of his enemies. Albany was deprived of his office as lieutenant-governor of the kingdom by the parliament which assembled at Edinburgh about the close of the year 1482, and the most powerful of his accomplices were at the same time stripped of their dignities and offices. Angus was compelled to resign his office of great justiciar on the south side of the Forth, his stewartry of Kirkudbright, his sheriffdom of Lanark, and his command of the castle of Trief. The office of great chamberlain was taken from the Earl of Buchan, and bestowed upon the Earl of Crawford, while John of Douglas, another of the conspirators, was superseded in his sheriffdom of Edinburgh. Albany and his associates, the Bishop of Moray and the Earls of Athole and Angus, were at the same time interdicted from coming within six miles of the court, while the Earl of Buchan, Lord Crichton, and Sir James Liddal, were banished from the realm for three years. Albany, however, by a culpable act of weakness and inconsistency on the part of the king and his advisers, was permitted to retain the important office of warden of marches, and on confessing his manifold treasons, engaging to give his letters of warrant and allegiance to the sovereign under his seal and subscription, and pro-

Great opposition excited by it.

Albany and his accomplices are deprived of their offices.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 200.
† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 143.
‡ Mag. Sig. x. 32; Tytler, vol. iv. p. 240, note.
* Rymer, Foed. vol. xii pp. 173—175.

mising to discontinue his illegal combination with Angus, Athole, Buchan, and the rest of his traitorous confederates, 'not holding them in dayly household in time to come,' he received a full pardon for all his offences, and was permitted to retain the whole of his castles and vast estates.*

Impolitic lenity of the king

It is difficult to decide whether this misplaced lenity is to be ascribed to the king's affection for his brother, or to the consciousness of weakness on the part of the government; but the result demonstrated the folly of half measures, and a wavering line of policy. In the course of a few weeks Albany resumed his treasonable intrigues with the court of England. At his invitation an English army invaded Scotland, and advancing to Dunbar, that important stronghold, the key of the eastern marches, was delivered up to the enemy by Gifford, of Sheriffhall, the governor to whom it had been committed by Albany for the purpose of being betrayed into the hands of the English. The duke himself meanwhile fled into England, and in concert with Edward IV. and the banished Earl of Douglas, organized the plan of a more formidable invasion.†

The death of the English monarch, which occurred at this critical moment, and the seizure of the crown by his brother Richard the Third, unexpectedly disarranged the plans of the conspirators, and afforded to James an interval of rest, of which he availed himself with unusual firmness and vigour. A parliament was assembled at Edinburgh. Albany was summoned to answer for his treasonable practices, and having failed to appear, he and his principal adherents were declared guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, and their lives, lands, offices, and all other possessions, were forfeited to the crown.‡ All the lieges fit to bear arms were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march to the borders for the purpose of defending the kingdom against the invasion of the enemy. And in order that all parties might cordially unite in the defence of the country at this emergency, the king was advised to call into his presence those barons who were at feud with one another, and to persuade them to lay aside their differences. Soon after these energetic measures a truce was concluded with Richard III., who was too much engrossed with his own complicated affairs to have leisure or inclination to continue the war with Scotland; the ancient league between France and Scotland was confirmed and ratified, and the French monarch engaged to assist his ally, the Scottish king, in the expulsion of the English from the country, and the reduction of his rebellious subjects.§

Forfeiture of Albany and his adherents.

Renewal of the league with France.

* MS. Indenture, Register House, Edin.; Tytler, vol. iv. p. 243.

† Buchanan, book xii. chap. i.; Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 147.

‡ Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 152, 154, 164.

§ Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 316. note.

Strengthened by these alliances, James found it no difficult matter to resist the last desperate effort of Albany and Douglas to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. Although the English monarch had received them courteously, and had even increased the pension paid to the banished earl, they soon discovered that the state of his affairs did not permit him to undertake the invasion of Scotland; and becoming impatient of their exile, they resolved at once to raise the standard of rebellion, trusting to their own resources and the expected aid of their confederates in the recent conspiracy. Having vowed that they would present an offering on the high altar of Lochmaben upon St. Magdalen's day (22nd July), when an annual fair was held there, they advanced to that town at the head of five hundred horse, expecting that they would be joined by the tenantry and vassals of the Douglas family in that district. In this, however, they were grievously disappointed. The hawkers and merchants, all of whom carried arms, offered a stout resistance to the invaders; and just as they were on the point of being overpowered, Charteris of Amisfield, Crichton of Sanquhar, and several other border barons, arrived with a reinforcement of their own retainers, and attacked the English with great fury. After a stubborn conflict, which lasted for several hours, the rebels were completely defeated. Albany escaped by the swiftness of his horse; but the aged Earl of Douglas was taken prisoner by Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael, who had once been his own vassal. Kirkpatrick shed tears at the sight of his old master's distress, and even offered to set him at liberty, and fly with him into England. But Douglas was weary of exile, and rejecting the generous offer, informed his captor that he was now resigned to his fate. There was very little in the character or conduct of this once powerful baron which could entitle him either to respect or sympathy, but his years and misfortunes seem to have excited the compassion of the king, who treated him with praiseworthy leniency, and merely commanded him to be confined in the monastery of Lindores. The aged prisoner, who had undergone such strange alternations of fortune, submitted calmly to his sentence, only replying with a popular proverb, 'He that cannot do better must be a monk.'* He survived his ultimate defeat about four years, and with him expired the principal branch of that formidable house, whose rank and power, gained by the inflexible loyalty and invaluable services of its founders, were forfeited through the wicked ambition and treasonable practices of its later chiefs. The Duke of Albany, after a brief residence in England, passed over to France, where, after a few years, he was accidentally hurt in a tournament by the splinter of a lance, and died of the wound. He left a son, John

Inroad of Albany and Douglas.

Their defeat, and capture of Douglas.

* Buchanan, book xii. chap. 52; Hume's Douglas, p. 381 Drummond's Hist. p. 53.

Duke of Albany, who was afterwards regent of Scotland during the minority of James V.*

Truce with England.

Soon after the final overthrow of Albany and Douglas, James despatched an embassy, consisting of the Earl of Argyle, the chancellor, Lords Evandale and Lyle, and Whitelaw, his own secretary, for the purpose of negotiating a truce with England. The English monarch, whose power was constantly in danger from the plots and intrigues of his enemies in his own kingdom, was anxious to cultivate friendly relations with Scotland, and received the ambassadors at Nottingham with great state and honour. In a conference between them and the Archbishop of York, the chancellor and the Duke of Norfolk, who acted as commissioners on the part of England, a truce was agreed upon for three years; and to strengthen the amity between the two kingdoms, it was arranged that the heir of the Scottish crown, James Duke of Rothesay, should wed Lady Anne de la Pole, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and niece of the English king.* It was stipulated that the castle of Dunbar, which was still garrisoned by the English, should be included in the truce for the space of six months; but after the expiry of that period, the Scots were to be at liberty to recover it, if they could, by force of arms.

Proceedings of the parliament A.D. 1485.

In a meeting of the three Estates, held 4th February, 1485, the renewal of the ancient league with France, and of the truce with England, was solemnly ratified and confirmed, and it was resolved to send an embassy to York at the expense of the clergy, barons, and burghs, for the purpose of concluding the marriage between the Duke of Rothesay and the niece of the English monarch. Shevez, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, was despatched on an embassy to the papal court, to obtain from the pontiff the confirmation of the alliance with France, and of the treaty with Denmark; and this embassy the archbishop offered to undertake at his own expence,—an arrangement which, taken in connection with the stipulation respecting the expenditure of the commissioners sent to England, unequivocally betrays the impoverished condition of the royal exchequer at this time. The envoy was instructed also to request his holiness to confirm the royal nomination of Alexander Inglis, the king's 'tender clerk and counsellor,' to the bishopric of Dunkeld, and especially to entreat that, in consequence of the distance of the realm of Scotland from the court of Rome, the pope would grant to the Scottish kings the power of superseding for six months the disposition to vacant benefices, that there might be time to make application to the pontiff for the promotion of such persons as were agreeable to the sovereign,—a matter of great importance to the stability of the government, since the bishops had the first vote in parliament, and were members of the privy council. To render still more evident the determination of the king to support his royal prerogative against the encroachments of the papal see, the statute of James II. which forbade, under the penalties of treason, the purchase of benefices in the court of Rome, the presentation to which belonged to the crown, was re-enacted, and all who supported the ecclesiastics that had violated this law were ordered to be punished as severely as the principal offenders. Provisions were also adopted in this parliament for the improvement of the administration of justice, and the maintenance of tranquillity and the authority of law throughout the country. The lords and head men of the kingdom were enjoined to bring to trial and execution all notorious offenders, and the king came under obligation to grant no pardon or respite to criminals of this class for the space of two years.*

Renewal of the truce with England.

Soon after this, Richard the Third was defeated and slain in the battle of Bosworth, and the Earl of Richmond ascended the English throne under the title of Henry the Seventh. The position of the new monarch rendered it highly desirable that he should maintain the most amicable relations with Scotland, in order that he might devote his whole efforts to the consolidation of his recently acquired power. Within a month, therefore, after his accession to the crown, overtures were made by him to the Scottish monarch for the establishment of a lasting peace between the two kingdoms.† Commissioners were accordingly appointed on both sides to conduct the negotiation; and after various conferences a truce was agreed on for three years, with a view to a permanent treaty, and proposals were made for a marriage between the Marquis of Ormond, second son of the King of Scotland, and the Lady Catherine, daughter of Edward the Fourth, and sister-in-law to King Henry. James had in the mean time succeeded in expelling the English garrison which had so long kept possession of the important fortress of Dunbar; but this event did not interrupt the negotiations for the establishment of peace.

Death and character of the queen.

About this time the queen died, in the thirtieth or thirty-first year of her age; and though James possessed no high reputation for conjugal attachment and fidelity, he could hardly fail to feel the loss of one whose powerful connections had added much to the dignity and stability of his throne, and whose personal attractions were well fitted to grace his court, and promote the happiness of his domestic life. The annals of the period furnish very scanty materials for an estimate of her character; but no suspicion has ever been cast on her name, and the few brief notices of her history that remain warrant the assertion, that she wisely kept aloof from political intrigues, and sought in a quiet, virtuous course, an honour more congenial to her feelings, as well as more suitable to her sex.

* Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 318, note.
† Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. p. 244.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 173.
† Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. pp. 285—316.

She died in the prime of life; but she may be counted happy in having closed her earthly career before her eldest son's unnatural rebellion and her husband's tragical end.

Unsettled state of the country.

The elements of discord were still strong among the nobility and great landed proprietors; for the middle and lower classes had at that time no separate political status, and seem to have never dreamt of any independent political action, being entirely under the control of their feudal superiors in the rural districts, and little less so in the towns, where the craftsmen depended chiefly on the custom of the neighbouring gentry, from among whom also their provosts and patrons were usually selected. The aristocracy formed the only counterpoise to the monarchical power; and many of its members continued to cherish the restless, turbulent spirit which had so often embroiled them with each other and with their sovereign. This was especially the case with those who had taken part in the revolt at Lauder, or countenanced the subsequent ambitious schemes of the Duke of Albany, and who felt that they were obnoxious to a charge of high treason, on which the king would in all likelihood bring them to trial and to punishment, whenever he obtained an opportunity of doing so with success. Yet for a little longer the embers of the strife smouldered among the ashes of its former conflagrations. The parliament, which met in October, 1487, was very numerously attended, and discharged its legislative duties with laudable zeal and unanimity. The disaffected party, indeed, attempted to procure an amnesty for all past outrages; but they did not offer any violent opposition to an act of a contrary purport, which was passed, requesting the king to refuse all applications for the pardon of capital crimes during seven years thereafter, because the land had been 'greatly broken and distressed' through the want of 'sharp execution on traitors and murderers.' The use which might be made of this decree against themselves was too obvious to be overlooked: but they were little skilled in the weapons of argument and debate; the platform of the deliberative assembly was not their vantage-ground, and they trusted principally to other means of defence, which they were quite ready to employ, should they be pushed to extremity. Besides the act in question was expressed in general terms, ostensibly for the benefit of the 'poor lieges,' and eager opposition to a measure, so reasonable and just in itself, would have seemed to argue a consciousness of their own misdemeanors. The law accordingly was passed with little opposition; as were some others of a similar tendency.* Justices-general were appointed for the northern and southern districts of the kingdom, with injunctions to proceed without delay to the vigorous discharge of their judicial functions; while it was further resolved, that all peers, prelates, barons, and commons, should give prompt and effective aid to the officers of the law in their several sheriffdoms, refusing harbourage to known criminals, and arming their vassals, when requisite, for the capture of offenders whose power enabled them to set the ordinary means of arrest at defiance. At the same time a committee was appointed for the revision of the old statutes: and it was ordered that the titles and estates of the Duke of Albany should be confiscated and annexed to the crown. Regarding commerce, there was a re-enactment of some former provisions restricting the privilege of foreign trade to burgesses of a certain class; to which was added a decree for the encouragement of imports by merchants from abroad. The necessity for thus repeating under successive administrations, and even from time to time, in the course of the same reign, not only the laws which were passed for the suppression of rapine and bloodshed, but those which were designed to regulate mercantile transactions, presents a painful picture of the state of society at this period. It appears that the government had no effective control over any class of the community, and was accustomed to see its authority contemned and its restraints broken through, by the middle and lower orders, as well as by the feudal chieftains.

Measures adopted by the royal party.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 176.

The strength which accrued to the king and his party, from the tone of feeling displayed by the parliament, and the acts which were passed for the repression of disorders, received a further accession, before the close of the year, from a friendly negotiation with England. It was agreed at Edinburgh, between the Bishop of Aberdeen and Lord Bothwell on the part of James, and the Bishop of Exeter and Sir Richard Edgecomb as ambassadors from Henry, that the truce between the kingdoms should be prolonged for two years. The commissioners also entertained favourably a proposal to lay the basis of a more permanent union by three marriages; one, between James and the widow of Edward the Fourth; another, between the heir to the Scottish crown and a daughter of that monarch; the third, between James's second son and another princess of the same family.* These matrimonial projects, indeed, were afterwards broken off, in consequence of the Scottish king's insisting peremptorily on the restoration of Berwick, a condition to which Henry gave an equally decided refusal; but, in the mean time, the prolongation of the truce, and the hopeful aspect which the other negotiations at first assumed, were calculated to strengthen the hands of the royalists and to damp the spirits of the opposite faction. The latter, however, wanted neither courage nor resources; and immediately after the prorogation of the parliament they began to lay the train of a formidable conspiracy against the king. The Earl of Angus and Lord Gray, who had been most deeply implicated in the former outbreaks, seem to have been the principal insti-

Renewal of the truce with England.

Renewal of the conspiracy among the barons—

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. p. 328.

gators of the new rebellion. It was easy to gain the co-operation of Argyle, Lennox, Hailes, Home, and others, who perceived that the recent parliamentary measures, if not directed specially against them, were likely to be turned to their serious injury, on the ground of their participation in the previous insurrection. Nor was it much more difficult to attach a considerable body of the prelates to the meditated enterprise, for the king had begun to manifest a decided opposition to the claims of the Holy See over the ecclesiastical affairs of his realm. Apparently an attempt was also made to draw the aged Earl of Douglas from his monastic seclusion at Lindores into another conflict with the regal power from which he had so long and so severely suffered; but without success—physical infirmities, or the weariness of a broken spirit, made him decline to leave the retirement in which he had now learned, it is said, to think less of time than of eternity. The malcontents seem to have been more successful with Henry the Seventh, for there is on record a safe conduct granted by him soon afterwards to a number of Scottish lords, with a view to their visiting England;* and as all the persons named in it belonged to the disaffected party, while it suspiciously conceals the object of their visit, there is reason to believe that it was in some way connected with their treasonable designs. But their most politic, and at the same time most heartless device, was to alienate the affections of the prince royal from his father, and to add the influence of his name to their projected enterprise. It has been asserted, indeed, by some historians that he joined them by constraint, but others have not hesitated to accuse him of actively concurring in the designs of the conspirators—a charge which he himself strongly confirmed, by the high tone which he assumed in the subsequent conference at Blackness, by his failing to detach himself from the rebel party when the temporary pacification there gave him an opportunity of doing so, by the judicial proceedings which he instituted after his accession against some of the more distinguished royalist barons, and by the remorse which he felt and manifested in later years for the part which he had taken in his father's death.

—their intrigues with England—

—they gain over the prince to their party.

Such were the varied and formidable influences which the conspirators employed to gain their guilty ends; and by the close of 1487 they were busily at work arranging their plans, collecting their resources, and striving to win over the several parties whose assistance they anticipated. But as yet they had not declared their intentions, or lifted the veil from their preparatory movements. Accordingly, when the parliament, which had been prorogued to the January of the following year, met again in the course of that month, they were found in their places, to watch the further procedure of the king and his party. If the steps which James now took, were adopted under a suspicion of the confederacy forming against him, and intended to check its progress, they did much more credit to his courage than to his wisdom, for their effect must have been to confirm the hostility of the malcontents, and to strengthen their hands. His second son was created Duke of Ross, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Edirdale, and Lord of Brechin and Novar—a measure which would be viewed by the elder brother of the favoured prince with no other feelings than those of jealousy and dissatisfaction, and which was susceptible of being plausibly ascribed to a purpose of ultimately changing the succession to the crown. Several of the gentry, who were known to be strongly attached to the king, were at the same time raised to the peerage, —a proceeding which the old hereditary nobles are always ready to contemplate with aversion, and which, in this case, would at once be ascribed to a design of augmenting the royal influence in the national assembly. Another impolitic act was the annexation of the lands and revenues of the Coldingham priory to the royal chapel at Stirling, which James had resolved to distinguish as the seat of a very sumptuous ecclesiastical service. Some of the powerful border families were certain to resent this as an injury, and to make it a ground for cherishing a deeper spirit of discontent. Nor were the dignitaries of the church less likely to be offended by the manner in which their sovereign proceeded to deal with its affairs, when he asserted his right of presenting to all vacant benefices, forbade any appeal to Rome without his sanction, and proclaimed that no emissary from the pope would be permitted to enter his kingdom, unless the object of the visit had been previously announced to him and his council. He is said to have attempted at the same time a still more questionable blow at the power of the party opposed to him: inviting the Earl of Angus to a private conference, he sought, not only to detach that powerful baron from the confederacy, but to make him the instrument of arresting its other chief supporters, as they were then in the capital for the discharge of their parliamentary duties, with comparatively few of their retainers at hand.* If such a scheme was really formed, which, however, is very doubtful, it was not likely to prove successful, and by its failure must have greatly widened the breach between the king and the disaffected chiefs, to whom the project was speedily made known.

Decided measures taken by the king.

These ill-timed and imprudent measures filled the cup of discontent and irritation to the brim, and hastened the outbreak of the meditated revolt. No sooner was the parliament dissolved than the conspirators assembled their forces, and prepared to try the issue of a struggle on the battle-field. The heir to the crown joined them from Stirling, where he had been placed by his father, under the guardianship of Shaw of Sauchie, who, nevertheless, had secretly united himself to the

The barons break out in open rebellion.

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. p. 340.

* Buchanan, book xii. chap. lv. lvi.

malcontents, and was, in all likelihood, the principal agent in corrupting the mind of his youthful ward.* The prince was welcomed with open arms, and placed, nominally at least, at the head of the confederacy, which was then declared to have taken up arms for the purpose of placing him on his father's throne; on the ostensible ground that the king had been negotiating with England to the detriment of his country's honour, and the sacrifice of its independence. This charge was undoubtedly false; for James was so far from contemplating any surrender of territory or prerogative to Henry, that he had made the restoration of Berwick a primary and indispensable condition of the permanent alliance projected by the commissioners at Edinburgh in the previous year.

The king retires to the north—

The sudden outbreak took the king by surprise; but there was no want of promptitude and energy in the preparations which he made to meet it. A trusty emissary was sent to his son, to detach him, if possible, from the ranks of the conspirators; ambassadors were despatched to the courts of England, France, and Rome, to request aid; and, on the first movement of the rebels towards Edinburgh, James secretly quitted the city, for the purpose of heading, in person, the forces of the loyal barons on whom he could depend. Having embarked in a vessel belonging to Sir Andrew Wood, which was usually employed in the trade with Flanders, a report was circulated that he had fled to that country; and the alarm which arose in consequence enabled the insurgents, with little difficulty, to capture Dunbar, and occupy Leith. But the king had landed in Fife, and hastened northwards to Aberdeen; where his uncle, the Earl of Athole, with the Earl of Huntley and other nobles, mustered their followers in force around his standard. Returning at the head of this army to Perth, he was there joined by the martial array of Fife, Angus, and Strathern, under their feudal chieftains, among whom were conspicuous Lord Ruthven, along with a thousand men-at-arms, a thousand archers, and a thousand infantry; and Lord Lindsay, of the Byres, whose distinguished military reputation, acquired in the French wars, enhanced the value of the powerful force which he led to his sovereign's assistance. Passing on to Stirling, James found himself attended by an army of thirty thousand men, and a large number of the barons and gentry, among whom, besides those already mentioned, were the Earls of Buchan, Crawford, and Errol; Lords Glammis and Kilmaurs; the Barons of Tullybardine and Pourie; Innes of Innes; Collace of Balnamoon, and Somer of Balyard. The hostile armies met at Blackness, in West Lothian; but the prospect of a battle could not be agreeable to either party, and negotiations were entered into, chiefly, it is said, by the instigation of the king, whose natural repugnance to civil war was heightened by his grief at the thought of his son directing an armament against him. The hope of an amicable adjustment, however, was nearly overthrown by the impetuosity of the Earl of Buchan, who attacked, and, after a sharp encounter, drove back the forces of the insurgents. But this advantage was counterbalanced by the defection of Huntley and some others of the royalist barons, who drew off their followers and departed homewards, to their respective estates, in displeasure at the infringement of the armistice and the favour shown to Buchan, who was eager for an immediate and general engagement. Their respective losses probably disposed the leaders on both sides to listen to moderate counsels: the negotiations were resumed and brought to a favourable issue, the king pledging himself for the honourable treatment of his son, and the free pardon of the insurgent barons, while they promised, on their part, to return to their allegiance, and to maintain the just rights of the crown, as well as the peace of the country.

Skirmish at Blackness.

Temporary pacification.

—is joined by a strong body of troops.

The calm which followed was not of long continuance: the pacification at Blackness took place in April, and May saw the rebels again in arms, with the prince at their head, their declared object still being to obtain the king's abdication in favour of his son. Heralds were sent to require their submission; but the summons met with a contemptuous refusal, and the messengers with personal injury. James, equally grieved and indignant, saw no way of preserving his crown but by a vigorous armed resistance; and for this he could only trust to his own resources, for neither England nor France was disposed to lend him any aid; and if he knew of the nuncio despatched by the Holy See, for the purpose of mediating between him and the insurgents, it was to be feared that the mediation would be either too late or too weak to render him effective service. He had no choice but to repel force by force. Without delay, therefore, he sent to summon his adherents and their retainers, whom he had unfortunately dismissed to their estates after the pacification at Blackness; and, meanwhile, entrenched himself within the walls of Edinburgh castle, which contained his treasure and principal military stores. Sound policy should have led James to avoid the risk of a battle till his expected troops had mustered in sufficient strength for offensive operations. But as he depended chiefly on the loyalty of the northern parts of his kingdom, it was deemed necessary to secure the passage of the Forth, at Stirling. Thither accordingly, he proceeded with the friends who had already rallied around him, and effected a junction with considerable detachments from the Western and Midland counties. The forces now under his command, however, were by no means sufficient to justify him in risking a pitched battle against the formidable array of the rebels; and as the gates of Stirling castle were closed against him by the

Fresh insurrection.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 214; Buch. book xii. chap. lviii.

treachery of Shaw the governor, it should have been his policy to keep the left bank of the Forth, and to defend the passage of that river, till he received the accession of strength which he still expected from the more distant northern districts. Unfortunately a different course was adopted: intelligence being received next morning, (18th June, 1488.) that the forces of the enemy were approaching from Falkirk by the Torwood, the king advanced to meet them, and the two armies encountered at a place called Little Canglar, on the east side of Sauchieburn, about a mile from the famous field of Bannockburn.* The royalists were drawn up in three divisions. The vanguard, commanded by the Earls of Huntley and Athole, was composed of the Highland clans, armed with swords, long daggers, bows and targets; in the rear were the Westland and Stirlingshire troops, led by the Earl of Monteith, with the Lords Erskine and Graham; while the king himself was in the centre at the head of the burghers and commons. On his right hand was the Earl of Crawford, who, for his eminent services, had recently been created Duke of Montrose; with Lord Lindsay of the Byres, at the head of the chivalry of Fife and Angus; while the left wing was composed of five thousand spearmen from Perthshire, under the command of Lord Ruthven. On the other hand, the rebels, who were greatly superior in numbers, advanced also in three divisions. Lord Hailes and the Master of Home led the van, consisting of the spearmen of East Lothian, and the Merse, and Teviotdale. The second division was composed of the savage Galwegians and the fierce Borderers of Liddesdale and Annandale, under the command of Lord Gray; while the chief of the insurgent barons, along with the prince, whom their wicked arts had enticed to rebel against his father, were stationed in the main body.†

Battle of Sauchieburn.

On the first encounter, the royalists drove back the vanguard of their opponents with considerable loss; but when the hardy and well-disciplined western Borderers advanced to the rescue, the Highlanders, under Huntley and Athole, were unable to resist the shock, and, after a fierce struggle, were compelled to retreat in confusion upon the main body, which made a vigorous but unsuccessful effort to retrieve the fortunes of the day. Overborne by numbers, and compelled to give ground, the royalists retired slowly towards Stirling; and still fighting with obstinate valour, protracted the struggle till the approach of night, when, under cover of the darkness, they decamped in haste, and disbanded their forces, leaving among the slain the Earls of Glencairn and Bothwell, with the Lords Semple, Ruthven, and Erskine. The victorious army passed the night on the field of battle, and next day returned to Linlithgow.

Defeat of the royalists.

James had quitted the field before the conflict was finally decided. As soon as the prospect of the issue became first doubtful, then adverse, the barons who surrounded the king reminded him of the paramount importance of his personal safety, and earnestly recommended him to avert, by an immediate retreat, the danger of his fall or capture, in comparison with which the loss of a single battle was of little moment. Yielding to this advice, James galloped off in the direction of Stirling bridge, either alone, or at such a pace as left his attendants far behind. He was mounted on a powerful grey horse, which had been presented to him a few days before by Lord Lindsay, with the assurance that whether he had 'to flee or follow, advance or retreat,' the animal 'would waur (beat) all the horse of Scotland if he would sit well.' But this highly-valued gift proved the means of the king's destruction. On crossing the brook Bannock, at a hamlet called Milltown, about a mile from the battle-ground, he came suddenly upon a woman drawing water from a well by the roadside, who, alarmed at his appearance, threw down her pitcher and fled into the house. The horse, which was at full speed, startled by this noise, swerved aside, and the king losing his balance fell to the ground before the mill door, and was so much bruised by the fall and the weight of his armour, that he swooned away. The miller and his wife, though ignorant of his name and station, carried him into the mill,* and administered to him such cordials as their house afforded. When he had somewhat recovered, he inquired for a priest, to whom, as a dying man, he might make confession. Being asked who he was, he answered 'This day at morn, I was your king.' On hearing this, the miller's wife ran out, wringing her hands, and calling for a priest to confess the king. At this moment some of the pursuers came up, and one of them, who is asserted to have been an ecclesiastic named Borthwick, in the service of Lord Gray, on hearing the woman's exclamation, said, 'I am a priest, where is the king?' On his admission to the mill, he found the unfortunate monarch lying in a corner of the building, covered with a coarse cloth; and kneeling down under pretence of reverence, inquired if his grace thought he could recover if he had medical assistance. The king answered 'He trowit (believed) he might,' but in the meanwhile he wished a priest to receive his confession, and to give him the sacrament. 'That shall I do hastily,' replied the ruffian; and pulling out a dagger, stabbed his unresisting victim repeatedly to the heart. According to Pitscottie, the murderer carried off the body of his sovereign, 'but no man knew what he did with him, nor where he buried him.' This, however, is a mistake, for a corpse, ascertained to be that of the unhappy mo-

Murder of the king.

* See chart of Bannockburn, and surrounding country.

† Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 219; Buchanan, book xii. chap. lxi.

* The place where James was murdered is known by the name of Beaton's Mill, and is said to be so called from the person who then possessed it. The house has been somewhat modernized, and converted from a mill into a dwelling house, but the lower part of the walls is unaltered and has the appearance of great antiquity. The corner stone of the modern portion of the fabric bears date 1667.

narch, was afterwards found in the neighbourhood, and buried with royal honours in the abbey of Cambuskenneth.*

His character.

James III., who thus perished in the prime of his life by the dagger of an assassin, like most of the princes of his unfortunate house, was possessed of great personal accomplishments, and was, in some respects, far in advance of the age in which he lived. He was passionately fond of the study of mathematics, of judicial astrology, and of the science and practice of music, while his architectural taste was displayed in the erection of the many noble and splendid buildings with which he adorned his kingdom. His devotion to these pursuits, which bespoke a refined and cultivated mind, and would, in other circumstances, have been highly praiseworthy, and his love of seclusion and repose, led him to select as his familiar friends the professors of literature and of the fine arts, to the exclusion of his rude and ignorant nobility, whom he regarded as barbarians, and who, in turn, looked with contempt on what they considered the weak and effeminate character of their sovereign. This mutual aversion between the king and his nobles became gradually stronger and stronger, and at length led to the most fatal results. Immersed in his favourite pursuits, James neglected the duties of his government, obstinately refused to listen to the complaints and remonstrances of his nobility,† and not only admitted architects, painters, musicians, and astrologers to that familiar intercourse, from which even the highest nobles were excluded, but had the weakness and indiscretion to confer on these associates the rank and distinctions hitherto appropriated exclusively to the feudal barons and knights. It is not to be wondered at that a rude and haughty nobility should have been disgusted with such conduct, and should have readily entered into conspiracies against a monarch whom they neither feared nor loved. In a more civilized country, and in a less warlike age, James might have swayed the sceptre with great credit to himself and advantage to his people; but his lot had fallen on evil days. The fierce and turbulent barons by whom he was surrounded were ignorant, illiterate, and unpolished, and regarded with supreme contempt every pursuit, except those connected with the warlike and knightly exercises, in which they were almost exclusively occupied; while the middle classes of the community had not yet risen into sufficient importance and power to be able to support their sovereign against the opposition of his factious barons. At this period, too, a revolutionary and anti-feudal movement of the aristocracy against their king had taken place in England, Germany, the Netherlands, and in almost every other kingdom in Europe with which Scotland was connected; and though the struggle was not in all cases successful, yet the spectacle of a monarch deposed and imprisoned, or put to death by his nobles, had become so familiar as greatly to diminish, in public estimation, the sacredness of the royal person, and the respect for hereditary succession. The restless and rapacious aristocracy of Scotland were not slow to imitate the example of the members of their order in other countries, and to seek the increase of their power and privileges at the expense of the throne. The factious and selfish character of their rebellion is clearly proved by the remarkable fact that though the revolutionary barons proclaimed themselves the champions of law, of liberty, and of the people, and denounced the king as a tyrant and an oppressor; yet the middle classes and the great body of the nation refused to join in their base and treacherous designs, and, so far as they did take part in the struggle, followed the example of the clergy, and united themselves to the party of the sovereign.*

The personal appearance of the unfortunate prince was highly prepossessing; his complexion was dark; his countenance handsome and intelligent; and his person tall and athletic. By his queen he left three sons,—James, his successor; a second James, created Marquis of Ormond and Duke of Ross, and who afterwards became Archbishop of St. Andrews; and John, Earl of Mar. At the time of his death he was in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his reign.

* Ferrerius, p. 400; Lesley's Hist. p. 57.

† Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 186, 187.

* Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 335—337; Tytler, vol. iv. pp. 278—284.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

DURING the period which elapsed between the death of James the First and the accession of James the Fourth, Scotland presented a scene of almost incessant turmoil and disorder. In addition to the usual evils of a long minority in these unhappy times, the miseries of the country were greatly aggravated by the struggles of a turbulent and factious nobility to recover the privileges and power of which they had been deprived.

Distracted state of the country.

The wise and benevolent measures which James the First had enacted for the equitable administration of justice and the protection of the poorer classes against the oppression of the great, remained a mere dead letter on the statute book as soon as the hand of that vigorous and sagacious monarch was withdrawn; and, in a brief space, the power of the feudal barons throughout the kingdom became as exorbitant and was as injuriously exercised as ever. Rapine and outrage everywhere prevailed. The poor and unprotected were oppressed and robbed with impunity. The most flagrant crimes went unpunished, and the country was again torn asunder by the fierce dissensions and sanguinary feuds of the nobility. The misery which the people suffered at this period is thus bewailed by Bower, the historian, who flourished during the minority of James the Second.

"Long appears to us, O king, the time of thy arrival at majority, when thou mayest be able to deliver us, confounded as we are with daily tyranny, oppressed with rapine and spoil; when thou mayest dictate laws, and exercise justice, that the poor, who among us have no helper but God and thee, may be freed from the hand of the powerful. Mayest thou remember that thou art a legislator, in order that thou mayest crush the robber, and restrain those who deal in rapine. The groans of the humble, and the miseries of the poor, whom I myself, who write this, have seen this very day, in my own neighbourhood, stripped of their garments, and inhumanly despoiled of their domestic utensils, constrain me to exclaim with him who says, 'I have seen the injuries which are done, the tears of the innocent and no comforter; and that the destitute cannot resist violence. I have praised the dead more than the living, and happier than both have I esteemed the unborn, the sole strangers to the evils of this world.' And, in another passage, comparing the reign of James I. with his own times: 'Woe to us, miserable wretches! exposed to rapine and injury: how can we endure to live who enjoyed such prosperity in the days of that illustrious king, and now, by a sad change of fortune, experience the complete reverse?'"

This deplorable account of the state of Scotland in these 'troublous times,' is fully corroborated by Pitscottie, who says, that "meikle hership and stouth was in land and burrowis, and great cruelty of nobles among themselves; for slaughter, theft, and murder were then potent, and so continued day by day, so that he was esteemed the greatest man of renown that was the greatest brigand, thief, and murderer. There were so many widows, bairns, and infants seeking redress for their husbands, kindred, and friends that were cruelly slain by wicked murderers, that it would have pitied any man to have heard the same." No wonder that "the people began to weary and to curse that ever it chanced them to live in sic wicked and dangerous times." "But," he significantly adds, "they were the cause of this mischief that were governors and magistrates of the realm." Throughout the whole of this period, indeed, those, who from their station and office ought to have been the guardians of the laws and the protectors of the people, were, in most cases, the worst oppressors of the poor, and the first to violate the statutes which they had assisted to frame.

One fertile source of the lawlessness and confusion which prevailed in Scotland at this time, was the custom of entering into 'bands or leagues,' by which the feudal barons became bound to stand by each other in all causes and quarrels in which they might engage. The precise nature of these confederacies among the Scottish nobles may be learned from the remarkable agreement entered into between Robert Lord Fleming, on the one side, and Gilbert Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander Boyd of Duchol, on the other. The indenture, which is dated at Stirling on the 10th of February, 1465, declares that the said lords had solemnly "bound and obliged themselves, their kin, friends, and men, to stand in afald kindness, supply, and defence, each to the other in all their causes and quarrels moved and to be moved, for all the days of their lives, against all manner of persons that live or die may," reserving, however, their allegiance to their sovereign, and especially excepting from the operation of this clause the Lords Livingston and Hamilton, with whom, it would seem, Lord Fleming had already entered into a similar covenant. On the other hand, Kennedy and Boyd except from the obligation to consider as their adversaries every enemy of Fleming, a list of friends with whom they had entered into a similar bond, including the Earl of Crawford, Lords Montgomery, Maxwell, Livingston, Hamilton, and Cathcart, along with Patrick Graham, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews. With regard to the services which the parties entering into this league were mutually to perform, it was stipulated that Lord Fleming was to remain a member of the king's special council so long as Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander Boyd themselves continue in the same office, on condition that he became bound, in no possible manner either by active measures, or by consent and advice, to remove the king's person from the keeping of Kennedy and Boyd, or of any person whom they may have

'Bands' among the nobles.

left in charge of the sovereign during their absence. It was also stipulated that Lord Fleming should engage that he would earnestly advise the king, "with his good counsel, to be heartily and kindly to Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander Boyd, with their bairns and friends, and they that belong to them at the time." In return for these services it was declared that if any office in the king's gift happened to fall vacant, which is a reasonable and fit thing for Lord Fleming's service, he should be promoted thereto for his reward; and "if there happens a larger thing to fall, such as ward-relief, marriage, or other perquisite, as is meet for the Lord Fleming's service, he shall have it for a reasonable composition before any other." It was finally agreed that for Lord Fleming's sake, and for their service done and to be done, Tom of Somerville and Wat of Tweedy, two of Lord Fleming's friends, should be received by Kennedy and Boyd in special maintenance, supply, and defence, in all their actions, causes, and quarrels: and the deed was solemnly ratified and confirmed by the oath of the contracting parties taken upon the holy gospels.*

Abortive attempts to remedy these evils.

This instructive document will serve to illustrate the unworthy methods which were adopted at this period by the Scottish barons to promote their own selfish interests at the expense of the peace and prosperity of the country. It was in vain that the legislature declared that 'within the burghs throughout the realm' no bands or leagues were to be permitted, and that no persons who dwelt within burghs should either enter into 'man-rent,' or ride, or 'rout' in warlike apparel with any leader, except the king or his officers, or the lord of the burgh within which they dwelt, under the penalty of forfeiting their lives, and having their goods confiscated to the king.† The evil was too deep-rooted to be reached by mere legislative enactments which the sovereign and his ministers had no power to enforce. In defiance, both of the threats of the law, and the efforts of the government, the Scottish aristocracy continued and extended their illegal confederacies, which were equally at variance with the rights of the community, and the independence and stability of the throne. And the frequent repetition in the statute-book of the same enactments against the formation of 'bands or leagues'—the making of private war—laying violent hands upon the person of the sovereign—plundering the king's lieges—'great and masterful theft,' and other flagrant crimes of a similar kind, plainly shows the utter impotence both of the legislature and of the government to restrain or punish the acts of oppression and robbery perpetrated by those turbulent barons, whose ferocity and selfish ambition filled the country from one end to the other with scenes of bloodshed and rapine.

The reign of James the Second was fertile in judicious and salutary enactments, and the statutes enacted for the purpose of securing the more speedy punishment of offenders and their abettors—the suppression of rebellion against the king's person and authority—the appointment of learned and upright judges, and the equal administration of justice—the security of life and property, and the preservation of the 'king's peace,' in every part of the country—the protection of the rights of 'the poor people who labour the ground,' by the positive prohibition of all attempts to eject any tenant during the currency of his lease, or in the case of those who hold church-lands, on a vacancy of the benefice, reflect the highest credit on the sagacity and firmness of this monarch, and the able and enlightened prelates who were his chief advisers; and serve also to throw great light on the state of the country, and the difficulties which he had to encounter in his wise and benevolent efforts to ameliorate the condition of his subjects. It would appear that the stringent enactments of his father against 'sorning and masterful beggars' had failed to arrest this grievous abuse, for a statute, which gives us a curious picture of the times, was passed by the parliament of 1449, for the 'putting away of sorners, outlyars, and masterful beggars,' who travelled through the country with horses, hounds, and other goods, extorting charity from those who were afraid to resist their demands, especially from the farmers and the monks. All sheriffs, barons, aldermen, and bailies, either without or within the burgh, were directed to confiscate the property, and to seize the persons of these sturdy mendicants, as well as of "any pretended fools, bards or such like vagabonds," who were to be kept in prison or in irons as long "as they had wherewith to live, and when they had not, their ears to be nailed to the Tron or to a tree, and then cut off, and they themselves banished the country, to which if they returned again they were to be hanged." By another statute these 'sorners' were to be punished with death.

Wise laws of James II.

The same anxious desire to promote the peace and prosperity of the country, and the maintenance of law and order, appears in the peremptory injunctions issued by James to the sheriffs to make immediate inquiry into all invasions of property, and to compel the offender to make instant restitution; in the directions given to these officers, along with the justices, chamberlains, coroners, and other magistrates, not to travel through the country with those numerous trains of attendants, which grievously oppressed the people; and in the penalties denounced against any lord of regality who should abuse his privileges to the breaking of the king's laws, and the injury of the country. A striking proof of the frequency of brawls and riots among the unruly followers of the nobility is afforded by a subsequent statute, which enjoins all persons of every degree to attend the justice ayres or sheriff courts with no more than their ordinary train of attendants, and to take care on entering their inn or lodging to lay aside their harness and

* Tytler, vol. iv. Illustrations, letter G.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 50.

warlike weapons, and to use for the time nothing but their knives. As an additional security against violence and bloodshed, when persons at deadly feud happened to meet at such assemblies, the sheriff was directed to take pledges from both, binding them to keep the peace.* Any person who had reason to apprehend violence from another—an event of constant occurrence in these lawless times—was directed to go to the nearest magistrate, and make oath that he was in dread of his violence, after which the officer was to take pledges for the keeping of the peace according to the ancient statutes upon this subject.† The person who refused to grant such security, that he would abstain from offering violence to the person, or invading the property of his neighbours, was liable to heavy penalties. In order to put a stop to the alarming prevalence of crime and oppression, a subsequent statute inflicted severe fines upon the *borrows* or sureties of those persons who had violated their pledges. "Concerning law-borrows it is enacted," to use the language of the statute, "that if they be broken upon any bishop, abbot, prelate of the church, earl or lord of parliament, the sureties of the infringer shall pay to our sovereign lord a fine of one hundred pounds; if upon any baron, knight, squire, or beneficed clerk, fifty pounds; if upon a burgess, yeoman, or priest, thirty pounds, together with due compensation to the party injured, unless the sureties produce the offender before the king or sheriff within forty days."‡

Attempts made to condense and explain the statutes of the realm.

Among the numerous judicious measures which distinguished the reign of James the First, was the appointment of a committee, consisting of six wise and able men best acquainted with the laws, chosen from each of the three Estates, for the purpose of examining the books of the law; that is to say, 'Regiam Majestatem' and 'Quoniam Attachiamenta,' who were directed to 'mend the lawis that nedis mendyng,' to reconcile all contradictory and explain all obscure enactments. A similar measure was adopted by the parliament of 1469, in which the three Estates, after having concluded their deliberations, elected a committee of prelates, barons, and commissaries of the burghs, to whom, among other important matters, was entrusted 'the reduction of the king's laws, comprehending the "Regiam Majestatem," the acts, statutes, and other books, into one code or volume,' while the rest, meaning probably those statutes which had either fallen into desuetude, or been abrogated, were to be destroyed. These injunctions, however, seem not to have been carried into effect, for in 1473, the lords and barons besought the king to select from each Estate two persons of wisdom, conscience, and knowledge, who were to labour diligently towards 'the clearing up of diverse, obscure matters, which existed in the books of the law, and created a constant and daily perplexity,' and were directed to 'find good inventions, which shall accord to law and conscience, for the decision of the daily pleas brought before the king's highness, and concerning which there was as yet no law proper to regulate their decision.' It was further recommended by the lords and barons, that after such rules of law had been selected they should be laid before the next meeting of parliament, and upon being ratified and approved, all the laws of the realm should then be written in a book, which was to be kept in an accessible place where it might be copied, and that no other books of the law should be permitted thenceforth to be quoted but those which were copies from this original, under the penalty of personal punishment and perpetual silence, to be inflicted upon all who practised in the laws and infringed these injunctions.*

Sittings of the Court of Session.

In order to promote the due administration of justice in all parts of the kingdom, it was directed by the parliament of 1457, that the Court of Session should be composed of nine judges, who were to have votes in the decision of causes; three being chosen from each Estate along with the clerk of the register; and that these lords of session should sit three times in the year for forty days at a time, in Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen. The impoverished state of the public exchequer at this period is manifested by a subsequent statute, which states that since the lords of session are to hold their court for so short a time, and that they are not likely to be called upon to undertake such a duty more than once every seven years, they ought out of their benevolence to pay their own expenses; and upon the conclusion of the three yearly sessions, the king and his council promise to select other lords from the three Estates, who should sit in the same manner as the first, at such places as were most convenient.† The settlement of all causes not exceeding the sum of five pounds, was intrusted to a committee, selected by the privy council, and consisting of eight or twelve persons, according to the size of the town. Frequent references occur in the statute book to the neglect or unwillingness of the judges, and law officers of the crown, to execute the laws, especially against powerful delinquents; no doubt from their natural apprehension of injury to their own persons or interests; and in the parliament of 1469, it was declared, 'that if the justice, sheriff, steward, or other officer, refuse to execute justice,' the complainant should repair to the king in council, who shall inflict summary punishment on the offending magistrate.

Settlement of minor causes.

State of agriculture—

In consequence of the general insecurity of life and property in Scotland at this period, agricultural operations were so generally neglected, that it was deemed necessary to frame several regulations for the encouragement of husbandry, and to re-enact the statute

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 49.
† Ibid. p. 35. ‡ Ibid. p. 85.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 105; Tytler, vol. iv. p. 206.
† Ibid. p. 139; Acts, &c., vol. ii. p. 48.

of James I., by which every man possessed of a plough and of eight oxen was commanded to sow annually at the least a firlot of wheat, half a firlot of pease, and forty beans, under the penalty of ten shillings to the baron of the land for each offence; while the baron himself was enjoined to sow the same proportions of wheat, pease, and beans, in his own domains, under the penalty of ten shillings to the king for his own infringement of the law, and forty shillings, if he neglected to levy the statutory penalty from his tenants. In order to repair the waste of the woods and forests of the country, it was declared, that "the lords thought it advisable that the king should recommend all his freeholders, both spiritual and temporal, to make it a provision in their Whitsunday's lease, that all tenants should plant woods and trees, make hedges, and sow broom in places best adapted, according to the nature of the farm, under a penalty to be fixed by the proprietor; and that care should be taken that the enclosures and hedges were not constructed of dry stakes driven into the ground and wattled, or of dry worked or planed boards, but of living trees, which might grow and be plentiful in the land."* Enactments were also made at the same time prohibiting the burning of heath, from the month of March till Michaelmas, that the standing corn might not be injured; and recommending the extirpation of eagles, bustards, kites, hawks, and especially of wolves. The whole population of the district were commanded to assemble three times in the year for the purpose of hunting these destructive animals; and the man who slew a wolf, upon bringing the head to the sheriff, was to receive a penny from every householder in the parish; if he brought the head of a fox, he was to receive sixpence from the same officer.

—enactments for its encouragement.

Various other measures were adopted by James II. for the protection and encouragement of agriculture, and special mention should be made of the statute of 1449, which declared that husbandmen "who have taken or shall take lands in any time to come from lords according to a lease which is to run for a certain term of years, shall remain on the lands protected by their lease till the expiry of the same, paying all along the same yearly rent, and this notwithstanding the lands should pass by sale or by alienation, into the possession of other landlords,"—a just and wise act, which must have exercised a most important influence on the security of property and the improvement of the country. A subsequent statute of the same monarch permitting lands to be let in feu, free from military service, was also a judicious and most beneficial measure; but the act of 1469, freeing the property of the tenants who laboured the ground from liability for the debts of their lord, is by far the most important legislative enactment of this period affecting the rights and condition of this class of the community. It appears that among the many grievous hardships to which the husbandmen were subjected at this time, by the tyranny of the higher orders, they were frequently stripped of their whole property by the creditors of their landlord, in order to pay his debts. To remedy this gross injustice, an act was passed by which it was declared that "to prevent the great impoverishment and destruction of the king's commons and rentallers, and of the inhabitants of the estates of the nobles, which was occasioned by the brief of distress" sued out by the creditors of these nobles, the poor tenants should not be distrained for their landlord's debts farther than the sum which they were due to him in rent; so that if the amount of the debt exceeded the rent due by the tenants, the creditor was bound to have recourse against the other goods and property of the debtor. If the defaulter had no other property except his land, it was provided that the land should be sold and the debt paid, so that the poor tenants and labourers should not be distressed. The debtor, however, was to enjoy the privilege of reclaiming his land from the purchaser, if at any time within seven years he should pay down the price for which it had been sold.*

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 51.

The distractions of the kingdom, and the incessant feuds among the nobles, by interrupting the operations of the husbandman, and destroying the fruits of his labours, not unfrequently produced a scarcity of the necessaries of life, and subjected the devoted country to the miseries of famine. It is stated by an ancient contemporary chronicler, that in the year 1439 "was the dear summer, for the boll of meal was at twenty-four shillings, and the boll of malt at two marks, and the boll of wheat at thirty shillings,"† so that, according to the calculation of the learned Ruddiman, the price of provisions was increased by the scarcity about twenty-fold. The famine became so grievous, that multitudes of the poorer classes died of absolute want, and great numbers of those whom the famine had spared were cut off by a deadly pestilence, the consequence of scanty and unwholesome food. In the simple but graphic language of Pitscottie, "In this year there raise ane great dearth of victuals within the realm, partly because the labourers of the ground might not sow nor win the corn through the tumults and cumbers in the country and partly because of the wrath and ire of God to cause us to know ourselves, and through that scourge to provoke us to amendment of life. There rang also at this time ane terrible pest in the countrie, for all men that were infected therewith died that same day they took it, but (without) any remedie or help."‡ Again, we are told by the contemporary chronicler quoted above, that in the year 1482, "there was ane great hungyr and deid in Scotland, for the boll of meal was four pounds;"

Famine and pestilence.

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 96; Tytler, vol. iv. p. 197.

† Contemporary Chronicle at the end of Wyntown; Pinkerton, Appendix to vol. i. p. 502.

‡ Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 23, 24.

and the public distress was greatly aggravated by the issue of a debased currency, called 'black money;' or copper pieces mixed with a small quantity of silver; an unjust and impolitic device which raised the price of all the necessaries of life, and excited great discontent among the people. "And also," continues the chronicler, "there was great war betwixt Scotland and England, and great destruction, through the wars, was of corn and cattle, and thai twa things caused baith hunger and dearth, and mony poor folk deit of hunger."* The government of the day, acting upon those mistaken notions of political economy which were then universally prevalent, sought to prevent the recurrence of this grievous calamity, by issuing severe enactments against those persons who were in the practice of buying victual or corn and hoarding it up, in the expectation of a dearth. Strict injunctions were given to sheriffs, bailies, and all other officers, to discover, arrest, and punish all such persons, whilst the provisions which they had hoarded were to be confiscated. The keeping of old stacks of corn in the farm-yard later than Christmas was strictly prohibited; and burgesses and other persons who bought victual for the purpose of selling again, were allowed at this late season of the year to have only so much grain in their possession as was requisite for the support of themselves and their families.† By a subsequent statute, passed in August, 1452, it was ordered that all the corn in the kingdom should be thrashed out before the last day of May then next.

Trade and commerce.

The trade and commerce of the country appear to have made little progress during the reigns of James the Second and Third. We learn from an old English poem, apparently written in the reign of Edward the Fourth, and entitled 'The Bibel of English Policy,' that the chief exports of Scotland, at this period, were fells or skins, hides, and wool; that the wool was manufactured at Popering, and Bell, or Baileul, towns on the coast of Flanders, between Dunkirk and Calais; that a mixture of English wool was necessary to make fine cloth; and, that the Scottish imports from Flanders were cart wheels and wheelbarrows, haberdashery, and a little mercery.‡ Large quantities of salmon still continued to be exported, and regulations were enacted by the legislature respecting the size of the barrels and the mode of measurement. An important statute passed in 1467, declared that, in future, no ship should be freighted by any of the king's lieges either within the realm or from a foreign port, without there being a formal charter-party drawn up, stipulating that the ship-master should provide a steersman and tymmerman (timber man), with a crew sufficient to navigate the vessel. The merchants who sailed with him were to be gratuitously furnished with fire, water and salt. If any quarrel arose between these merchantmen and the ship-master, its decision was to be referred to the court of the burgh to which the ship was freighted. No merchants' goods were to be injured or spoiled by ignorant or careless stowage, under the penalty of forfeiting the freight-money, besides making compensation to the owner for the damage. No goods were allowed to be placed upon the upper-deck, and none were to be stowed below which could injure the rest of the cargo in a tempest. It was ordered, that every ship carrying more than five lasts of goods, should pay to the Scottish chaplain in the port to which it was bound, one sack; and if under five lasts, half a sack, under the penalty of five pounds to the king. No drink money was to be paid to the shipmaster or his agents. Every ship, homeward bound, was to bring one ton of materials for the church-work of the town to which it was freighted. No master was to be allowed to sail his vessel during the winter months, from the feast of St. Simon and Jude to Candlemas; and all merchants were prohibited from trading to the ports of the Swyn, the Sluse, the Dam, or Bruges, and were ordered to pass with their ships and cargoes to the town of Middleburgh; probably in consequence of some temporary misunderstanding with the Flemings.* A judicious and equitable measure was enacted by James III. in his last parliament (A.D. 1487), for the protection and encouragement of foreign merchants. "For the common profit of the whole realm, and to excite strangers of other realms to visit the kingdom with grain and other merchandize," it was ordered that, in future, all strangers should be treated honourably and with all favour, at whatever port they should arrive. The king's officers, and all other subjects of the realm, were prohibited from disturbing them, or arresting their persons, ships, or goods; and it was declared, that they should have full liberty to dispose of their goods, and to sell them to freemen, without compulsion or violence; and that there should not be any price set upon their goods, except in fair bargain and sale. It was ordered, that no new customs, impositions, or exactions, should be levied on them; but that they should pay the ancient duties alone, and that when any articles were wanted for the king, his comptroller or receiver, after the price had been settled, should have as much of the first and best as was required, for which, however, immediate payment was to be made, that the owners might not suffer by delay. It was peremptorily enjoined, that in future no person, under pretence of making purchases for the king's use, should take goods from strangers to sell again, under the penalty of banishment and escheat of moveables. Any strangers then in the kingdom making complaints respecting the seizure of their goods, or any other injury, should receive immediate payment and compensation, according to justice, against any person in the kingdom, "So that by the due ad-

* Appendix to Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 503.
† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 36.
‡ Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 407, 408.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 87.

ministration of justice, and the favourable treatment of all strangers, they might be induced to return, to the great benefit of the whole kingdom." These enactments present a curious picture of the lawless state of the country at this time, which rendered such regulations necessary for the protection of foreign traders against the rapacious exactions and violence of the officers of the royal household, as well as of the feudal barons. Evidence is afforded by the statute-book, that the king's own 'poor commons' were exposed to similar oppressive exactions; and it appears, that during the sitting of parliament and of the session, the king's constables and other officers were in the habit of levying a tax upon the merchants and tradesmen who then brought their goods to market, encouraged by the greater demand for their commodities. This heavy grievance was removed by the parliament of 1457, which declared all such imposts henceforth illegal, unless the right of exaction belonged to the constable 'of fee,' for which he must show his charter.

Erroneous commercial legislation.

Not a few of the statutes, however, which were enacted at this period, for the regulation of trade and commerce, were based on most erroneous principles, and were calculated to impede and injure, rather than to foster the industry of the country. The restrictions upon the export of cattle into England, and the transportation of gold and silver out of the country were renewed, and it was declared, that every merchant who exported hides or woolfels, should, for each sack which he sold in the foreign market, bring to the master coiner of the king's mint two ounces of current silver, for which he was to receive nine shillings and two-pence. A statute of James I. was re-enacted, which ordered that no person should be allowed to sail or trade in ships, but such as were of good reputation and ability, and who possessed, at the least, in property or in commission, the value of three serplaiths of wool. It was declared, that no litstar or dyer was to follow the trade of a draper, or to be permitted to buy or sell cloth. None but free burgesses, or dwellers within burghs, or their factors and servants, were allowed to sell or traffic in merchandize out of the realm; but an exception was made in favour of prelates, barons, and clerks, who were permitted to send the produce of their estates out of the country by the hands of their servants, and to purchase in return, such things as were needful for their personal use. Even burgesses, it would appear, were not allowed to engage in mercantile pursuits, unless they possessed, of their own property, half a 'last' of goods, or had this quantity, at least, under their own power and management; and handicraftsmen and artizans were not permitted to trade, unless they first entirely renounced their own craft. The prelates, and nobles, and even the king himself, still continued, as in the former reign, to freight vessels, and to engage in other private commercial speculations.

An important change took place in the coinage of the kingdom during the reign of James the Second. It was resolved by the parliament of 1451 that it was expedient there should be an issue of new coinage, conforming in weight to the money of England. Eight groats were to be coined out of the ounce of refined silver or bullion, and smaller coins of half-groats, pennies, half-pennies, and farthings, of the same proportionate weight and fineness. It was directed that the new groats should be reckoned of the value of eight-pence the piece; that the half-groat should be taken for four-pence, the penny for two-pence, the half-penny for one penny, and the farthing for a half-penny. The English groat and half-groat were fixed at the same value, but it was ordained that the English penny should only be received for such value as the receiver chose to affix to it. The exact value of the French and other foreign coins then current in Scotland, was fixed at the same time. It was declared that as soon as the new groat was struck and a day appointed for its issue, the value of the groat now current was to be lowered to four-pence, and of the half-groat to two-pence. It was next resolved by the parliament that there should be struck a new gold coin, having the figure of a lion on the one side, and on the other the image of St. Andrew, clothed in a side-coat, reaching to his feet. The value of this new piece, which was termed a lion, was fixed at six shillings and eight-pence of the new coinage, while the value of the half-lion was to be three shillings and four-pence. The coin called the demy, which had then a current value of nine shillings, was henceforth to be received only for six shillings and eight-pence, and the half-demy for three shillings and four-pence. It was declared that no man was to be obliged to receive this money if it should be reduced by clipping. The master of the mint was to be held responsible for all the gold and silver struck under his authority, and was invested with full power to select the coiners and strikers who worked under him and to punish them for any misconduct.*

Coinage.

It was soon found that the value affixed by these regulations to the various coins, both native and foreign, then current in Scotland, was too low, and that the merchants and traders having discovered that the real value of the money was greater than the statutory value fixed by parliament, were in the habit of 'keeping up' the coins and exporting them to other countries. To remedy this evil, which seems to have excited great alarm among the statesmen of this period, the parliament of 1456 ordained that the value of the demy should be estimated at ten shillings; that the new lion should 'have course throughout the realm' for the same sum, instead of its first value, six shillings and eight-pence, as directed in 1451; that the new groat should be raised from eight-pence to twelve-pence; and the half-groat from four-pence to six-pence. Special regulations were also framed respecting articles made of the precious metals, the

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 39, 40.

standard purity of which was to be carefully ascertained and authenticated by a mark stamped upon them by the deacon of the craft.*

Certain gold pieces coined by James III. received the designation of 'unicorns,' from the animal now employed as the supporter of the royal armorial bearings. The copper coinage of Scotland commenced in 1466, when it was resolved by the parliament, that for the convenience of the king's lieges, and to encourage alms-giving to the poor, a coinage of copper money should be issued, four pieces or farthings to the penny, with the device of St. Andrew's cross, and superscribed Edinburgh on the one side, and a royal crown with the letters 'JAMES R.' on the reverse. A little silver was mingled with the copper, so as to constitute what was called 'billon.' The 'black money,' as the debased groats and pennies issued by this prince were termed, consisted of copper pieces mixed with a small quantity of silver. The groats were called 'placks,' and only passed for three-pence. The severe penalties, which were repeatedly denounced by the legislature against all false strikers of gold and silver, and all forgers of false groats and pennies, show that the crimes of false coining and forgery were not uncommon in Scotland at this time.

Arms and armour.

A minute description of the arms and armour worn by the different classes of the community at this period is given in the various statutes which make provision for the defence of the country. It was ordered by the parliament of 1456 "that all the king's lieges possessed of lands or goods should be ready mounted and accoutred, according to the value of their property, to ride for the defence of the country at the command of the king. All persons worth twenty marks were commanded to provide themselves, at the least, with a jack and sleeves down to the waist, or with a pair of splents, a 'sellat,'† or a 'prickit hat,' a sword and a buckler, a bow and sheaf of arrows, if they can procure them; if not, they were to have an axe and a targe made either of leather or wood, with two bands upon the inside."‡ In 1471 it was declared that no "merchant should import spears less than six ells in length, and that no bowyer in the kingdom should make them of shorter size; that every yeoman who could not use the bow should have a good axe and a targe of leather to resist the English arrows." In a subsequent parliament (A.D. 1481) a penalty was imposed on any soldier whose spear was shorter than five ells and a half; the jacks or leathern tunics were ordered to extend below the knee, and the targe of wood or leather was to be made according to a pattern to be sent to the sheriff of the county.§ The barons were arrayed from head to heel in plate armour of complete steel, which had now superseded the chain-mail formerly worn by the leaders of the army. Their horses were now also clad in complete armour. Considerable attention appears to have been paid both by James II. and his successor to the construction of cannon, or 'carts of war' as they are termed; and artillerymen and skilful artisans were procured from the continent for the management of the rude ordnance which were then employed by the Scots. The art of gunnery appears to have been very imperfectly understood in Scotland at this period. James, as it is well known, lost his life at the siege of Roxburgh castle by the bursting of a rudely constructed gun, which had been overcharged by the engineer; and Dunbar castle, which was besieged by James III. in 1479, withstood for several months the discharges of the royal artillery. The cannon of the garrison, however, appears to have been better served, for we are informed that a single ball from a gun, mounted on the ramparts of the fortress, struck dead at one moment three of the best knights in the army of the besiegers,—Sir John Colquhoun, of Luss; Sir Adam Wallace, of Craigie; and Sir James Schaw, of Sauchie.

In imitation of the example of James I., his successors sought, by every means in their power, to promote the practice of archery among their subjects. Stringent enactments were repeated at intervals throughout their reigns prohibiting the games of the foot-ball and golf, the favourite pastimes of the Scottish peasantry; and commanding that a pair of butts should be erected in the vicinity of each parish church, where shooting was to be practised every Sunday; that armed musters of the whole disposable force of a district, for the exercise of their arms and the inspection of their weapons, should be held four times in the year; and that there should be a good 'bowyer' and a 'fledger' or arrow-maker in every head-town of the county, who were to be furnished by the town with the requisite materials for their trade, so that every man within the parish might be provided with the requisite weapons, and practise shooting. But all these attempts to change the national habits completely failed, and the Scottish soldiery, in spite of reiterated legislative enactments, enforced by heavy penalties, could not be prevailed upon to substitute the bow for their favourite weapon, the spear.

In the reign of James II. we find the first mention made of the institution of a royal guard for the protection of the sovereign's person—a measure of precaution which was probably taken in consequence of the cruel assassination of that monarch's father. It appears to have been discontinued by James IV., who was exceedingly popular among all classes of his subjects; but was revived during the minority of his successor. With the exception of this guard, and a small body of soldiers occasionally maintained for the purpose of garrisoning the fortresses on the Borders, Scotland was a stranger to a standing army till the period of the Restoration.

The system of chivalry which made its way into

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 46.
† A helmet or head-piece for foot-soldiers.
‡ Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 35.
§ Ibid. pp. 132, 133; Lesley's Hist. p. 43

Scotland at a very early period, still continued to flourish among the barons and knights of that country. The ancient oath, administered with great solemnity to the youthful Scottish warrior on whom the honour of knighthood was conferred, has fortunately been preserved, and is a curious and interesting relic of an institution which, at one time, exercised a powerful influence on the character of our ancestors. The aspirant after knightly renown bound and obliged himself to defend the Christian religion to the uttermost of his power,—to be loyal and true to his sovereign lord the king, to all orders of chivalry, and to the noble office of arms—to support the administration of justice without favour or enmity, never to flee from his sovereign lord the king, nor from his lieutenants in the time of affray or battle—to defend his native realm from all aliens and strangers—to defend the just action and quarrel of all ladies of honour, of all true and friendless widows, of orphans, and of maidens of good fame—to do diligence to bring to justice all murderers, traitors, or masterful robbers, who oppress the king's lieges and poor people—to maintain and uphold the noble state of chivalry, with horse, armour, and other knightly habiliments, and to help and succour those of the same order at his power, if they had need—and, finally, he declared his determination to seek diligently to acquire the knowledge and understanding of all the articles and points contained in the books of chivalry.*

Chivalry and oath of knighthood.

The tournament continued to be a favourite pastime of the Scottish barons and knights, who enjoyed a high reputation throughout Europe for skill in those spirit-stirring displays of martial accomplishments, which constitute such a striking feature of the times. A brief notice has already been given of the celebrated combat *at outrance* between three Burgundian champions and three Scottish knights, which occurred at the marriage of James II., in 1449; but the minute and graphic account of this noted combat, by Olivier de la Marche, a contemporary Burgundian writer,† deserves insertion on account of the light which it casts on the chivalrous character and manners of the knights of this period.

Tournaments.

"When Messire Jaques de Lalain saw that there was no further occasion for him there, he returned and found the good duke of Burgundy in his city of Lille, who received him favourably; but he soon took leave of the duke and set out for Scotland. He was accompanied by Messire Simon de Lalain, his uncle, and Hervé de Meriadet and many other worthy men; and, so far as I understand, Messire James Douglas, brother of the Earl of Douglas, and the said Messire Jaques de Lalain had formerly wished to meet in arms, and had sought each other for that purpose. At the instance of the said Messire James Douglas, battle was permitted by the king between him and M. Jaques de Lalain, but the affair grew and multiplied, so that a conflict *to outrance* was concluded on, of three noble Scottishmen, against M. Simon and M. Jaques de Lalain, and Hervé de Meriadet, all to fight at once, before the king of Scotland. And when the day of the conflict came, the king most honourably received them in the lists, and though I was not myself a spectator, yet I must recount the ceremonies, for example to future times. For three memorable things occur besides the battle, which was most fiercely disputed on both sides."

"The first was, that when the three belonging to the court of Burgundy were all armed, and each his *coat of arms* on his back ready to enter into battle, M. Jaques de Lalain spoke to M. Simon, his uncle, and to Meriadet, and said, 'Messieurs and my brothers in the conflict, you know that it is my enterprise which has led us into this kingdom, and that in consequence the battle has been granted to M. James Douglas; and although each of us may assist his comrade, I beg and request you, that whatever befall me this day, none of you attempt to succour me, for it would seem that you had passed the sea and entered into this conflict only to assist me; and that you did not hold or know me a man able to sustain the assault and combat of one knight, and hence less account will be held of me and my knighthood.'

"After this request, sallied from the pavilions the champions in armour, furnished with axes, lances, swords, daggers, and they had leave either to throw or push their lances as they chose."

"The two Messires James Douglas and Jaques de Lalain were in the middle, to encounter each other, which they did. On the right was M. Simon de Lalain, who was to engage a Scottish squire, and Meriadet was to meet a knight of high power and fame; but they found themselves transverse, so that the knight was opposite to M. Simon, and then Meriadet (who desired to assail him who was appointed, without regard to the strength or fame of his antagonist) passed across to place himself before M. Simon, and meet his man. But the good knight coldly and firmly turned towards Meriadet and said, 'Brother, let each keep himself to his opponent, and I shall do well, if it please God.' So Meriadet resumed his rank before his antagonist, and this is the second thing which I desired to commemorate."

"The champions began to advance each against the other, and because that the three on the part of Burgundy doubted lest the place might be too confined for so many lances, they all three threw their lances behind them (the third cause of my recital), and seized their axes, and rushed on the Scots, who came within push of lance, but that availed them nothing. Though all fought at once, I shall rehearse the adventures one after the other."

"The two Messires James Douglas and de Lalain met each other, and approached so nigh, that of all their weapons there remained none save a dagger, which the Scottish knight held. The

* Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 427; from a book, entitled 'Certain Matters composed together,' Edin. 1594.

† Quoted by Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 428—431.

said M. Jaques de Lalain seized him by the arm near his hand, which held the dagger so closely, that the Scot could not avail himself of it; and he held the other arm below the arm-pit, so that they turned each other round the lists for a long time."

"M. Simon de Lalain and the Scottish knight were strong champions, and neither of them skilled in warding blows of the axe; like two valiant knights they attacked each other so often, that in a short time they had crushed the visors of their basinets, and their weapons and armour, with mutual blows, and the fight seemed equal."

"On the other side was Hervé de Meriadet, whom the Scottishman attacked with the push of the lance; but Meriadet turned off the blow with the butt-end of his axe, so that the lance fell from the Scot's hands; and Meriadet pursued him so keenly, that before the Scot could undo his axe he came within his guard, and with one blow felled him to the earth. Meriadet then left the Scot to arise, who was quick, light, and of great spirit, and arose speedily and ran to Meriadet for the second time. Meriadet (who was one of the most redoubted squires of his time for strength, lightness, coolness, and skill in arms and in wrestling) received the assault with great composure, then returned it, and again struck him to the ground with his axe; when the Scot again attempted to rise, but Meriadet struck him on the back with his hand and knee, and made him fall flat on the sand. And notwithstanding the request which Messire Jaques de Lalain had made, the said Meriadet, seeing the struggle of the two knights, advanced to assist the said Jaques, but the king of Scots threw down his baton and they were parted. Now, though it be against my plan, and though I write of this combat without having seen it, I nevertheless report it truly by the report of the Scots and of our party."

A vivid and interesting picture of the civil dresses of the times is given in the various sumptuary laws enacted by James II. and his successor, in consequence of the alleged impoverishment of the realm by the sumptuous apparel of men and women. The same subject had attracted the attention of the legislature in the year 1429, and strict injunctions were issued that the king's lieges should array themselves in such grave apparel as befitted their station. But it would appear that these statutory regulations had failed to remedy the evil complained of, for it was deemed necessary, by the parliament held in 1457, to re-enact the laws against immoderate costliness in apparel still indulged in, especially by the burgesses and their wives. "Seeing," it declared, "that each estate has been greatly impoverished through the sumptuous clothing of men and women, especially within the burghs, and amongst the commonalty, to 'landwart,' the lords thought it speedful that restriction of such vanity should be made in this manner. First, no man within the burgh, that lived by merchandise, except he be a person of dignity, as one of the aldermen or bailies, or other good worthy men of the council of the town, should either himself wear, or allow his wife to wear, clothes of silk, or costly scarlet gowns, or furring of mertricks." Strict injunctions were also issued, that the wives and daughters of the burgesses should be habited in a manner correspondent to their estate, "that is to say, on their heads short curches with little hoods, such as are used in Flanders, England, and other countries; and as to the gowns, no woman should wear mertricks, or letvis, or tails of unbefitting length, nor trimmed with furs, except on holydays." At the same time it was ordered that "poor gentlemen, living in the country, whose property was within forty pounds of old extent," should regulate their dress according to the same standard. As to the clergy, no one was to wear a scarlet gown or mertrick furs, unless he was a dignitary in a cathedral or college church, or a doctor, or a person having an income of two hundred marks. And with regard to the commonalty, it was enacted "that no labourers or husbandmen were to wear on their work-days any other stuff than grey or white cloth; and on holydays, light blue, green, or red, and their wives the same, with kerchiefs of their own making. The stuff they wore was not to exceed the price of forty pence the ell. No woman was to come to the kirk or market with her face 'mussalit,' or covered, so that she might not be known, under the penalty of forfeiting the curch."*

Dress of the lords and of the burgesses and their wives—

—of poor gentlemen and of the clergy—

—and of the commonalty—

Another statute was passed during the reign of James II., for the purpose of regulating the dresses to be worn by earls, lords of parliament, commissaries of burghs, and advocates, at all parliaments and general councils. The earls were directed to use mantles of 'brown granyt,'† open before, lined with white fur, and trimmed in front with the same of a hand's breadth, and reaching down to the belt, surmounted by little hoods of the same cloth, pendant on the shoulder. The other lords of parliament were enjoined to have a mantle of red cloth, open in front, and lined with silk, or furred with 'Cristy grey, griece, or purray,'‡ with a hood of the same cloth, and furred in the same manner; whilst all commissaries of burghs were commanded to have each 'a pair of cloaks' of blue cloth, trimmed with fur, and made to open on the right shoulder, and having hoods of the same colour. If any earl, lord of parliament, or commissary of the burghs, appeared in parliament or at the general council without this dress, he was to pay a fine of ten pounds to the king. All men employed as 'forespeakers,' or advocates, were to wear a dress of green cloth,

—of earls and lords of parliament—

—of the commissaries of the burghs—

—and of advocates.

* Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. p. 49.

† This 'brown granyt' is supposed to have been a tawny, fine cloth, fashionable in this century, till it was supplanted by scarlet.

‡ Furs inferior to the ermine worn by earls.

made in the form of a 'tunykil,' or short tunic, with the sleeves open like a tabard; under the penalty of five pounds to the king, if they appeared either in parliament or before the general councils without it. It was also directed that in every burgh where meetings of parliament or general councils were held, there should be constructed, 'where the bar uses to stand,' a platform, consisting of three tiers of benches, each tier higher than the other, upon which the commissioners of burghs were to sit.* This act was confirmed by a subsequent parliament (A.D. 1458); and the king was advised to order patterns of all the dresses to be made. It was enacted by James III., in the year 1471, that, considering the great penury of the realm, and the expense of importing silk, no one should wear it in doublets, gowns, or cloaks, who was not possessed of land yielding an annual rent of one hundred pounds Scotch money, excepting knights, minstrels, and heralds; and that women, whose husbands did not belong to one or other of these classes, should not use silk in the linings of their dresses, but only in making the collar and sleeves. In the celebrated Kensington picture of James III. and his queen, the king is represented as clothed in a robe of lilac hue, trimmed with ermine, with a vest composed of cloth of gold; the queen's dress consists of a blue robe, with a kirtle of cloth of gold; her head-dress is one blaze of gold and jewels.† The dress of her majesty appears to have been very costly, for, on the 24th of June, 1470, the lands of Kilmarnock and others, forfeited by Lord Boyd, were bestowed on the queen during her life, 'for her robes, and to supply her with the ornaments of her head-dress.'

Costume of James III. and his queen.

The accounts of the Bishop of Glasgow, who held the office of treasurer to James III., furnish us with a number of minute and interesting details respecting the dress and personal expences of the royal family of Scotland at this period. We find that, in 1474, James Hommel, the king's tailor, and one of the unfortunate favourites afterwards murdered at Lauder, received four ells of French black, at forty-two shillings the ell, to make a long gown for the king, with ten ells of fustian for lining. Among the articles provided for the king, mention is made of hose of white cloth; shirts of fine holland; chamlet gowns, lined with lamb-skin; socks of white cloth; doublets and hose, lined with broad-cloth; a pair of spurs valued at four shillings; two ells of velvet to make two tippets, and furs to line them; a long mantle of velvet; a bonnet at fifteen shillings, and two hats at ten shillings each; a satin jacket lined with lamb-skin; grey cloth for long socks; black satin to cover a prayer-book; velvet for a 'chesabel' to his closet, and for his brigintynis; knobs of gold for his saddle; a chymna or grate for his closet; ribbons for his doublet and sleeves; gloves, *muchis* or caps; pillows covered with broad cloth; drugs from Flanders; an ell of scarlet for his petticoat; a gown of cloth of gold, lined with satin, presented to an English herald, who attended the embassy.

Among the things purchased for the queen are pattens and corks; livery gowns lined with grey for six ladies of her chamber on a pilgrimage to Whithern; satin for her 'turrats;' black cloth for a 'sliding gown;' velvet for another gown; leathern gloves; a cloak and 'capite bern,' of black, lined with Scottish cloth; eight ells of broad cloth to cover a bathing-vat, and three for a sheet, to put around her while bathing; hose of black cloth; seven ells of crimson satin for a kirtle, and to cover 'bonnets of tire;' a grate for her closet; 'band leather' for furring her gloves; five ells of 'cristy gray,' at thirty shillings the ell, to line a gown of black damask; blue velvet to cover her stirrup irons; half an ell of double tartan to line her riding collars; satin for tippets and collars; a year's shoes costing upwards of seven pounds; satin for stomachers, and ermine to line them; twenty-six 'bestes of grece' to line a tippet; ten pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence for a mass-book to her altar.

The chief articles provided for the prince, then only two years of age, are shirts and caps of holland cloth, coats of brown lined with white cloth, and some of the latter for his cradle; fine broad cloth for his sheets, or rather blankets; white hose and petticoats, and lawn caps; French brown cloth, and tartan with buckrum binding for his cradle; English russet for a gown to his nurse; white fustian for blankets, and broad-cloth for sheets; a coat of satin, and a gown of cloth of gold, lined with blue tartan.*

The state banquets of this age were characterized by a display of rude magnificence and plenty, and were frequently conducted on an extravagant scale. An interesting account is given in the annals of De Coucy, a contemporary Burgundian writer, of the feasting and revelry which took place on the occasion of the marriage of James II. to Mary of Gueldres. On the arrival of the youthful princess at Leith, she was welcomed by a great concourse of all classes of people, whom the polished Burgundians regarded as little better than barbarians. Seated on horseback behind her brother-in-law, the Lord of Campvere, and encircled by the nobles of France, Burgundy, and Scotland, she proceeded to Edinburgh, where she was lodged in the convent of the Greyfriars. On the day after her arrival,

State banquets.

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 43.

† This interesting picture was originally intended for an altar piece and is in two divisions, painted on both sides. The first division contains on one side the king, the prince, afterwards James IV., and St. Andrew; on the reverse is a representation of the Trinity. The other compartment represents the queen kneeling, and behind her is a personage in plate armour, supposed to be intended for her father, in the character of Canute, the patron saint of Denmark. On the reverse is an ecclesiastic kneeling, and behind is an organ, with two angels. The picture is believed to have been the work of some eminent foreign artist, and from the age of the prince must have been painted about 1482 or 1484.—See Pinkerton's Iconographia Scotica.

* 'An account, Charge and Discharge of John, Bishop of Glasgow, Treasurer to James III., for the Year 1474.' Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 493. See Appendix, Note. xv.

the king visited her and remained three hours, and on the following Wednesday he sent to appoint the next day for the wedding, and presented her with two hackneys, worth about thirty French crowns. On the wedding-day the king arrived on horseback, dressed in a grey robe, lined with white cloth, and wearing boots and spurs. The queen was clothed in a robe of violet colour, lined with ermine; in a strange fashion, says De Coucy, if compared with those of France; and her long hair hanging down. At the festival which followed the coronation, the first dish consisted of the figure of a boar's head, painted and stuck full of 'hards,' or coarse bits of flax, served up in an enormous platter, surrounded with thirty-two little flags or banners, bearing the arms of the king and chief nobles. The flax was then set on fire amid the acclamations of the numerous and brilliant assembly in the hall. A ship of silver, of exquisite workmanship, was next introduced, probably containing salt and spices in distinct compartments. The first service was then ushered in, preceded by the Earl of Orkney and four knights, and every succeeding service was brought in by about thirty or forty persons, all bearing dishes. At the second table, the Countess of Orkney and other ladies sat with the Lord of Campvere. At the third was a 'patriarch,' says De Coucy, probably a papal legate, along with three bishops, an abbot, and other churchmen, the five dignitaries drinking out of a large 'hanap,' or wooden bowl, without spilling any of the wine; and other liquors being as abundant as sea-water. The dinner lasted about five hours, there being neither dancing nor supper. On the following day there was 'excellent cheer in their way,' says the chronicler, which was very rude and strange when compared with that of France. The dress and manners of the common people he describes as very barbarous. 'There are even,' he adds, 'many among them who seem to be altogether savages.'*

Anecdote of James III. and Lord Somerville.

The following curious incident related by the author of the 'Memorie of the Somervilles,' may serve to illustrate both the personal character of James III. and the manners of the Scottish king and his nobles at this period. About the year 1474, Lord Somerville being in attendance upon the court, James offered to pay him a visit at his castle of Cowthally, near the village of Carnwath, in Lanarkshire, where he then lived, in all the rude hospitality of the time, for which this nobleman was peculiarly remarkable. Like the other nobles of his age, Lord Somerville was more accustomed to handle the sword than the pen, and, on the occasions of his absence from home, it was his custom, when he intended to return to his castle with a party of guests, merely to write the words 'Speates and raxes;' that is, spits and ranges, for the purpose of intimating to his household that a great quantity of food should be prepared, and that the spits and ranges should be put into employment. Even the visit of the king did not induce Lord Somerville to send any other than his usual intimation, only he repeated it three times, and despatched it to his castle by a special messenger. The paper was delivered to Lady Somerville, who, having been newly married, was not yet skilled in her husband's hieroglyphics, and she made out the brief, and probably not very legible, writing to be, not 'speates and raxes,' but 'spears and jacks,' implements which she, no doubt, considered more likely to be required by her lord than spits and ranges. She immediately concluded that Lord Somerville was in some distress, or engaged in some quarrel in Edinburgh, and wanted assistance; and instead of making preparations for a feast, a body of two hundred horsemen were hastily collected, and despatched to their master's help. As they were marching with the utmost speed over the moors towards Edinburgh, they observed a large company of nobles and their attendants engaged in the sport of hawking on the side of Corsett-hill. This was the king and Lord Somerville, who were on their road to Cowthally, taking their sport as they went along. The appearance of a numerous body of armed men interrupted the pastime of the royal party, and excited no inconsiderable alarm; and the king, who saw Lord Somerville's banner at the head of the troop, concluded it was some rebellious enterprise against his person, and charged the baron with treason. Lord Somerville protested his innocence:—'Yonder,' said he, 'are indeed my men and my banner, but I have no knowledge whatever of the cause that has brought them here. But if your grace will permit me to ride forward, I will soon ascertain the reason of this disturbance. In the mean time, let my eldest son and heir remain as an hostage in your power, and let him lose his head if I prove a traitor.' The king accordingly permitted Lord Somerville to ride towards his followers, when the matter was soon explained by those who commanded them. The mistake was then only a subject of merriment, for the king looking at the letter, protested he himself would have read it 'Spears and jacks,' rather than 'Speates and raxes.' When the cavalcade reached Cowthally the lady was much out of countenance at her mistake. But the good-humoured monarch warmly praised her for the despatch which she had used in sending assistance to her husband; and said he hoped she would always have as brave a band at his service when the king and kingdom required them.*

Causes of the alleged corruption of manners among the burgesses.

An old poem, entitled 'The Three Tales of the Three Priests of Peblis,'† which appears to have been written before the year 1492, gives a curious view of the manners of the Scottish burgesses and merchants during the reign of

* De Coucy's Memoirs are published at the end of the History of Jean Chartier.—See Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 431—433.

* Memorie of the Somervilles, vol. i. p. 240.

† Scottish Poems, reprinted from scarce editions, by John Pinkerton, vol. i.

James the Third. The three priests are represented as meeting in the town of Peebles, and after enjoying a collation, consisting of three roasted capons with sauce, and many other meats, served upon a 'roundel,' or round table, covered with a fair cloth, and washed down with plenty of good liquor, they agreed that each in turn should tell a tale for their mutual instruction and amusement. The first story is narrated by father John, who 'hath been in monie an uncouth land'—in Portugal and in Seville, in the five kingdoms of Spain, in Rome, Flanders, and in Venice, and 'other lands sundrie up and down.' A certain king is represented as summoning the three estates of his realm, and requiring each of them to account for the degeneracy, which has taken place in the character and condition of the respective classes. The burgesses are first called upon to explain why it is that 'Burgess bairns thrive not to the third heir, but cast away all that their elders won.' After due deliberation they answer that the reason is, 'they begin not where their fathers began,' but that 'they aye begin where that their fathers left.' A minute and graphic description is then given of the manner in which a trader of those days rose by slow degrees from poverty to riches. He begins his career poorly, we are told, with good luck, and a halfpenny, and a lamb's skin; and goes from town to town on foot, oft wet-shod and weary, till at last out of 'monie smalls,' he makes up a good pack, and becomes a pedlar. At every fair the industrious chapman is found disposing of his goods, till, at length, his pack is worth forty pounds, when he finds it necessary to purchase a stout horse to bear it. By and by he acquires a cart to 'carry pot and pan,' and becomes the owner of Flemish coffers with counters and chest. The next stage in his upward course, sees him possessed of a shop in town, buying and selling wool. He goes to sea, according to the custom of the merchants of that day, comes home a 'very potent man,' and marries a rich wife. His voyages have been so frequent and so successful, that, at the last, he becomes the owner of a goodly ship, and 'waxes so full of world's wealth,' that he washes his hands in a silver basin, has hoards of gold and silver, and a cupboard of plate worth three thousand pounds.* He wears rich gowns and other gay garments, is clothed in silk on Sundays, and in green or grey cloth at other times, while his wife is arrayed in scarlet, and fares sumptuously every day. He dies, and his son succeeds to the possession of wealth, for which he never toiled, which never cost him either sleepless nights, or laborious days. He has been nurtured in luxury, 'his mother tholed not the reek (smoke) on him to blow.' He wears precious rings on his fingers, is ashamed to hear that his father sold sheepskins, keeps a train of idle servants, spends his time in the tavern or in playing at hazard, till, sinking into poverty, he becomes the follower of some lord's son at court. Drink and dice have stripped him of every farthing of his inheritance—he has not the skill to earn a morsel of bread, 'what ferlie (marvel) then that burgess' bairns beg.'

* Equal to about £7500 of modern sterling currency.

The lords are then called upon to say what is the cause why such worthy lords were in former days 'so full of freedom, worship, and honour, hardy in heart to stand in every stour,' while their degenerate descendants exhibit the very opposite qualities. They allege that the principal cause of this degeneracy was to be found in the mal-administration of justice, and the grievous oppression of the farmers, and husbandmen, by the coroners, justices, serjands, or mairs, of the king, who were in the habit of extorting sums of money from the more thriving yeomen, till they reduced them to poverty. Bribes alone could secure a favourable hearing of any cause, however just. The thief could easily escape the punishment due to his crimes, by bribing the judge, while the honest farmer was often accused of theft, or robbery, for the sake of the fine, the amount of which was made to depend on the extent of his ability.

The barons.

'Thus leil men are hurt, and thiefs gets away.'

The gross oppression of the farmers impoverished their landlords, who found their tenants unable either to pay their rents during the time of peace, or to provide themselves with proper arms to attend their lords in war, and appeared at the muster with ragged cloaks, and rusty swords, more like a regiment of beggars, than a courageous, well disciplined host. The barons, thus reduced to poverty, were fain to replenish their coffers by degrading marriages with the illegitimate daughters of opulent priests, or the heiresses of merchants, or by selling the right of marriage of their sons to 'churles,'

'In whom is na nurture nor nobilness,
Fredome, worship, manheid nor honours.'

There can be little doubt that these complaints respecting the gross partiality of the officers of justice, at this period, were well founded, and that the very laws intended for the protection of the poor, were thus converted into instruments of their oppression. It appears that the practice of selling the royal pardon, even for the most outrageous crimes, had been carried to such a shameless height during the reign of James III., that the Lords of the Articles, in the parliament held in 1471, were constrained to exhort and entreat his highness that 'he would close his hand for a certain time coming against all remissions and respites for murder.'*

Lastly, the clergy were required in their turn to account for the deterioration which had taken place in their order, and to say why, in ancient times, the bishops and clergy abounded in all good works, and, through the influence of their prayers, the dumb spake, the blind received their sight, the deaf heard, and the lame were made to walk, while no such good deeds

—and the clergy.

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 104.

were done by their successors. The answer given was, that anciently the bishops were chosen by the people, after fasting and earnest prayer to God for the guidance of the Holy Spirit; and that the person best fitted for each particular see was selected, either from among the clergy of that chapter where the vacancy had occurred, or of the whole realm. But now bishops are not chosen by the people, but appointed solely by the king. No man now obtains a benefice by literature, science, virtue, or even birth, but by gold alone, simony being accounted no sin. In consequence of this love of filthy lucre the gifts of the Holy Spirit were not imparted. The bishops came not in by the door, but climbed in by the window; and he that came not in by the door was not a shepherd to keep the sheep, but a fox disguised in a lamb's skin. How could such wicked men work miracles unless it was by the help of Satan?

'This is the cause, the sooth to say,
Why holiness fra kirkmen is away.'

It is but justice to state, that in the midst of general corruption in the church, there were not wanting at this time, even among the bishops, illustrious examples of eminent piety and faithful attention to duty. In delineating the character of the venerable Bishop Kennedy, Pitscottie says, "He caused all parsons and vicars to remain at their parish churches for instruction and edifying their flocks; and caused them to preach the word of God unto the people, and to visit them when they were sick. And, also, the said bishop visited every church within his diocese four times in the year, and preached to the parishioners the word of God truly, and inquired of them if they were duly instructed in the word of God by their parson and vicar, and if their sacraments were duly administered, and if the poor were sustained, and the youth educated and taught conformably to the order that was taken in the church of God. And where he found that order was not followed, he made great punishment, to the effect that God's glory might shine through all the country within his diocese, giving good example to all future archbishops and churchmen in general to cause the patrimony of the church of God to be used for the glory of God and the common benefit of the poor." *

The increase of crime among the higher classes at this period appears to have kept pace with the increase of luxury. The enactment, in 1450, of two statutes against domestic and foreign importers of poisons, shows that this crime, so widely prevalent at this time on the continent, had spread into Scotland. The adulteration of wine seems also to have been extensively practised, for, by a law passed in 1482, the penalty of death was denounced against any person who should import, or sell, or compose corrupted or mixed liquor.

Poisoning and adulteration of wine.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 171.

CHAPTER XXII.

JAMES THE FOURTH.

1488—1513.

THE fate of James the Third was for some time unknown to the conspirators, for information had reached them that several of the wounded royalists had taken refuge on board Sir Andrew Wood's ships, which were lying in the Frith of Forth, near the coast, where the battle of Sauchie was fought; and it was supposed that the king himself was among the number. The confederate barons therefore sent a message to Wood, inquiring whether or not the king was on board his ship. Not satisfied with his explicit declaration that he was not there, they summoned Sir Andrew to come on shore, and appear before their council, which he promised to do on condition that hostages should be given for his safe return. Lords Seton and Fleming accordingly went on board the ships, and Sir Andrew presented himself before the council and the young king in the town of Leith. According to Pitscottie,* as soon as the prince saw the brave seaman, who was a goodly person and richly dressed, he went towards him, and said, "Sir, are you my father?" † "I am not your father," answered Wood, the tears falling from his eyes, "but I was your father's servant while he lived, and shall be so to lawful authority until the day I die." The lords then asked what men they were who had come out of his ships, and again returned to them on the day of the battle. "It was I and my brother," said the undaunted captain, "who were ready to have spent our lives in the king's defence." They then demanded of him, whether the king was on board his ships? To which Sir Andrew replied, with the same firmness, "He is not on board my vessel; would to God he had been there, as I should have taken care to have kept him safe from the traitors, who have murdered him, and whom I trust to see hanged and drawn for their demerits." The members of the council were exceedingly indignant at those contemptuous replies, but they durst not attempt any violence against Sir Andrew, for fear that his sailors would retaliate upon the persons of the hostages. But as soon as the gallant commander had returned on board his ship and Lords Fleming and Seton had been sent on shore, the confederate lords sent for the best officers in the town of Leith, and offered to furnish them with men, artillery, and provisions, if they would attack Sir Andrew and his two ships, and make him prisoner, to answer for his contemptuous treatment of the council.

Uncertainty respecting the fate of James III.

Appearance of Sir Andrew Wood before the council.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 226.

† This statement appears extremely improbable, for the prince had been recently placed by his father in Stirling castle, and there is no reason whatever to suppose that James had not been brought up at court.

But the officers positively refused to undertake this perilous service; Captain Barton, one of the bravest mariners in Leith, informing the lords that though Sir Andrew had but two vessels, yet they were so well manned and furnished with artillery, and he himself was so experienced in war, that no ten ships in Scotland would be a match for him.

The confederate lords lost no time in seeking to turn to their own personal advantage the victory they had gained. On the very day after the battle of Sauchie grants were bestowed on the powerful Border families of the Homes and the Hepburns; Sir William Knollys was instructed to take possession of the money found in the royal treasury; and the Earls of Angus and Argyle, with the Lords Hailes and Home, and the Bishop of Glasgow, repaired to the castle of Edinburgh, and secured and took an inventory of the jewels, plate, and apparel which belonged to the late king at the time of his decease.* After the discovery and interment of his father's body, the prince proceeded immediately to Scone, where he was crowned with the usual ceremonies. The government of the new monarch was then organized, and his confederates in the rebellion, which had raised him to the throne, were rewarded by their appointment to offices of influence and trust. The important office of chancellor was conferred upon the Earl of Argyle; Lord Hailes was made master of the household; the keeping of the privy seal was committed to the Prior of St. Andrews; the Lords Lyle and Glammis were appointed chief justiciars in the south and north of the Forth; and Whitelaw, Sub-dean of Glasgow, was made secretary to the king. Their next care was to conclude a three years' truce with England, then under the government of Henry VII.; and having thus secured themselves against foreign aggression, they proceeded to consolidate their power, and to provide for their safety by arresting and punishing their enemies, and distributing rewards among their friends.

The confederate lords seize on the government and the royal treasure.

It has sometimes been asserted that the youthful prince was unwillingly compelled to take part in the rebellion against his father, and that he was a mere passive tool in the hands of the conspirators. But James was now in the seventeenth year of his age; his talents and passions were highly precocious; and there seems no reason to doubt that, estranged from his father by the misrepresentations and calumnies of the insurgent chiefs, and flattered by their adulation, he was induced to place himself at the head of a movement which promised to gratify his ambition by elevating him at once to the throne. It is said, indeed, that on learning the miserable fate of his father, he was seized with overwhelming remorse, which returned at intervals throughout the whole of his reign; but it appears that the possession of the crown, the homage of the barons, and the gaieties and pleasures of the court soon stifled his

Conduct of the youthful king.

* See Appendix, Note xvi.

repentant feelings. The unprincipled councillors, by whom he was now surrounded, strove to perpetuate their ascendency over the youthful monarch, and to conciliate his affections, by basely pandering to his passions, and occupying him with a continual round of shows and gorgeous pageants, totally regardless of the degradation of character and the destruction of moral principle which such vain pursuits necessarily produced. In his progress through the country with the lord justiciars, when they held their courts in various parts of the kingdom, James was constantly attended, not only by his huntsmen and falconers, but by his fool, 'English John,' and his youthful mistress, Lady Margaret Drummond, daughter of Lord Drummond, to whom he seems to have become attached at an early period; and frequent notices appear in the treasurer's books of the sums paid to 'dansaris, gysaris, and players,' who were employed to minister to the amusement of the youthful lovers.

Unprincipled behaviour of his associates.

The course which the successful conspirators adopted for the punishment of the barons who had continued faithful to the late king, displayed a great deal of effrontery, combined with low cunning. If either of the two parties were justly liable to be denounced as rebels, it was evidently the confederate lords, and not their opponents; but the treason of the former had been successful, and, therefore, now boldly assumed the name of loyalty, and, not contented with proclaiming their own innocence of the recent conflict, and the murder of the king, they threw the whole odium of the rebellion on the barons who had remained faithful to their allegiance, and actually had the audacity to summon them on a charge of treason. The Earl of Buchan, Lords Bothwell and Forbes, Ross of Montgrenan, the king's advocate, Sir Alexander Dunbar, and Sir Thomas Fotheringhame, with the Lairds of Cockpule, Amisfield, Innermeith, and Innes, received summonses of treason for appearing 'in arms with the king's father against the king himself,' and were commanded to abide their trial in the next parliament. The meeting of the three Estates took place at Edinburgh on the sixth of October, 1488, and was numerously attended by the clergy, barons, and commissaries of the burghs. After the usual appointment of the Lords of the Articles, and the nomination of a committee, consisting of three members of each Estate, to act as a court of appeal for the decision of legal causes, the Earl of Buchan and the other friends of the late king, were summoned to answer for their alleged treason against their sovereign. The Earl of Buchan alone obeyed the summons; and, on making confession of his guilt, and submitting himself to the royal mercy, he was pardoned and restored to favour. The others were declared guilty of the crimes of having attempted to destroy the independence of the kingdom, and to reduce it under subjection to England, and of having advised their late sovereign, James, to violate the stipulations which he had entered into with the insurgent barons,—the very crimes which the conspirators had themselves committed.*

Meeting of parliament.

Sentence of forfeiture was therefore pronounced against them in absence, and their estates were divided among the leaders of the confederates. The lands and lordship of Bothwell were erected into an earldom, and bestowed upon Lord Hailes, the new master of the household; and Patrick Home, of Fastcastle, was rewarded for his services by a grant of the estates of Ross of Montgrenan, who seems to have been peculiarly obnoxious to the prince's party, on account of the bravery which he displayed in a skirmish at the bridge of Stirling, previous to the battle of Sauchie.

Sentence of forfeiture pronounced against the loyal barons.

Those of the loyal barons who were in possession of hereditary offices, were deprived of them, for the period of three years, in consequence, as was alleged, of the high displeasure conceived by the king against all who, by their presence at the battle of Sauchie, were regarded by him as mainly responsible for the slaughter of his late father. The confederates next proceeded to investigate the causes of the recent rebellion, and voted their own acquittal from all blame in strong and significant terms. It was declared, that the three Estates were unanimously of opinion that the slaughter committed in the field of Stirling, where the king's father happened to be slain with others of his barons, was wholly to be ascribed to the offences, falsehood, and fraud practised by him and his perverse counsellors previous to the battle, and "that our sovereign lord that now is, and the true lords and barons who were with him in the same field, were innocent, quit, and free of the said slaughters, battle, and pursuit, and had no blame in fermenting or exciting them." It was recommended that the great seal of the kingdom, along with the seals of a certain portion of the bishops, barons, and burgesses, should be affixed to this declaration, and that it should be sent to the Pope, the kings of France, Spain, Denmark, and such other realms as were judged expedient by the parliament.† It was also resolved to send an embassy to France, Spain, and Brittany, to confirm the alliance between Scotland and these countries, and to search for a wife to the king; and the sum of five thousand pounds was directed to be levied throughout the kingdom to defray their expenses.

Parliamentary justification of the young king and his party.

It appears that theft, robbery, and murder were exceedingly prevalent throughout the kingdom at this time, and for the repression of these crimes the kingdom was divided into certain districts, over which were placed various earls and barons, with full authority to apprehend and punish all offenders. Orders were issued, that all the goods and moveables belonging to the 'poor unlanded folk' which had been seized during the troubles, should be restored; that all houses, castles, or lands which

Enactments passed by the legislature.

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 210.

† Ibid. p. 207.

had been plundered and occupied by either party during the struggle, should be again delivered to their owners; and, that the heirs of those who had fallen on the king's side in the battle of Stirling, should be permitted to succeed without impediment, to their hereditary estates and honours. All the grants made by the late king, since the 2nd of February, 1487, the day on which the prince took up arms against his father, were revoked, on the ground that they had been made for the benefit of traitors, who had caused the death of the king's father. The office of high chamberlain was bestowed upon Alexander Home, of Home, while the command of Edinburgh castle, with the custody of James, Duke of Ross, the king's brother, was intrusted to Lord Hailes, master of the household.* The castle of Dunbar was ordered to be entirely demolished on account of the injury which it had already occasioned to the country, and the danger that it might again fall into the hands of the enemies of the king. Besides these measures, which were adopted by the dominant party for their own security and the protection of the kingdom, various enactments were passed for the purpose of regulating the due administration of justice, the fineness of gold and silver, and the importation of bullion into the country; and the penalties of treason were denounced against the purchasers of presentations to benefices, at the court of Rome, whether clergy or seculars. These proceedings took place in four successive meetings of the national council, which were held between the 6th of October, 1488, and the 3rd of February, 1489.

One of the most strenuous supporters of the late unfortunate monarch was the stout Lord Lindsay of the Byres, who distinguished himself so zealously in the royal cause before the battle of Sauchie. He was, consequently, very obnoxious to the successful faction, who summoned him to answer on a charge of treason. Pitscottie has given a minute and interesting account of the trial of the rude but honest and loyal baron, which very strikingly illustrates the extraordinary character of the times, and the manner in which justice was at this period administered in Scotland.

Trial of Lord Lindsay of the Byres.

On the appointed day† Lord Lindsay and his associates were solemnly arraigned before the king and council assembled in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh; Lord Lindsay's name being first specified in the summons, because, as it was alleged, he had been "the most familiar friend" of the late monarch, "and was frackest [freest] in his opinion, and used himself maist manfully in his defence aganes his enemies, wherefore the conspirators had greatest envy at him." . . . "Lord David Lindsay, of the Byres" so ran the "dittay," or bill of indictment, "answer for the cruel coming aganes the king at Bannockburn, with his father, and in giving him counsel to have devoured his son, the king's grace here present, and to that effect gave him ane sword and ane good horse to fortify him aganes his son. Your answer hereto!"

Now Lord Lindsay "being ane rash man, and of rude language, albeit he was stout and hardy in the fields, and weill exercised in war," was totally unacquainted with legal forms and usages, and knew not how to answer formally to this accusation, nor could he get any lawyer to speak for him, as they all declined the perilous office of pleading for a traitor. At last, however, wearied with hearing his name repeatedly called, and the dittay read, he started up, and spoke as follows:—

"Ye are all lurdanes,* my lords! I say ye are false traitors to your prince, and that I will prove, with my hands, on any of you whilk halds you best, from the king's grace down. For ye, false lurdanes! hes caused the king to come aganes his father in plain battle, where that noble prince was cruelly murthered among your hands by your advice, though ye brought the prince in presence for your behoof, to make him the buckler of your enterprise. Therefore, false lurdanes! an the king punish you not hastily for that murther, ye will murther himself, when ye see time, as ye did his father. Therefore sir," he continued, turning to the young king, who presided in person at the trial, "beware of them, and give them no credence; for they that were false to your father, can never be true to yourself. Sir, I assure your grace if your father were yet alive, I would take his part, and stand in no awe of thir (these) false lurdanes; and likewise, gif ye had ane son that wald be counsellit to come in battle against you by evil counsel of false traitors like thir, I wald surely take your part, and fight in your quarrel aganes them; even with three aganes six of thir false traitors, wha cause your grace to believe evil of me. Time shall try (prove) me to be truer at length nor (than) any of them."

The chancellor, "hearing the gross, and rude speech, and sharp accusation" of Lord Lindsay, thought "he hit them over near; therefore to excuse the matter, he answerit and spake to the King in this manner:—'Sir Lord David Lindsay is but ane man of the auld warld, and cannot answer formally, nor yet speak reverently in your grace's presence. Your grace maun (must) be guid to him, and I traist (trust) he will come in your will.'"* And then turning to the incensed veteran, he recommended him to submit himself to the king's pleasure, and he should be well treated.

"Thir words," says Pitscottie, "were spoken purposely to cause Lord David Lindsay come in the king's will, that it might be ane preparative to all the rest that were under the summons of forfaultry (forfeiture) to follow, and to come in the king's will; and thought to have cuitled (tickled) them off that way.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 211.

† The 10th of January, 1489, according to Pitscottie. Pinkerton is of opinion that the trial took place after the insurrection of the Earl of Lennox and Lord Forbes, which broke out in the summer and autumn of 1489.

* Lurdane, a worthless person.

† Submit to the king's mercy.

"But ane Maister Patrick Lindsay, brother-german to the Lord David Lindsay," and the most eminent "forspeaker," or advocate of that day, "hearing his brother desirit to come in the king's will, was not content therewith; to that effect he stramped (trode) sadly on his brother's foot, to gar (make) him understand that he was not content with the desire whilk the chancellor proponit to him. But the stramp of Maister Patrick was sa sad upon his brother's foot, wha had ane sair tae, that the pain thereof was very dolorous, wherefore he lookit to him and said, 'Thou art ower pert loon, to stramp upon my foot; wert thou out of the king's presence, I should take thee on the mouth.'"

Mr. Patrick, however, disregarding his brother's "vain words," "plat on his knees" before the court, and in the name of God, besought for leave to speak in his brother's behalf; "for he and I," said he, "hes not been at ane thir mony years, yet my heart may not suffer me to see the native house, whereof I am descendit, perish."

"Sa the king and the justice gave him leave to speak for his brother. Then the said Maister Patrick raise aff his knees, and was very blythe that he had obtained this licence with the king's favour. Sa he began to speak very reverently in this manner, saying to the haill lords of parliament, and to the rest of them that were accusers of his brother at that time, with the rest of the lords that were in the summons of forfaultry, saying: 'I beseek you all, my lords, that be here present, for His sake that will give sentence and judgement on us all at the last day, that ye will remember that now instantly is *your* time, and *we* have had the same in times bygane, as we may also have hereafter; desiring you to know your awin estate, and that all things are changeable, but God's justice and judgement stands ever firm and stable; therefore now, do ye as ye wald be done to, in the ministration of justice to your neighbours and brethren, wha are accused of their lives and heritages this day, whose judgment stands in your hands. Therefore, beware in time, and open not a door that ye may not steek (shut)."

The chancellor then bade him say something in defence of his brother, assuring him that he should have justice at their hands. Mr. Patrick replied by a protest against the king's sitting in judgment on the case, as a violation of his coronation oath that he would not sit in judgment on his lords and barons, in any action in which he was a party himself. "But here," he observed, "his grace is both party and was at the committing of the crime himself, therefore he ought not, neither by the law of God nor man, to sit in judgment at this time, therefore, we desire him, in the name of God, to rise and depart out of judgment while (till) the matter be farther disputit conform to justice."

"Upon this," continues the chronicler, "the chancellor and lords concludit that this petition was reasonable, therefore they desirit the king to rise up and pass to the Inner Tolbooth, whilk wes very unpleasant to him for the time, being ane young prince, sitting upon seat royal, to be raisit be his subjects. But the lords, thinking shame to break justice, removed him on this manner, and then callit upon Lord David Lindsay and his procurator, Maister Patrick Lindsay, to answer forward to the points of the summons and dittay therein contained."

Then Mr. Patrick, speaking "with humility," yet reminding them not the less "that we have been in the place wherein ye are now," proceeded to show that the summons required that the persons specified in it should appear within forty days, without continuation (prolongation) of days, "and that as forty-one had elapsed, they could not legally be compelled to answer till summoned anew.

The summons was examined, and found to run as Mr. Patrick stated; the prisoners were released, therefore, and no further steps were ever taken against them. Lord Lindsay, in particular, was "sa blythe at his brother's sayings," that, forgetting his sore toe, and the heavy stramp of Mr. Patrick's foot, he rapturously "burst forth, saying to him, 'Verily brother, ye have fine pyet [magpie] words! I could not have trowit (believed) that ye had sic words. By Sancta Marie! ye shall have the Mains of Kirkforthar for your days' labour." The king, as may be supposed, was far from being equally captivated; he told Mr. Patrick that "he should gar him sit where he should not see his feet for a year," and accordingly threw him into the castle of Rothesay in Bute, where he remained in prison a whole twelvemonth ere he was released.*

In spite of the parliamentary acquittal of the young king and his accomplices from the murder of the late monarch, their innocence was far from being generally admitted. There was still, to use the language of a subsequent parliament, 'heavy murmurs and noise of the people respecting the slaughter of our sovereign lord's father;' and scarcely had the national council terminated its sittings when Lennox, Huntley, Mareschal, Forbes, and other powerful chiefs, broke into open revolt. They complained, and apparently on good grounds, that the youthful monarch was entirely in the hands of his father's murderers, who violated the laws with impunity, and carried on the government for the advancement of their own selfish purposes, without any regard for the public welfare. Lord Forbes, one of the malcontent barons, marched through the northern district of the country, displaying the bloody shirt of the unfortunate king suspended from a spear, and calling for vengeance on his murderers; and great multitudes of the people, roused by this appeal, flocked to his banner. The insurrection rapidly gathered strength, and seriously threatened the stability of the throne. But the young king and his advisers acted with great promptitude and decision. The Chancellor Argyle was despatched with all speed to attack the strong fortress of Dunbarton, into which Lord Lyle and Matthew Stewart, the eldest son of

Revolt of Lennox and other barons—

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 232—239.

Lennox, had thrown themselves; while James himself laid siege to the castles of Crockstone and Duchal, which had been occupied by the insurgents; and so vigorously did he carry on his operations, that within a short period he made himself master of both places. Meanwhile the Earl of Lennox had collected about two thousand men in the northern districts, and having descended into the low country, was marching toward Dunbarton, where the Earl Mareschal, with Lords Forbes and Crichton, and the Master of Huntley, waited his arrival. But on reaching the northern bank of the Forth, opposite to Stirling, he found that his enemies had seized the bridge and occupied the town in considerable force. He therefore marched to the westward with the view of crossing the Forth by a ford not far from the source of the river, and encamped at a place called Tala Moss, about sixteen miles from Stirling. Here he was surprised, and completely routed in a night attack by Lord Drummond; Dunbarton, Lennox's strongest hold, immediately surrendered, and the insurgent leaders laid down their arms, and were not only pardoned, but soon after reinstated in the royal favour.

—its speedy suppression.

Tranquillity was now restored to the kingdom, and the popularity of the government was greatly increased by a brilliant naval victory gained at this time by the celebrated Sir Andrew Wood. In spite of the truce which still existed between England and Scotland, the English privateers continued to infest the Scottish seas, obstructing the commerce, plundering the merchantmen, and committing great depredations upon the coast towns. Five of these pirate vessels had entered the Clyde, and after committing great havoc among the shipping, and ravaging the adjacent country, had the audacity to give chace to a vessel which was the king's own property. Indignant at this unprovoked outrage, James applied for assistance to Sir Andrew Wood, and urged him to undertake the duty of protecting the commerce of the country from these piratical attacks. Notwithstanding his devoted attachment to the late king, and his disapprobation of the course pursued by his son, the brave and patriotic officer could not refuse to comply with this request to vindicate the honour of his country. He immediately set sail with his two ships, the Flower and the Yellow Carvel, in search of the enemy, whom he found at anchor off the town of Dunbar; and notwithstanding his inferiority in force, after a stubborn conflict he captured the five piratic vessels, and brought them in triumph into Leith.*

Exploits of Sir Andrew Wood.

Henry VII. was highly incensed at this defeat; and though he could not openly resent it or give countenance to hostilities during the continuance of the truce, he took care to make his wishes known to his naval officers; and Stephen Bull, his most active and experienced sea-captain, fitted out three stout vessels, well manned and fully equipped with cross-bows and other warlike implements, and proceeded in search of the Scottish commander. Bull having learned that Wood had sailed for Flanders, resolved to intercept him on his return; and directing his course to the mouth of the Firth of Forth, he cast anchor behind the small island of May, and waited the arrival of his enemy. In no long time, two vessels appeared off St. Abb's Head; and the English captain, having been assured by some fishermen, whom he had taken prisoners for that purpose, that it was Wood who was approaching, immediately prepared for action, and caused an allowance of wine to be served out to his sailors. The Scottish admiral drew near, totally unconscious that any interruption awaited him; but as soon as he perceived the English vessels, he ordered his ships to be cleared, and the gunners, pike and cross-bow men, and those who threw fire-balls, to repair to their several stations; and bore fearlessly down upon the enemy. "By this," says Pitscottie, "the sun begun to rise and shine bright on the sails, so the English ships appeared very awful in the sight of the Scots, by reason their ships were great and strong, and well furnished with great artillery. But the Scots, nothing effeired therewith, came stoutly forward upon the wind side, upon Captain Bull, and clipped fra hand, and fought there fra the rising of the sun till the going down of the same, in the long summer's day, while all the men and women that dwelt near the coast-side stood and beheld the fighting, whilk was terrible to see." Night parted the combatants, but next morning the trumpets sounded, and the battle was renewed with such fury, that the mariners forgetting everything else in their eagerness for victory, allowed their ships to drift with the ebb tide till they were carried to the mouth of the Tay. At length victory declared for the Scottish captain; the three English ships were captured and carried into Dundee, where they remained till the dead were buried and the wounded placed under surgical care. Sir Andrew then presented his prisoners to the king, who received them with great courtesy, and dismissed them without ransom. At the same time, however, according to Pitscottie, he sent a message to the English monarch, that if his captains "came again on sic form to perturb his coasts, it might be they would not be so weill entertained, nor loup (leap) home so dryshod." * The brave Sir Andrew was liberally rewarded for his gallant achievement, and became the king's most honoured friend and trusted counsellor.

The English monarch Henry the Seventh, was remarkable for his sagacity, caution, command of temper, and love of peace; and as the English were the aggressors in the recent naval conflict, he could not make the defeat of Bull a matter of open complaint. But there can be no doubt that he was deeply mortified at the untoward result, and it is by no means improbable that the desire of vengeance for the dishonour thus done to the English arms was one of the causes that induced him to

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 240.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 241—245.

give his secret countenance to a foul conspiracy against the Scottish monarch, which was at this time fostered at the English court. The details of this disgraceful transaction are involved in considerable obscurity, but there is abundant evidence to prove the nefarious character of the plot and the complicity of the English king. It appears that the Earl of Buchan, Ramsay Lord Bothwell, the favourite of James the Third, who after the battle of Sauchie had fled to England, and a 'person designing himself Sir Thomas Tod, of the realm of Scotland,' with various other traitors, had entered into an agreement with Henry the Seventh to deliver into his hands the Scottish king and his brother, the Duke of Ross, and that to assist them in this enterprize Henry had advanced the loan of two hundred and sixty pounds, which, however, with his characteristic caution and love of money, he carefully stipulated was to be repaid to him by a certain day.* The whole of this transaction seems to have been involved in the most profound darkness; and James and his ministers could have had no suspicion of the treacherous behaviour of the English monarch, for at the moment when this plot was concocted the Archbishop of St. Andrews had been despatched on an embassy to England, and commissioners were engaged in settling some complaints respecting the mutual violations of the truce upon the Borders, and in making arrangements for the prolongation of the amicable relations existing between the two kingdoms.

Secret plot against the king.

A meeting of parliament was held soon after this at Edinburgh, and various important measures were passed with the view of promoting the peace and prosperity of the country. It was resolved to send ambassadors to France and to Denmark, for the purpose of renewing the ancient commercial alliances between these countries and Scotland. The Earl of Huntley was appointed king's lieutenant north of the water of Esk, till the sovereign should reach the age of twenty-five. Punishment was denounced against all who were guilty of slaughter or rapine; leagues or bands among the nobles and their feudal tenantry were forbidden; and strict injunctions were issued, that the chancellor, with certain lords of council, or in their absence the lords of session, should sit three times a year for the administration of justice. It was also ordained that the profits and rents of the royal burghs should be spent according to the advice of the council of the burgh, upon things necessary for its security and increase; whilst the burgh rents, such as lands, fishings, mills, and farms, were not to be disposed of, except upon a three years' lease. Sheriffs, bailies, and provosts of burghs were commanded to take copies of the acts and statutes now passed, and to see that they were openly proclaimed within the bounds of their office.*

Proceedings of the parliament.

James had now attained his twentieth year, and began to exhibit considerable ability and energy in the administration of the affairs of his kingdom. Amid a love of pleasure, which his counsellors had basely fostered and indulged to serve their own selfish purposes, he did not so far forget himself as to neglect the duties of his office. His frank and generous disposition made him deservedly popular among all classes of his subjects, and he assiduously devoted himself to promote the impartial administration of justice, and the introduction of law and order into the remotest parts of his kingdom. By his judicious and energetic efforts many gross abuses were rectified, crime was punished and repressed, law vindicated, and the agriculture and the commerce of the country, the navy, the fisheries, and the manufactures, were all encouraged and developed. A pleasing picture of the character and habits of the youthful monarch is given by Pitscottie, who, however, does injustice to James III. in the contrast which he draws between his reign and that of his successor. "In this mean time," says that venerable chronicler,* "was guid peace and rest in Scotland, and great love betwixt the king and his subjects, and he was weill loved of them all, for he was very noble, and thought that the vice of covetousness reigned over meikle in his father, whilk should nocht reign in him; nor yet no cowards nor pickthanks should be authorized nor advanced in his company; neither used he the counsel but of his lords, whereby he wan the hearts of the whole nobility, sa that he wald ride out—through ony pairt of the realm, him alone, unknown that he was ane king, and wald lig (lie) in puir men's houses as he had been ane traveller through the country, and wald require of them where he ludged where the king was, and what ane man he was, and how he used himself towards his subjects, and what they spake of him through the country, and they wald answer to him as they thought guid. Sa, by thir doings the king heard the common bruit (report) of himself. This prince was wondrous hardy and diligent in the execution of justice, and loved nathing sae weil as able men and guid horses; therefore, at sundry times, he wald gar make proclamation through the land to all and sundry his lords and barons wha were able for justing or tourney, to come to Edinburgh to him, and there to exercise themselves for his pleasure; some to rin with the spear, and some to fecht with the battle-aix, some with the two-handit sword, and some with the hand-bow, and all other exercise. Whosoever faucht best gat his adversary's weapon delivered to him by the king, and he wha ran best with the spear, gat ane spear headit with pure gold delivered to him, to keep in memory of his practique thereintil. By this means the king brought his realm to great honour and manheid, that the fame of his justings and tourneys spread through all Europe, whilk caused mony errand knights, come out of other pairts to Scotland to seek justing, because they

Character and prudent conduct of the king.

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. p. 440.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 227.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 243—246.

heard the knightly fame of the Prince of Scotland. But few or nane of them passed away unmatched, and ofttimes overthrown."*

James withdraws his favour from his early associates.

It was evident that as James grew older he became convinced of the fatal errors of his early years, and felt deep remorse for having lent himself to a selfish and unprincipled faction, who, under the pretence of the love of their country and of liberty, sought merely their own aggrandisement. But he had learned wisdom from the errors of his unfortunate father, and aware that he could not put down by force the powerful and triumphant faction which had placed him on the throne, he adopted the safer course of gradually withdrawing his confidence from them, and collecting around him the sagacious and trustworthy Sir Andrew Wood, and other friends and ministers of his father. He cautiously abstained, however, from manifesting his alienation from his early associates so openly as to drive them into opposition, and by a judicious combination of firmness with kindness, he succeeded in reconciling the various hostile factions among his nobility, and in maintaining his authority over them all, so that he was reverenced as well as beloved by all classes of his people. The haughty and turbulent Earl of Angus, who had been the mainspring of the conspiracy against the late monarch, resented so highly the coldness with which he and his associates were now treated, that he withdrew for a season into England, and entered into a treasonable treaty with Henry VII. On his return, however, he was committed a prisoner to his own fortress of Tantallon, and, as the price of his pardon, was compelled to exchange the lordship of Liddesdale and the strong castle of Hermitage for the lordship and castle of Bothwell, which was a considerable diminution of the family greatness. The displeasure of the king was increased by the slaughter of Spens, of Kilspindie, a favourite courtier, who about this time fell in a casual encounter with Angus. The incident is thus related by Godscroft. "Spens, a renowned cavalier, had been present in court, when the Earl of Angus was highly praised for strength and valour. 'It may be,' answered Spens, 'if all be good that is upcome;' insinuating that the courage of the earl might not answer the promise of his gigantic frame. Shortly after, Angus, while hawking near Borthwick, with a single attendant, met Kilspindie. 'What reason had ye,' said the earl, 'for making question of my manhood? Thou art a tall fellow, and so am I: and by St. Bride of Douglas, one of us shall pay for it!' 'Since it may be no better,' answered Kilspindie, 'I will defend myself against the best earl in Scotland.' With these words they encountered fiercely, till Angus with one blow severed the thigh of his antagonist, who died upon the spot. The earl then addressed the attendant of Kilspindie: 'Go thy way: tell my gossip, the king, that here was nothing but fair play. I know my gossip will be offended; but I will get me into Liddesdale and remain in my castle of the Hermitage till his anger be abated.'"*

Dissatisfaction and treason of Angus—

—his slaughter of Spens, of Kilspindie.

It was no easy task for a monarch of twenty to maintain the royal authority over such turbulent and lawless chieftains, who, if they possessed many of the virtues of the savage state, exhibited also much of its ferocity.

Theft of the royal treasure.

It appears that the injunctions given to the Bishop of Glasgow, and certain barons, to place the jewels and treasure of the late king in the hands of faithful persons, had been very imperfectly obeyed, and that the greater part of the treasure had disappeared. Inquiry was now ordered to be made for the detection of the thieves by whom it had been embezzled or stolen; and the persons to whom the money had been entrusted were commanded to appear before the king's council, to answer for their neglect of their duty.† About this time, in consequence of the 'heavy murmurs' of the people respecting the impunity granted to the murderers of the late king, a reward of one hundred marks' worth of land in fee and heritage, was offered to any person who should discover the individual by whom the crime was perpetrated.‡ The sum was only to be paid, however, in the event of the persons being pointed out who slew the king 'with their own hands,' and as the reward was never claimed, the actual murderer of the unhappy monarch remains still unknown. James had applied in his distress to the Romish pontiff for assistance, and Innocent VIII., who then occupied the papal chair, formally excommunicated the rebels during the lifetime of the king. It appears that some time after the battle of Stirling, they petitioned the pope for absolution, acknowledging their guilt, and Innocent accordingly issued a bull, dated the 27th of June, 1491, empowering the Abbots of Jedburgh and Paisley, and the Chancellor of the Church of Glasgow, at their discretion, to absolve the penitents, restore to them the sacra-

The rebels receive absolution from the pope.

* "And of his court through Europe sprang the fame,
Of lusty lords and lovesome ladies ying;
Triumphand tourneys, justing and knightly game,
With all pastime according for ane king—
He was the gloir of princely governing!"
Sir David Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 314. Sir David was himself bred at the court of James.

* Godscroft, vol. ii. p. 59. The sword with which Archibald Bell-the-Cat slew Spens was by his descendant, the famous Earl of Morton, presented to Lord Lindsay of the Byres, when about to engage in single combat with Bothwell at Carberry-hill.

Sir Walter Scott, in his description of this redoubted feudal chief in his old age, says:—

"O'er his huge form and visage pale,
He wore a cap and shirt of mail;
And lean'd his large and wrinkled hand
Upon the huge and sweeping brand,
Which wont of yore in battle fray
His foeman's limbs to shred away,
As wood-knife lops the sapling spray."
Marmion, canto vi. st. xi.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 230.
‡ Ibid.

ments, and reunite them to the body of the church on due expression of contrition and pledge of penitence.*

Enactments of the parliament. A.D. 1493.

The Scottish king showed himself as vigilant in guarding against the encroachments of the papal court, as he was resolute in maintaining his royal authority over his own subjects. In a parliament held at Edinburgh, in the month of May, 1493, various enactments were passed for the purpose of protecting the privileges of the Scottish church, and the rights of the king in the disposal of his ecclesiastical patronage. Regulations were framed with the view of preventing all interference upon the part of the pope with the king's appointment to vacant benefices; and all opposition to these regulations was declared to be an act of treason. The Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow had, a few years before, been raised to the archiepiscopal dignity—their privileges were now ratified, and they were empowered to confirm the election of abbots within their dioceses without waiting for the authority of the papal court. These rival prelates had been for some time engaged in a violent litigation before the pope, respecting their jurisdiction, the expense of which, it was declared, had been attended with 'inestimable damage to the realm;' and some apprehensions seem to have been entertained, that the one party or the other might be induced to make undue concessions to gain the favour of the Romish court. The parliament, therefore, requested the king to interfere, and to command the litigants to withdraw their suit from the foreign tribunal, and to submit to the decision of the king; under the penalty that, if they refuse to obey, their tenants shall be interdicted from paying their rents.† It would appear that at this time not a few, both of the clergy and laity, had pleas depending in the papal court, by appeals from the Scottish ecclesiastical tribunals; and the parliament recommended the king to enjoin the litigants, by his ambassadors, to withdraw their pleas, and submit them to the ordinary judges in their own country, and impartial justice should be administered to them. The ancient law was re-enacted, which prohibited any papal legate from entering the realm, unless a cardinal or a native of Scotland. Some enactments were also passed at this time for the regulation of manufactures and commerce, and of the coinage and importation of bullion. For the encouragement of the fisheries of the kingdom, and on account of 'the great and innumerable riches' which are lost for the want of ships and boats, with their appropriate nets and tackling, the parliament judged it proper that ships and fishing boats, of not less than twenty tons, should be built and equipped by all the burghs and sea-coast towns; and that all stout, idle men should be pressed to serve on board these vessels, under the penalty of banishment in case of refusal. Great anxiety seems to have been felt that James should, without delay, form a matrimonial alliance; doubtless in expectation that such a union would operate as a restraint upon his licentious passions. The proposal was renewed to send ambassadors to France, Spain, and other countries to seek a suitable bride for the young king; and, in addition to the tax already agreed to for the purpose of defraying the expense of the embassy, it was declared that a thousand pounds additional should be given 'for the honourable hame-bringing of a queen.'

Measures adopted for the pacification of the Highlands.

The state of the Highlands now occupied much of the king's attention, and the measures which he adopted for the introduction of law and order into these wild and remote districts, were certainly wise and salutary. Some time before this, Alexander of Lochalsh, nephew and heir to John, the aged Lord of the Isles, had endeavoured to recover by force of arms the coveted earldom of Ross; and after ravaging the country, and carrying off a vast booty, was defeated by the Mackenzies at a place called Blairnepark, near the river Conan. It does not appear how far the Lord of the Isles was himself implicated in the rebellious proceedings of his nephew, but either on account of his connection with this rebellion, or because it was the object of the government to break up the confederacy of the islanders, which had so often disturbed the tranquillity of the country, the parliament, which met in 1493, deprived this powerful chief of his title and estates. In the month of January following he appeared before the king, and made a formal surrender of his lordship. The aged nobleman appears to have remained for some time in the king's household, but he finally retired to the Abbey of Paisley about the year 1498.*

Repeated expeditions of the king into the Highlands and Islands.

Immediately after the forfeiture of the great island chief, James proceeded in person to the west Highlands, to receive the submission of his vassals. Experience had shown that the personal presence of the sovereign was calculated to exercise the most beneficial influence on the minds of the inhabitants of these wild and inaccessible regions; and on two different occasions, in the year 1490, James rode from Perth, across the chain of mountains known by the name of the 'Mounth,' which extends from the border of the Mearns to the head of Loch Rannoch. During the present visit he penetrated as far as Dunstaffnage and Mingarry in Ardnamurchan, and received the submission of Alexander of Lochalsh, the principal leader of the late insurrection; John of Isla; John Maclean of Lochbuy; Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan; and other powerful chiefs who were formerly vassals of the Lord of the Isles. In return, the king conferred on them, by royal charters, grants of the lands which they had formerly held under their feudal superior, thus rendering them independent of any subject; and the two former received the honour of knighthood.

* Innes' Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 837.

† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 232.

* Gregory's Highlands and Isles of Scotland, p. 56.

As some of the most powerful of these chiefs had not made their submission, the king resolved to return next year with a force sufficient to overawe and reduce them to obedience. The voyage, which took place in April and May, 1494, was conducted with great pomp and ceremony. The king was attended by his chief ministers and household, many of whom had fitted out vessels at their own expense. The splendour of the armament impressed the islanders with a high idea of the royal wealth and power; the promptitude and vigour with which James punished those who braved his power, inspired terror, while the clemency he displayed towards those who submitted to his authority, and his condescension and familiarity with all classes of his subjects increased his popularity, and strengthened his authority. During this excursion, the youthful monarch gratified his passion for sailing and hunting, and thereby relieved the tedium of business by combining with it agreeable and innocent recreation.

In the course of the year 1494, James visited the Isles no less than three times, so great was his anxiety to establish the authority of law and government in these remote districts. On arriving, on his first voyage, at Tarbert in Kintyre, he repaired the fort originally built there by his great ancestor Robert Bruce, and provided it with artillery and skilful gunners. On his return, in the month of July, he seized the castle of Dunaverty, in South Kintyre, and placed a garrison in it for the purpose of overawing the rude and turbulent chiefs of that district. This step gave great offence to Sir John of Isla, who is supposed to have entertained the hope of regaining the possession of Kintyre, which had at one time belonged to his family; and on the first favourable opportunity, he collected his followers, stormed the castle, and hanged the governor over the wall in the sight of the king and his fleet. This savage revolt took James completely by surprise; and, as the greater portion of his followers had been sent away on some other expedition, he was unable to inflict immediate punishment on this insolent rebel. But so promptly were measures taken for the vindication of his insulted authority, that in a short time Sir John of Isla, and four of his sons, were apprehended and conveyed to Edinburgh. Here they were brought to trial, found guilty of treason, and executed on the Borough-muir. Their lands and possessions were forfeited to the crown.*

In the following year, another powerful expedition was undertaken to the Isles, and on the 18th of May, the king held his court, for the second time within two years, at the remote castle of Mingarry, in Ardnamurchan. John Hughson, of Sleat; Donald Angus, son of Keppock, the chief of Clanranald; Maclean, of Dowart; Ewen Allanson, of Lochiel, captain of the clan Cameron; and Macneill, of Barra, finding it in vain to resist the powerful force which the king had led into the midst of their island fastnesses, made their submission. Mackenzie, of Kintail; and Farquhar Macintosh, son and heir of the captain of the clan Chattan, were seized and imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. These vigorous measures were followed up by an important act of the Lords of Council, which provided, that when civil actions were raised against the islanders, the chief of every clan should be answerable for the due execution of summonses and other writs against those of his own tribe, under the penalty of being made liable himself to the party bringing the action. This measure, which was rendered necessary by the disturbed state of the Isles, must have had a most beneficial effect; for, in those wild and remote districts, a strong military escort was necessary to enable the officers of the law to perform their necessary duties in safety.*

* Gregory's Highlands and Isles of Scotland, p. 90

The character of James, however, though distinguished by a noble love of justice, and a sincere desire to promote the happiness of his people, was weakened by a cast of romance, and a fondness for adventure, which rendered him often the dupe of the designing, and engaged him in enterprises alike impolitic and hazardous. An unhappy example of this defect was now given in the ardour with which he adopted the cause of Perkin Warbeck, who, as the pretended son of Edward IV. laid claim to the crown of England. The early history of this specious impostor is involved in an obscurity which tended, doubtless, to support his deception; but it is generally believed that his father was a renegade Jew of Tournay, who occasionally visited England, for the purpose of trade. Perkin was born in England; but while still very young, he left that country for France, and in company with his father, led for many years an unsettled and wandering life, but acquiring a knowledge of the world, which proved eminently useful in his subsequent career. A striking resemblance to Edward IV., combined with a noble presence, graceful manners, pleasing conversation, and great skill in adapting himself to circumstances, seem early to have attracted notice, and suggested to Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, the determined enemy of the House of Lancaster, and of Henry VII., a plan for reviving the claims of the House of York in the person of Warbeck. The young adventurer entered willingly into her schemes, and qualified himself, by a residence at her court, for the part he was expected to perform; while Margaret and her protége eagerly awaited the proper moment for some decisive step in favour of their object. On the breaking out of war between England and France, Warbeck left Burgundy for Ireland, where the House of York had still many ardent friends. He announced himself as Richard Plantagenet, son of Edward IV.; gave a specious account of his escape from the cruelty of his uncle, Richard III., and by artful appeals to the loyalty of the Irish people, he succeeded in attaching to his cause the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, and

Origin and character of Perkin Warbeck.

* Gregory's Highlands and Isles of Scotland, p. 91.

the greater part of the native population. In France his success was equally great, for whatever credit Charles VIII. might attach to his pretensions, it was obviously the policy of that monarch to strengthen the interests of so dangerous a rival to Henry VII. with whom he was then at war. Warbeck was accordingly invited to the French court, and received, on his arrival, not only the welcome of a sovereign, but had a pension and a residence assigned to him along with a guard of honour, of which Lord Concressault became the captain. On the conclusion of peace between France and England, Perkin, though still secretly favoured by Charles, was compelled to retire to Flanders, where he anxiously awaited the progress of events in the English kingdom. These, for a time, inspired him with the highest hopes of success. The faction of York, though broken, was still powerful, while the policy of Henry had diffused such a general spirit of discontent among the nobles, that many were eager to dethrone and punish the enemy of their order. Warbeck accordingly received numerous visits and secret promises of support from some of the chief barons of England; and the conspiracy for the assertion of his claims to the English crown became daily more extensive and formidable. The treachery of Lord Clifford, however, who basely betrayed to Henry the names and plans of the conspirators, broke up the confederacy ere it was ripe for action, and the summary execution of the leaders for high treason, inflicted a blow on the cause of Warbeck from which it never recovered. A desperate, but unsuccessful attempt, with a motley band of robbers, outlaws, and pirates, to invade England through Kent, a district supposed to be highly favourable to his cause, completed his discouragements, and compelled him, once more, to return to Flanders. In Ireland, the nature of the country, so favourable to a desultory and protracted system of warfare, enabled his friends, who were still numerous and powerful, to maintain the contest with the forces of Henry; and Warbeck left Flanders for that country, in the hope that, by some decisive victory, his fortune might revive; but the masterly soldiership of Sir Edward Poynings, whom Henry had appointed governor of the island, soon rendered his prospects well-nigh desperate, and he turned to the Scottish king as the forlorn hope of his cause. On the sixth of November, 1494, James received notice that the Prince of England purposed visiting his dominions; and a prompt and friendly reply having been returned, Warbeck shortly after sailed for Scotland.

His visit to Scotland.

There is good reason to believe, however, that the connexion of James with the cause of the Flemish adventurer commenced at a much earlier period. The friendly relations between the courts of Burgundy and Scotland afforded ample opportunities for intercourse, nor does it seem likely that Margaret would overlook the aid of a prince, whose chivalrous character and proximity to England rendered his adherence to the cause of York a matter of the last importance. Negotiations appear to have been begun as early as 1488, when Sir Richard Hardelston and Richard Ludelay de Ireland visited Scotland on a mission from the duchess; and though Warbeck was for some time almost entirely engrossed with his schemes in England and Ireland, the reception at the Scottish court, first of Edward Ormond, and subsequently of O'Donnel, Prince of Tirconnel, as the envoys of Warbeck, indicate with sufficient clearness the adherence of James to the cause of the alleged Prince of York. A simultaneous rising of the friends of Warbeck in Ireland and England, and the invasion of the latter country by a powerful Scottish army, seem at one time to have been agreed upon; but the treachery of Clifford prevented the movement. James, indeed, was fully prepared to credit the pretensions of Warbeck, which, besides being supported by the courts of Burgundy and France, had so many attractions for his romantic turn of mind; and the disasters which had attended the course of the adventurer in his attempts on the English crown, only strengthened his generous interest in the unfortunate refugee, and his resolution to support his claims. He, therefore, coldly declined the pacific overtures of Henry VII., who offered him his daughter, the Princess Margaret, in marriage,* and proceeded to make arrangements for war.

James resolves to support his claims.

Warbeck arrived in Scotland in the month of November, 1495, and was received with all the honours due to a prince. The castle of Stirling, which had been elegantly fitted up in the prospect of his visit, was assigned to him as a place of residence, and a monthly pension of one hundred and twelve pounds from the exchequer enabled him to maintain a state and retinue befitting his presumed rank. Any doubt that may be supposed to have lingered in the mind of James, respecting the truth of Perkin's story, was entirely removed by intercourse with his guest, whose specious manners, imposing person, and well sustained semblance of injured greatness, deepened the impression which his misfortunes and his appeal to the protection of the Scottish monarch had already produced. James treated Warbeck with all the familiarity of an equal, entertained him with tournaments and joustings; and for the purpose of securing the hearty co-operation of his own subjects in the coming war with England, he conducted the stranger through the most populous parts of the kingdom, where his appearance and manners had a powerful effect in exciting the sympathies of the nation. Shortly after, the Scottish king gave the most convincing proof of his attachment to Warbeck and his belief in his claims, by bestowing upon him the hand of Lady Catherine Gordon, a daughter of the Earl of Huntley, who, besides being the most beautiful and accomplished woman in Scotland, was nearly related to the royal family.

The invasion of England being now resolved

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. p. 572.

upon, James, with characteristic promptitude, proceeded to collect his forces. An order was issued summoning the whole military strength of his kingdom to assemble at Lauder; and the king busied himself in collecting as efficient a train of artillery as the age and country could furnish. Messengers were also despatched to Ireland to acquaint the friends of Warbeck there with this formidable movement in his favour, and to invite them to persevere in the contest with the forces of Henry, and, if possible, to strengthen the army of James; while constant communication was kept up with the barons on the English border, whose attachment to the house of York was likely to secure their co-operation in the enterprise.* The confidence of the king was farther increased and his forces strengthened by the arrival of two Flemish vessels from the Duchess of Burgundy, containing sixty German men-at-arms, and a large store of military accoutrements and weapons.

Having at last completed his preparations, the Scottish king proceeded to the south, at the head of his army, accompanied by Warbeck, who adopted the title of the Duke of York. Before crossing the border, James halted at Ellam Kirk, and formally declared war against England, while his ally drew up and dispersed a manifesto addressed to his subjects, in which his own claims were artfully put forth, the usurpation and tyranny of Henry denounced, the aid of the English people to restore the rightful possessor of the throne earnestly implored, and ample promises were made that all the grievances which the mal-administration of the present king had produced should be immediately redressed. The result of this expedition was sufficiently mortifying to the Scottish monarch, but by no means surprising, as it arose from causes which only his hasty and over-confident temper had led him to overlook. Warbeck's pretensions, at no time popular in England, had been greatly weakened by his previous failures; the searching investigations of Henry had discovered the lowness of his birth and the falsehood of his story, and the dread inspired by the vengeance inflicted on his former supporters, effectually repressed any manifestation of interest even on the part of those who were favourably inclined to his cause. To these feelings was added the powerful element of national hostility. The presence of a Scottish army in England provoked the indignation of the inhabitants; and they viewed with disgust an adventurer, supported only by their hereditary foes and a motley gathering of Flemish stipendiaries and border thieves, and who, in the prosecution of his claims, did not hesitate to expose their country to all the evils of a hostile inroad. James was doomed, therefore, to encounter only coldness and aversion, where he expected to be hailed with enthusiasm; and incensed at a result so different from his expectations, he completed the unpopularity of his ally by subjecting the district of Northumberland to plunder and devastation. So unsparing were his ravages, that Warbeck, either from real or affected compassion, ventured to intercede for his subjects, as he continued to call them; but the Scottish monarch, who now saw the futility of the project in which he had embarked, replied with a sneer, "You are too merciful to interest yourself for a people who are so tardy in acknowledging you for a sovereign."* Having satiated his vengeance, and feeling satisfied that for the present the main object of the expedition must be abandoned, James, on learning that an army was mustering to attack him, returned to his own dominions, where, amid the gaieties of his court, he endeavoured to lose the remembrance of his failure.

Invasion of England.

Failure of the expedition.

Meanwhile Henry, indignant at the invasion of his kingdom and its cause, had taken instant measures for driving back the enemy, and retaliating, by a similar incursion into Scotland. The retreat of James, however, removed the principal occasion of his anxieties; and as hostilities between the two countries, though still carried on, were now confined to occasional forays on the part of the border chiefs, he resolved, with his usual prudence, rather to procure peace, if possible, by negotiation, than to trust to the chances of a long and hazardous war. He renewed his proposals, therefore, at the close of the following summer, for a marriage between James and his daughter Margaret, as the bond of a lasting truce between the two countries; but he required, as a necessary condition, the abandonment of Warbeck's cause, and the surrender of his person. These overtures were in the main acceptable to the Scottish king. The advantages of an alliance with Henry were obvious; his ardour in the cause of his guest had greatly cooled and he had now abandoned all hopes of success; but, with the characteristic generosity of his nature, he shrunk from betraying one who had claimed his protection, and trusted implicitly to his honour. The removal of Warbeck from Scotland, however, became now a matter of urgent necessity, as his presence, besides causing a profitless and unpopular war, occasioned an amount of expense which the treasury of the kingdom was unable to sustain. Arrangements were accordingly made for his departure; but to divert attention from his own purpose, and to secure the safety of Warbeck, James affected not only to decline the proposals of Henry, but even entered England with a powerful force, and a considerable train of artillery, as if resolved to prosecute the war with unabated vigour. In the meantime a ship was fitted out at Ayr, provided with every requisite for convenience and defence, and placed under the command of Robert Barton, one of the most daring and expert captains of the age. In this vessel Warbeck embarked on the 24th of July, 1497, and left Scotland for ever, accompanied by his devoted wife, who refused to be separated from her husband; and receiving to the

Departure of Warbeck from Scotland.

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 438, 443.

* Carte Hist. of England, vol. ii. pp. 848, 849.

last, from the subjects of his chivalrous entertainer, all the honours due to his assumed rank. The fate of this specious pretender to royalty was speedily decided. Abandoned by James, and excluded from Flanders by a treaty between that country and England, he took refuge at first with a few of his partizans, amid the wilds of Ireland; but a second attempt on England, with the view of reviving his desperate fortunes, issued in his total defeat and capture, and he was ultimately hanged at Tyburn. His wife, Lady Catherine Gordon, fell at the same time into the hands of Henry, who, however, treated her with generous kindness, and assigned her a pension and post of honour at the English court, where, from her grace and beauty, she was long known by the name of the White Rose of Scotland.*

His ultimate fate.

The departure of Warbeck removed the chief obstacle to a peace between England and Scotland, for which the monarchs of both countries were equally solicitous. Henry, menaced by constant plots against his crown, and surrounded by a discontented nobility, was naturally anxious to secure the neutrality of a powerful neighbour, whose hostility might assist the efforts of foreign invasion or intestine treason; and James, whose thirst for adventure and profitless strife had been greatly cooled by late events, was now engaged with plans for the improvement of his kingdom, the execution of which must have been indefinitely delayed by war with England. Negotiations were accordingly resumed, and on the 31st September, 1497, a truce was concluded at Ayton, between the two nations, for seven years, and was afterwards extended to a period comprehending the lives of the two monarchs, and a year after the death of the survivor. The proposal of the alliance of James with the Princess Margaret, though formally introduced by Fox, Bishop of Durham, one of the English commissioners, seems to have been ultimately dropped from the provisions of the treaty.

Truce with England.

Thus happily freed from the prospect of war, James entered with promptitude and zeal on measures for promoting the prosperity of his kingdom. The northern provinces, remote from the seat of government, and convulsed by the feuds of rival clans, had long proved a source of disquietude to successive monarchs, and had not unfrequently endangered the security of the crown. James, therefore, determined by personal inspection, to ascertain the condition of those districts as the basis of future legislation; and for this purpose he proceeded, though in the depth of winter, to Inverness, from which he made an extensive tour through the Highland provinces. The result of his policy was in the highest degree satisfactory. The refractory and turbulent chiefs were punished, while the more peaceful were honoured by marks of the sovereign's favour and confidence, which converted them into powerful allies in maintaining the authority of government. Besides its direct influence in compelling these fierce mountaineers to acknowledge his rule, the visit of the king excited a feeling of enthusiastic loyalty among the great body of the chiefs and people, which produced the happiest effects during the remainder of his reign.

Visit of James to the Highlands.

Shortly after the conclusion of the treaty between England and Scotland, an incident occurred, which threatened once more to involve the two countries in hostilities. A party of youths belonging to the Scottish border, trusting to the protection of the truce, crossed the Tweed for the purpose of visiting some friends at Norham; but while examining the castle a quarrel arose between them and the garrison, who accused them of being spies. They were attacked by orders of the governor; several of them were wounded and slain, and the rest were compelled to flee for their lives. A complaint respecting this outrage was instantly made to the English wardens, but without success. The Scottish king took fire at the indignity offered to his subjects, and despatched a herald to the English court, demanding satisfaction, and denouncing war if it were refused. Fortunately for the mutual welfare of the two kingdoms, Henry behaved with great prudence and moderation. He declared that the attack was altogether unpremeditated, and promised that inquiry should immediately be made, and punishment inflicted upon the guilty. Fox, the Bishop of Durham, to whom the castle belonged, also wrote to James, in a submissive and conciliatory strain, and succeeded in appeasing his indignation.* The ratification of the treaty, which this untoward incident had delayed, was soon afterwards given at Stirling, on the twentieth of July, 1499.

Threatening of hostilities with England.

The negotiations with England having been thus amicably concluded, James turned his attention to the formation of a navy. At this time the maritime enterprises of the Portuguese, and the discoveries of Columbus and of John and Sebastian Cabot, had created an extraordinary sensation throughout Europe, which had extended to Scotland, and roused the adventurous spirit of the Scottish king. He immediately adopted measures to establish a royal navy, in which Scotland had hitherto been deficient, and to maintain his place with other maritime kingdoms. Injunctions were issued, that vessels of twenty tons and upwards should be built in all the seaports of the kingdom; and that all stout vagrants should be compelled to serve on board these vessels, and to labour for their own living. Great attention was paid to the best nurseries of seamen—the domestic fisheries and foreign commerce. Sir Andrew Wood, the two Bartons, and other experienced and enterprising merchants and traders, were invited to court, and

Formation of a navy.

* Lady Catherine afterwards married Sir Matthew Cradock of Wales, an ancestor of the Pembroke family.

* Buchanan, book xiii. chaps. xix. xx.

encouraged to apply their wealth and skill to the improvement of the maritime affairs of the country; while the king made himself intimately acquainted with the management of his infant navy and personally superintended its details. He practised gunnery, embarked in little experimental voyages, conversed with his mariners, and visited familiarly at the houses of his merchants and sea officers, by whom his fame was carried to foreign countries. In consequence of this judicious policy James became as popular with his sailors as he was beloved by his nobility; shipwrights, cannon-founders, and the best foreign artists of every description being sure of a generous reception, flocked to Scotland from France, Italy, and the Low Countries; and if the king's credulity sometimes encouraged impostors, his enthusiasm also collected round him men of real knowledge and experience.*

Prudent conduct of the Scottish king.

James was equally attentive to the other duties of his high office. His impartiality in the administration of justice to all classes of his subjects, and his energy and indefatigable activity in the repression and punishment of crime, made the laws respected and obeyed in every part of his dominions; and struck terror into the hearts of those titled robbers who were accustomed to oppress and plunder the poor at their pleasure. He exercised the most vigilant superintendence over the conduct of his officers, and not unfrequently surprised the judges by his sudden appearance in the courts of justice at the moment when he was least expected. His administration was highly popular among all classes of his subjects. His affable manners and generous, open-hearted disposition gained the affections of the common people; while his judicious policy, his love of magnificence, and the splendour of his entertainments, secured the confidence and attachment of his nobility, who delighted to attend upon the person of a sovereign of whom they were justly proud, and who treated them with the utmost courtesy and kindness. The constant round of amusements in which they were occupied at court, rendered the gloomy seclusion of their own castles doubly irksome to them. Their residence on their own estates became less frequent, and their influence over their vassals was consequently diminished, so that the royal authority was in every way extended and strengthened.

Treaty of marriage between James and the Princess Margaret of England.

Negotiations were about this time renewed for the marriage of the Scottish king to the Princess Margaret of England. Her father, the astute Henry VII., clearly perceived the advantages which would accrue to both kingdoms from such an alliance, and had repeatedly made proposals to James, which were powerfully supported by the Scottish nobility; but the extreme youth of the princess, and the reluctance of James to break off his connection with Lady Margaret Drummond, his mistress, prevented for a time the successful issue of these negotiations.

* Encyclopædia Britan. vol. xix.

The urgent remonstrances of his council, however, at length overcame the reluctance of the king, and after some preliminary negotiations with Fox, Bishop of Durham, he despatched the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Bothwell, High Admiral of Scotland, and Andrew Forman, Apostolical Prothonotary, to meet with the English commissioners and arrange the preliminaries of the marriage. The treaty was finally signed in the palace of Richmond, on the 24th of January, 1502.* When the proposition was made before the English Privy Council, one of the lords present objected that "the Princess Margaret being next heir to her brother Henry, England might chance to become a province to Scotland." "No," replied King Henry, "the smaller will ever follow the larger kingdom,"† a remark which has been often quoted in proof of the sagacity of that sovereign. The incident is related more at length by the Scottish annalist Lesley, Bishop of Ross: "Some of the counsellors of the English king," says that writer, "did propound certain reasons for staying of that marriage, alleging that it might happen that the heritage and succession of the realm of England might fall to Margaret, his eldest daughter, and to her successors; and therefore it seemed best that she should be married to some foreign prince. To the whilk the King Henry VII. did answer, 'What, then, if such things did happen (which chance, God forbid), I see that it would come so that our realm would receive no damage there-through; for in that case England would not *accress* to Scotland, but Scotland to England, as to the most noble head of the whole isle, as when Normandy came to the power of Englishmen, our forbears.' And so the wisdom of the king was commended, and the Lady Margaret granted to the King of Scotland."‡ It was stipulated that the Scottish king should either personally or by proxy espouse the Princess Margaret at Candlemas next; but as she was only twelve years of age, her father was not to be obliged to send her to Scotland before the 1st of September, 1503. The young queen, before the 1st of July, in that year, was to be put in possession of all the lands, castles, and manors which constituted the jointure of the queens dowager of Scotland;§ and it was stipulated that their annual revenue should not be under the sum of two thousand pounds sterling,—equal to six thousand pounds Scottish currency. She was to receive during the lifetime of the king, her husband, the annual sum of a thousand pounds Scottish money, or five hundred marks sterling for her private purse; she was to be allowed to keep twenty-four English servants, besides the Scottish domestics which the king might think requisite for

Conditions of the marriage treaty.

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. pp. 776—787.

† Lord Bacon's Life of Henry VII.

‡ Lesley's History of Scotland.

§ The lands of which the queen received legal seisin were —Ettrick Forest, with the tower of Newark; the lordships of Dunbar and Colbrandspath; the palace of Linlithgow and lordship of the shire; the castle of Stirling and lordship of the shire; the earldom of Monteith; the lordship and castle of Doune; and the palace and lordship of Methven.

her rank. Her household was to be maintained in due splendour at the expense of her husband; and in the event of his death she was to be permitted to reside at her pleasure either within, or without, the bounds of Scotland. On the other hand, the dowry which her father consented to give with her was only thirty thousand nobles, or ten thousand pounds sterling, to be paid by instalments within three years after the marriage; a paltry sum for so wealthy a monarch, and little more than half the amount which Alexander III. gave with his daughter to Haco, King of Norway, in the thirteenth century. The avarice of the English monarch was also manifested in the careful stipulation that if the queen should die without issue before the payment of her dowry was completed, the balance should not be demanded.* It has been justly said that in the arrangements of the marriage treaty the diplomatic skill and penurious habits of the English king seem to have gained a victory over the Scottish commissioners; for although Henry was now considered one of the wealthiest sovereigns in Europe, the dowry which he gave with his eldest daughter was considerably smaller than the sum which Edward the Fourth promised to the Prince of Scotland, in 1474, as the portion of his daughter Cecilia.†

Immediately after the conclusion of the marriage treaty, the commissioners entered into negotiations for the establishment of a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms; and, on the twenty-fourth of January, a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated, that in all time to come there should be inviolable peace between James and Henry, and their successors and subjects of every denomination; and that the allies of both kings should be included in the league, if within eight months they signified their assent to its provisions. Rebels, marauders, thieves, and other malefactors flying for shelter from the one kingdom to the other, were to be given up. All safe-conducts granted by either king to the subjects of the other were to be recalled, and never renewed, except with the consent of their own sovereign. Mutual assistance was to be given in case of war, either with foreign or domestic enemies; but the forces sent to the aid of the prince attacked were to be maintained at his own expence. It was agreed that, the town and castle of Berwick should be included in the present perpetual peace, and that it should not be molested by the Scottish king or any of his subjects. It was also stipulated, that the treaty should not be broken or annulled by trespasses committed by the subjects of either realm; but that all injuries and wrongs should be redressed by the wardens of the marches, or their lieutenants; and, that where due reparation was not made, the prince whose subjects had been injured, was at liberty to grant letters of reprisals either by sea or land. And, finally, it was agreed, that the two kings should, within three months of the marriage, ratify this treaty by their solemn oaths; that the sanction of the Roman pontiff should be obtained before the first of July, 1503; and that the violation of the treaty should incur the penalty of excommunication.

Conclusion of a lasting peace between the two kingdoms.

Before the ratification of the treaty of marriage, the court of James was the scene of a domestic tragedy of peculiar atrocity. His mistress, Lady Margaret Drummond, along with her sisters, Sybilla and Euphemia, Lady Fleming, died suddenly at the same time, with symptoms exciting a strong suspicion of poison, which, it was thought, had been administered to them at breakfast. It was generally believed that the unfortunate lady fell a victim to the jealousy of the Scottish nobles. The historian of the Drummonds* states, that James "was affianced to Lady Margaret, and meant to make her his queen without consulting his council. He was opposed by those nobles who wished him to wed Margaret Tudor. His clergy, likewise, protested against his marriage, as within the prohibited degrees. Before the king could receive the dispensation his wife (the Lady Margaret) was poisoned at breakfast, at Drummond castle, with her two sisters. Suspicion fell on the Kennedys," —a rival house, a member of which, Lady Janet Kennedy, daughter of John, Lord Kennedy, had borne a son to the king, whom James created Earl of Moray. A slightly different account is given in Morreri's Dictionary,† on the authority of a manuscript history of the family of Drummond, composed in 1689. It is there stated, that the Lady Margaret, daughter of the first Lord Drummond, "was so much beloved by James the Fourth, that he wished to marry her; but as they were connected by blood, and a dispensation from the pope was required, the impatient monarch concluded a private marriage, from which clandestine union sprung a daughter, who became the wife of the Earl of Huntley. The dispensation having arrived, the king determined to celebrate his nuptials publicly; but the jealousy of some of the nobles against the house of Drummond, suggested to them the cruel project of taking off Margaret by poison, in order that her family might not enjoy the glory of giving two queens to Scotland." A different, but much less probable account of this mysterious transaction, is to be found in one of the letters of Queen Margaret, written many years after the death of James IV., in which she accuses the brother-in-law of Margaret Drummond as her destroyer. "Lord Fleming," she says, "for evil will that he had to his wife (Euphemia Drummond) caused poison three sisters, one of them his wife, and this is known as truth throughout all Scotland."‡ The three young ladies thus foully murdered, were interred together in the centre of the choir of the cathedral church at Dumblane; and it

Tragic death of Lady Margaret Drummond—

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. pp. 787—792.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 41.

* History of Noble British Families, part xvii. p. 10.

† Tytler, vol. iv. Illustrations, letter L.

‡ Cottonian Coll. Caligula, B. I.

appears, from the entries to be found in the Treasurer's books, that two priests were regularly employed in Dumblane, by the king, to say masses for the soul of Lady Margaret.*

Journey of the Princess Margaret to Scotland—

All impediments to the completion of his marriage with the Princess Margaret having been removed by this horrid deed, James prepared to carry his engagement into effect; and the royal bride set out in great state on her journey to her future court, June 16th, 1503, some months before the time stipulated in her marriage-articles for her arrival in Scotland. Her father accompanied her from the palace of Richmond to Colleweston, in Northamptonshire, where he delivered her to the care of the Earl of Surrey, her uncle by marriage. Mounted on a beautiful white palfrey, and attended by a magnificent retinue, the youthful princess journeyed northwards by easy stages. All the bells were rung in the towns and villages through which her progress was directed, and the country people flocked in great numbers to see her. The clergy, country gentry, and civil authorities, came out in their grandest array to welcome her at the various stages of her journey; "minstrels singing, trumpets and sackbuts playing, banners and bandroles waving, coats-of-arms unrolled to the light of the sun-setting, rich maces in hand, and brave horsemen curveting and bounding."† In the course of the journey the cavalcade was joined by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Dacre, and other civil and ecclesiastical grandees, who accompanied the princess to Lamberton Kirk, a place a little to the north of Berwick; where she was met by the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Morton, and a splendid array of Scottish barons. Here a pavilion had been prepared for the reception of the royal bride, and she was delivered with great solemnity and state to the commissioners of the Scottish king. Pursuing her way onward to the capital, the youthful princess, after traversing several miles of moss and moor, reached the lonely and sea-beaten tower of Fastcastle, situated on the bleak shore of the German ocean, near St. Abb's Head.‡ In this singular fortalice, which belonged to Lord Home, Margaret passed her first night in her new dominions; her train was lodged in the abbey of Coldingham, a few miles distant. She spent the next night in the nunnery of Haddington, and on the subsequent day arrived at Dalkeith, where she had her first interview with her future husband. Scarcely had the royal bride taken possession of her chamber, when a hurrying sound was heard in the quadrangle, and the cry ran through the castle, "The King, the King of Scotland has arrived." The interview, which is described by the Somerset Herald, presents a curious picture of the manners of the times. "James was dressed simply in a velvet jacket, with his hawking-lure flung over his shoulder; his hair and beard curled naturally, and were rather long. The young queen met her royal lord at the door of the great chamber, he uncovered his head and made a deep obeisance to her, while she made a lowly reverence to him. He then took her hand and kissed her, and saluted all her ladies by kissing them. Then the king took the queen on one side, and they communed together for a long space. She held good manners, and the king remained bareheaded during the time they conversed, and many courtesies passed between them. Incontinent the board was set and served. The king and queen washed their hands with humble reverence, and after that set them down at table together. After supper there was music and dancing, and this done King James took leave of the queen, for it was late; and he went to his bed at Edinburgh, being well content at so pleasant a meeting."

—her reception.

From Dalkeith the princess removed to Newbattle Abbey, where the king on paying her a visit found her playing at cards. He then entertained her by his own performance upon the clarichord and the lute; and on taking leave, he leaped on his horse, a right fair courser, without putting his foot in the stirrup, and spurred on at full gallop follow who might; but hearing that the Earl of Surrey and several other lords were behind, the king returned, and saluted the earl bare-headed. At the next meeting, the queen, in her turn, exhibited her musical skill by playing on the lute and clarichord, while the king listened on bended knee, with his head uncovered. When she left Newbattle to proceed to the capital, James met her, attired in splendid costume, and mounted on a bay horse, trapped with gold. Feats of horsemanship, in which the king, especially, displayed all the qualities of a skilful rider, enlivened the way; and to these was added a quaint drama, suited to the romantic and chivalrous spirit of the age. A knight issued from a tent by the wayside, attended by a beautiful lady, who held the bridle of his charger, and carried his bugle-horn. A second knight suddenly appeared and seized the lady, on which the rivals fought with emulous valour till the king, by throwing down his gage, terminated the conflict. Before entering the city, Margaret was lifted from her palfrey and placed on a pillion behind James, who rode a bay horse, richly caparisoned; and in this homely but loving manner the royal pair proceeded to Holyrood, amid the rejoicings of the people. The marriage was celebrated a few days after, and a series of expensive entertainments, masques, and tournaments followed in honour of the occasion. James, skilled in all the martial exercises of the times, appeared in the lists as the Savage Knight, and attended by a troop of followers, dressed in the skins of goats and other animals, performed such feats of valour that his superiority was universally admitted. The Scottish and foreign nobles vied with each other in deeds

* Tytler, vol. iv. Illustrations, letter L.

† Narrative of John Young, Somerset Herald, who was present. Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. pp. 267—300.

‡ Fastcastle is the celebrated Wolf's Crag of the 'Bride of Lammermoor.'

of daring; and two of them were especially noticed and honoured by the king. Anthony D'Arsie de la Bastie received many rich presents, while Lord Hamilton, a near relative of James, was created Earl of Arran. The festivities which accompanied the royal marriage indicated a refinement and splendour hitherto unknown in the court of Scotland, which were chiefly to be traced to the princely courtesy and generosity of James himself; while his kindness, and even munificence, to the strangers who graced the gay scenes, diffused in other countries favourable impressions, not only of his own character, but of the importance of his kingdom.

Disturbances in the Highlands.

The joy of the king and people received a disagreeable interruption from the news of a rebellion in the north. For many years the Highlands had remained in a state of comparative tranquillity. The dignity of Lord of the Isles had been abolished, and the extensive districts belonging to that petty prince were forfeited and annexed to the crown. But while the power of these troublesome chiefs was destroyed, the property of their vassals had in general been scrupulously respected, and charters were granted, which confirmed them in the possession of their estates, so that the inhabitants even of Knapdale and Kintire submitted to the change, and, attracted by the clemency and justice of James, were becoming gradually attached to the new administration.

Summary proceedings of James.

For reasons which do not appear, the policy of the Scottish court to these distant dependencies underwent a sudden and unfavourable change. The charters granted by the king to the vassals of the Isles, during the last five years, were summarily revoked; and Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was appointed the king's lieutenant, and was commissioned to let on lease for the term of three years the entire lordship of the Isles. In accordance with these instructions, Argyle proceeded summarily to expel the proprietors and vassals from their lands, which were appropriated by himself and others of the royal favourites.* Indignant at this injustice, and driven to despair by their situation, the extruded Islesmen determined to recover their inheritance, and to restore the ancient rule of their hereditary chiefs. The jealousy of the Scottish parliament had consigned Donald Dhu, the grandson of John, last Lord of the Isles, to a dungeon in the castle of Inchconnel,

Insurrection of the Islesmen.

but a party of the Islesmen, led by the McIans of Glencoe, stormed his prison, and having conveyed him to the castle of Torquil McLeod, in Lewis, took immediate steps for the establishment of his alleged rights, and the vindication of the independence of their country.† Emboldened by success, the disaffected chiefs formed themselves into a powerful confederacy, and, uniting their forces, invaded the adjoining provinces. Badenoch was plundered and wasted with fire and sword, and the town of Inverness was given to the flames. James adopted instant and vigorous measures for quelling this sudden insurrection. An army, under the command of the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, Crawford, Marischal, and Lord Lovat, received orders to march against the rebels. The various castles in the hands of the government were strengthened, and their garrisons increased; while, by promises and threats, the king endeavoured to confirm the wavering loyalty of some of the northern chiefs, and to arrest the formidable spirit of disaffection which had broken out among them.

Measures adopted by parliament to secure the peace of the country.

Pending the result of these measures, the parliament met at Edinburgh on the 11th of March, 1503, and proceeded to consider the state of the revolted districts, with the view of providing in future for their efficient control, and securing the general tranquillity of the Highlands.* For these important purposes a new and more comprehensive division of sheriffdoms, embracing the whole north and west Highlands, was agreed upon; the towns in which the courts of justice should be held were named, and a competent number of judges attached to each of the districts. The sheriffs for the northern Isles were directed to hold their sessions in Inverness and Dingwall, and those for the south, in Tarbet. Caithness and Ross were detached from the sheriffdom of Inverness, and placed under judges of their own. A Justice Ayre was appointed at Perth for the districts of Dowart, Glendowart, and the lordship of Lorn; and those of Mamore and Lochaber were provided for by a similar court at Inverness. The town of Ayr was selected as the seat of courts for Bute, Arran, Knapdale, Kintire, and the larger Cumray. Argyle was also embraced in the new arrangement; but as the unsettled state of the district made it impossible to determine at what place its courts should be held, these were instructed to assemble wherever it is found "that each Highlander and Lowlander may come without danger and ask justice." As the broken clans of Teviotdale had caused many serious interruptions of the public peace, it was proposed to bind the chief nobles and gentry resident there, to maintain order under heavy penalties; an arrangement which had been found to produce the best results in other parts of the country exposed to similar disturbances.

Besides appointing a court of daily council to sit at Edinburgh, in order to prevent the accumulation of causes, and the suspension of justice to the poor, who suffered severely by delay, a variety of other wise and beneficial statutes were enacted by the parliament at the same time. Many abuses had arisen from the practice of granting general pardons for offences, as the remission for a minor crime was often used by the delinquent to shield himself from one of a deeper dye. It was, therefore, resolved that before pardon was granted to a criminal, the highest offence of the applicant should be ascertained and described in a special

* Gregory's History of the Highlands, p. 94.

† Gregory, p. 96.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 239—249

clause of the deed of grant, the possession of which freed him from the consequences of lesser crimes. All burghs were enjoined annually to change their magistrates; and their commissaries were instructed to attend the meetings of the Estates, to give advice, especially where parliament contemplated the imposition of a new tax, by which the interests of the burghal constituencies were likely to be affected. To guard the interests of their vassals, all feudal superiors were enjoined to secure their estates by a legal deed of possession; and every case of seisin thus granted by a judge was to be registered and properly attested in a court-book, lodged in the exchequer. The preservation of growing timber, and the improvement of rural economy, also engaged the attention of parliament. To prevent the indiscriminate destruction of the forests, which had left many districts of the country bare and unsheltered, the felling or burning of a young tree subjected the offender to a fine of five pounds. Every proprietor was directed to plant at least one acre of wood, to form a park, construct fish-ponds, to stock rabbit-warrens and dovecots, and to plant orchards. Trespass on the grounds of a proprietor, or the destruction of his fences, was punished by a fine of ten pounds, if the culprit was a grown-up person; but if a child, "the bairn was to be lashed, scourged, and dung according to the fault." A succeeding enactment relates to the important matter of the tenure of lands by the vassals of the feudal barons. Hitherto feudatories had held almost entirely under the obligation to military service, but in place of this, the king, lords, and prelates were now permitted 'to let in feu' any portion of land they might please. By this new arrangement, military service might be commuted for a rent, either in money or produce; and the change, though regarded with jealousy by some of the greater barons, was followed by the best results, in cherishing the spirit of peaceful industry, and developing the agricultural resources of the country. Enactments pervaded by the same wise spirit prohibited a creditor to seize for debt, or to order the sale of agricultural implements; equalized the weights and measures throughout the kingdom, and declared all its provinces to be subject to the same code of laws; provided for the punishment of ill-qualified or faithless notaries; endeavoured to reduce the expenses of litigation, and sought to diminish the number of able-bodied and sturdy beggars. Attendance on the meetings of parliament was rendered obligatory on all barons whose annual income exceeded one hundred marks, under the penalty of the usual fine; but the personal services of those whose revenue fell below this standard was dispensed with, provided that their agents could justify a plea of exemption.*

Employment of the fleet against the Islesmen.

During the proceedings of this important parliament, the army, under the leadership of the Earl of Arran, was prosecuting with vigour the reduction of the northern rebels. The nature of the country, however, so adapted to irregular warfare, enabled the Islesmen and their confederates to protract hostilities for a lengthened period; and James determined to send a small fleet, commanded by Sir Robert Wood and Andrew Barton, among the sea-girt fastnesses of his enemies, and by carrying the war into the heart of their country to compel them to surrender.* The wisdom of the plan was justified by its success. Invaded by boats full of armed seamen and disciplined troops, who speedily captured their strongest fortresses, the insurgent chiefs were compelled to lay down their arms; while others, whose fidelity was suspected, found it prudent to aid the efforts of the royal troops, in reducing the disaffected districts.

Punishment of the Border freebooters.

James was now at leisure to inflict punishment on some of the Border clans, whose habits of plunder and violence continually disturbed the southern portions of his kingdom. As England, equally with Scotland, was interested in reducing these fierce marauders, whose forays across the English borders had not only inflicted great injury, but, by the retaliation which they provoked, endangered the peace of the two countries, James solicited and obtained the co-operation of Henry VII., who instructed Lord Dacre to meet the king with a force which would effectually overawe resistance, and secure the punishment of the offenders. Lochmaben was chosen as the seat of the court, the proceedings of which were marked by a justice so stern, that the boldest of the freebooters quailed before its presence. The offending chiefs and their principal followers were tried, convicted, and summarily hanged, and their lifeless bodies, which remained suspended from gibbets, struck terror into the spectators. So speedy and certain was the vengeance of the law in every case of conviction, that the chiefs of the Armstrongs and Jardines hastened to avert deserved punishment by timely submission to the royal authority, and eager proffers of aid in carrying out the plans of the king. James at the same time commended and rewarded those who had reverenced the law, and assisted its ministers in preserving the public peace; while he displayed his joyous nature by alternating the pleasures of the chace and gay entertainments, with these grim evidences of his unbending rigour as a judge.†

'The raid of Eskdale,' as it was popularly termed, was almost immediately followed by a royal progress as far as Forres, through the northern portion of his dominions, during which he seems to have examined minutely the state of these districts, and to have aided the sheriffs in their administration of justice. The rebellion of the Islesmen, in spite of the submission of some of their leading chiefs, and the terror inspired for a time by the vigorous measures of the government, broke out once more, with a fury which perilled the results of the former expedition. James, however,

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 240—254.

* Treasurer's Accounts, 1504, March 14.

† Ibid. August 9th, 1504.

no longer distracted by the condition of the Borders, was now happily able to avail himself of the whole military strength of his kingdom in quelling the insurrection. The Earl of Huntley, therefore, received instructions to invade the Isles by the north, while the king himself led an army against them from the south. These vigorous measures at length dissolved the confederacy of the islanders, and induced their principal leaders to submit to the royal authority. Maclean, of Dowart; Maclean, of Lochbuy; Macneill, of Barra; Macquarrie, of Ulva, and other powerful chiefs, laid down their arms, and were received into favour. Torquil Macleod, of Lewis, the head of the rebellion, still held out, probably despairing of pardon; but in the succeeding year (1506) he was solemnly forfeited by parliament for not appearing to stand his trial for high treason; his castle of Stornoway was besieged and taken by the Earl of Huntley, and his estates were conferred upon the supporters of the government. Donald Dhu, the alleged heir of the Isles, for whose sake the islanders had risen in rebellion, was a second time taken prisoner and committed to the castle of Edinburgh, where he was confined for the long period of nearly forty years.*

Suppression of the rebellion in the north.

This formidable and tedious rebellion having been thus at length suppressed, James laboured not only to cause the laws to be respected and obeyed, throughout these rude and remote districts, but also to induce the inhabitants to make themselves acquainted with the statutes enacted by the Scottish parliament. There is yet extant a deed conferring certain crown lands, in the Isle of Sky, upon a person named Kenneth Williamson, to support him at the schools, with a view to his studying the laws of Scotland, and afterwards practising as a lawyer within the bounds of the Isles.† The great power formerly wielded by the Lords of the Isles was now transferred to the Earls of Argyle and Huntley,—the former having the chief authority over the islands adjacent to the coast of Argyleshire, while the influence of the latter was predominant in the north Isles and Highlands. This powerful nobleman, who had contributed most effectual aid in the suppression of the rebellion, was appointed heritable Sheriff of Inverness,—a jurisdiction comprehending the shires of Inverness, Ross, and Caithness,—and was empowered to nominate deputies, who were to hold their courts in the various divisions of his sheriffdom. In consequence of these judicious measures, a great improvement took place in the condition of these remote districts of the country; justice was impartially dispensed to all classes of the community; and from this period, till the disastrous battle of Flodden, the west Highlands and Isles remained in a state of unwonted tranquillity.

For some years previous to this period the intercourse between France and Scotland had been much less frequent than formerly; and the French monarch, Louis XII., incessantly occupied with his Italian wars, had neglected to renew the ancient alliance with his Scottish allies, and appeared to have taken no interest in the union between James and the King of England. But, after that the Spanish arms had obtained the superiority in Italy, Louis, apprehensive that Henry VII. might take part in the quarrel with his Spanish ally, despatched an ambassador of high rank and fame, Bernard Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, to renew the league with the Scottish king, and to detach Scotland from the English influence. James received the veteran warrior with great distinction, placed him in the most honourable seat at his own table, appointed him the judge of his tournaments, and addressed him by the title of Father of War.*

Renewal of intercourse with France.

The influence of Scotland, at this period, on the general affairs of Europe was manifested by the interference of James in behalf of Charles d'Egmont, Duke of Gueldres, who solicited his assistance in the struggle which he was then maintaining against the unjust pretensions of the house of Austria. The Scottish king, by a prompt remonstrance to his father-in-law, Henry, prevented him from affording assistance to the Austrian Archduke, and the Emperor Maximilian, his father. He also secured the co-operation of Louis XII., King of France, in protecting the Duke of Gueldres against the encroachments of his powerful and unprincipled adversaries, and thus compelled them for the present to lay aside their designs against the independence of the duchy.† James also interfered in behalf of his ally, John, King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, against whom his Swedish subjects had risen in rebellion; and despatched conciliatory letters to the Archbishop of Upsal and the Swedish senate, and to the citizens of Lubeck, who were about to assist the Swedes. These letters, which have been pronounced models of elegance and vigour, abound with judicious maxims, and even manifest some recognition of the rights and liberties of the people. The royal writer admits that an unjust king may be lawfully resisted by force of arms, provided that he has been previously warned, in a national council, to reform his tyrannical conduct, and has rejected the admonition of his subjects.‡

Influence of James on the continent.

At this period, to the great joy of the country, an heir to the throne was born on the 10th of February, 1506. The king was so delighted with the auspicious event, that he presented the lady of the queen's chamber, who brought him the news, with a hundred pieces of gold in a silver cup, and instantly despatched messengers to convey the glad tidings to the Kings

Birth of an heir to the throne.

* Gregory's History of the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, p. 102.
† Ibid. p. 104.

* Lindsay, vol. i. p. 251.
† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 56.
‡ Epist. Reg. Scot. vol. i. pp. 21, 30, 34.

of England, France, Spain, and Portugal. The child, who was named James, after his father, was baptized, with great magnificence, in the chapel of Holyrood, on the 23rd of February; but the hopes of his parents, and of the kingdom, were blasted by his premature death, on the 17th of February, 1507. The youthful mother remained for a considerable period in a critical situation, and James undertook a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of St. Ninians, at Whithorn, in Galloway, for the benefit of her health, and, if we may credit the monkish annalists, her recovery took place at the very moment that the king offered, in her behalf, at the shrine of the saint.* James was attended on this pilgrimage by his four Italian minstrels, who were so completely exhausted by their long pedestrian expedition, that they required to be carried back to Holyrood, on horses hired for the occasion. On her complete recovery, the queen likewise made a pilgrimage of thanksgiving, on a most magnificent scale, to the shrine of St. Ninians.† She travelled on a litter, and seventeen pack-horses were loaded with her baggage. Her chapel-plate and furniture—or 'chapel-graith,' as it is termed—were conveyed in two coffers, while three horses were required to carry the wardrobe of her royal husband, who accompanied her. The pilgrimage lasted twenty days. The shrine of St. Ninians, at Whithorn, seems to have been a favourite haunt of James, as was also the shrine of St. Duthac, in Ross. It is mentioned by Lesley, that on one occasion the king rode from Stirling to St. Duthac, unaccompanied by a single attendant, with nothing but his riding-cloak cast about him, his hunting-knife at his belt, and six-and-twenty pounds in his purse to defray his travelling expenses. He met with no interruption in the course of this solitary journey,—a circumstance of which he was justly proud, as showing the tranquillity of his kingdom, and the respect for law and order which he had introduced among all classes of his subjects.

Pilgrimages of the king.

In the midst of these transactions, Pope Julius II. sent an ambassador to the court of the Scottish king, with a consecrated hat and sword, as a special mark of his regard. The object of the warlike pontiff was to detach James from his alliance with the French monarch; but the attempt entirely failed, although James received the papal ambassador with the utmost respect and bestowed many valuable presents on him and his suite. He communicated, also, to Julius the intelligence which he had received from the King of Denmark, that his ally, the Czar of Muscovy, had expressed his desire to be admitted into the Latin church. So far was he, however, from acceding to the subtle policy of the Roman pontiff, that he offered to furnish Louis with a body of four thousand auxiliaries to serve in his Italian wars,—a proposal which the French monarch, who had meanwhile obtained great successes, declined with many professions of gratitude.*

Embassy from Pope Julius II.—

Soon after, Louis despatched an embassy to the Scottish court, for the purpose of inducing James to join the coalition called the League of Cambrai, which had recently been formed against the republic of Venice; and also of consulting his ancient ally regarding the proposed marriage of his eldest daughter to Charles, King of Castile. A series of splendid fêtes were given in Edinburgh for the entertainment of the French nobles; and a magnificent tournament was held, in which the king enacted the part of 'the Wild Knight,' surrounded by attendants, like 'salvage men in their attire,' and won great renown by the boldness and dexterity of his exploits. The jousting was succeeded by a grand festival, called 'The Round Table of King Arthur and his Peers.' These costly entertainments, however, together with the sums squandered upon jesters, dancers and singers, or expended in the pursuits of alchemy, and in the vain attempt to discover gold mines in Scotland, impoverished the royal exchequer, and drove the king to adopt new and invidious methods of raising money, which were very oppressive to his subjects, although his great popularity induced them to bear those exactions without any public expression of their discontent.†

—and from Louis XII.

The English monarch appears to have regarded with dissatisfaction and suspicion the frequent and cordial intercourse which existed between his son-in-law and the King of France; and he manifested his displeasure by seizing and imprisoning the Earl of Arran and his brother, Sir Patrick Hamilton, who, in the preceding year, had passed through England to the court of Louis, without the permission or knowledge of Henry, and were now on their return to their own country. As soon as they landed in Kent they were met by Vaughan, an officer of the English king; and on their refusal to take an oath binding them to preserve the peace with England, they were apprehended and committed to custody. Henry despatched Dr. West as his envoy to the Scottish court, to explain and justify this step, which he alleged had been rendered necessary because Arran and his brother had taken the liberty of travelling through England, for embarkation to France, without a passport or safe conduct. West reached Edinburgh during the absence of the king, who was performing his devotions at his favourite shrine of St. Ninians, at Whithorn, and had several interviews with the young queen. Margaret warmly espoused her father's cause, and laboured, but in vain, on the return of her husband, to procure an interview for Dr. West. James sent him word, "that he was too busy with superintending the making of gunpowder to spare time to speak to him." He informed the am-

Differences between Henry VII. and James.

* History of Galloway, vol. i. p. 422.
† Ibid.

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 59, 60.
† Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxiii.

bassador, that Arran and his brother had acted properly in refusing to take the oath, but he offered to delay for the present the renewal of the league with France, on condition that Henry would release Arran; Sir Patrick Hamilton having in the mean time been allowed to return to Scotland. The earl, however, was not set at liberty till near the end of the year.

Accession of Henry VIII.

The death of Henry VII. took place shortly after these transactions, and the accession of his haughty and imperious successor, Henry VIII., in no long time exercised a most unfavourable influence on the relations between the two countries. Matters proceeded smoothly, however, for some time, and the existing alliance was confirmed by the oaths of both monarchs. Henry also renewed the treaty with the French king, with the condition stipulated by his father, that it was to continue for a year after the death of the survivor. Meanwhile, James availed himself of the leisure afforded him by the continuance of peace, to promote the internal prosperity of his kingdom. He repaired and embellished his palaces and castles; he improved the administration of public justice, and enforced a universal respect for the laws, throughout the remotest districts of the country; he gave every encouragement to the extension of trade and commerce; visited familiarly at the houses of his merchants and ablest sea-officers, and exhorted them to extend their voyages and to arm their trading ships, and assisted them to undertake more important enterprises than they could have ventured to do on their own capital. He paid great attention

Attention of James to his navy.

to his navy, which, under his active and judicious superintendence, became very powerful. Besides several ships of smaller size, he constructed three vessels of very large dimensions,—one of these, named the Great Michael, in magnitude, cost, and equipment, exceeded any ship of war then known in the world. According to Pitscottie, all the oak forests in Fife, except that of Falkland, were exhausted in the construction of this vessel, besides a large quantity of timber brought from Norway, and upwards of a year was spent by the Scottish and foreign carpenters in completing the undertaking, although the king in person anxiously urged on the work.* James was justly proud of the achievement; and while "the ship lay still in the road," says Pitscottie, "the king took great pleasure every day to come down and see her, and would dine and sup in her sundrie times, and be showing his lords her order and munition." The command of this huge vessel was entrusted to the famous Sir Andrew Wood, and under him to Robert Barton, a member of a family which at this period furnished several distinguished naval commanders, by whom the honour of the Scottish flag was maintained, and the commerce of the country protected against the attacks of the pirates who then infested the seas. It appears, that so far back as 1476, a merchant vessel, commanded by John Barton, was captured by a Portuguese squadron, and letters of reprisal were granted to Andrew, Robert, and John Barton, his sons, by which they were authorized to seize all vessels belonging to Portugal, till they had indemnified themselves for their losses, which were estimated at twelve thousand ducats. The Portuguese retaliated, by seizing, in 1507, at Campvere, in Zealand, a Scottish vessel named the Lion, and throwing Robert Barton, its commander, into prison. The Bartons in turn fitted out a squadron, which at various times captured several of the Portuguese merchantmen on their homeward voyage from India and Africa. Mention is made in the poems of Dunbar of a female blackamoor at the Scottish court, who is supposed to have been captured in one of these prizes.

Naval exploits of the Bartons.

The Bartons shewed equal readiness in vindicating the honour of their country as in revenging their own private wrongs. The Hollanders, who were at this time subject to Austria, had attacked some Scottish merchant vessels, and, not content with plundering the cargoes, had murdered the crews and thrown their bodies into the sea. James immediately despatched Andrew Barton, with a large ship of war, to inflict summary vengeance on the perpetrators of this cruel deed. Many of the pirates were captured and immediately put to death, and, in the sanguinary spirit of the times, several hogsheads filled with their heads were sent to the Scottish court as a present to the king.*

There is reason to suspect, however, that the Scottish naval officers at this period did not confine themselves to the repression of piratical outrages, or the vindication of their own personal wrongs, but that, in some instances at least, they pushed their retaliation farther than either equity or the laws of nations warranted. It is alleged, that the Bartons captured a much larger number of the Portuguese carracks than was necessary to compensate them for the individual losses which they had suffered; and the merchants of England complained that they even detained and rifled English vessels, under the pretence of searching for Portuguese goods. These complaints at length excited such strong indignation in the Earl of Surrey, that, in order to punish the excesses of the Scottish pri-

* Lesley's History, p. 74

* Pitscottie gives the dimensions of this huge vessel, which were in his day preserved at Tullibardine, "planted in hawthorn, the length and breadth by the wright that helped to mak her." Her length was two hundred and forty feet; her breadth, fifty-six to the water's edge, but only thirty-six within; her sides, which were ten feet in thickness, were proof against shot. She carried only thirty-five guns,—sixteen on each side, two in the stern, and one in the bow; but she had three hundred small artillery, called culverins, battert-falcons, serpents, myauds, double-dogs, hagbuts, &c. She was manned with three hundred sailors, a hundred and twenty gunners, and a thousand soldiers, besides officers.—Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 257. Pitscottie says he gives these details on the authority of Captain Andrew Wood, who was the principal captain of the Great Michael, and of Robert Barton, who was 'maister skipper.' Sir Robert Barton was made comptroller of the royal household during the minority of James V.

vateers, he fitted out two men-of-war, manned with picked sailors, and placed them under the command of his sons, Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Edward Howard, afterwards Lord High Admiral of England. According to Buchanan, this step was taken in consequence of the urgent entreaty of the Portuguese ambassador, who represented to Henry, the English monarch, that Barton—a daring and skilful officer who had inflicted immense injury upon the Portuguese, the ancient allies of England, and would certainly, in the event of a war with France, prove a formidable enemy to the English—could at present be easily taken unawares and destroyed, and the odium of the action averted by stigmatizing him as a pirate;—a proceeding by which Henry would provide for the safety of his own subjects and gratify their sovereign, his friend and ally.*

The English men-of-war fell in with Barton and his vessels cruising in the Downs, being guided to the place, it is said, by the captain of a merchant vessel, whom Barton had plundered on the preceding day. The Scottish admiral had with him his own ship, the Lion, and a small sloop, called the Jenny Pirwen; but in spite of his inferiority of force, he courageously waited the attack of the enemy, and distinguished by his rich dress and bright armour, with a whistle of gold suspended about his neck by a chain of the same precious metal, he appeared on deck, and encouraged his men to fight valiantly. The contest was long and obstinately maintained. It is stated in a ballad of the time which commemorates the fight, that the Lion was furnished with a kind of machine which suspended large weights or beams from the yard-arms of the ship, to be dropped down upon the enemy when they should come alongside. This contrivance was known to the English, who were very apprehensive of the injury which it was likely to inflict upon them; and a Yorkshireman named Hustler, the best archer in the ship, was stationed, with strict injunctions to shoot every one who should attempt to go aloft to work the machine. Two of the Scottish seamen were successively killed in the attempt; and at length Barton himself, confiding in the excellence of his armour, began to ascend the mainmast. Lord Thomas Howard called out to the archer to shoot true. "Were I to die for it," said Hustler, "I have but two arrows left." The first which he shot rebounded from Barton's armour of proof, without inflicting any wound; but as the Scottish mariner raised his arm to climb higher, the archer wounded him mortally through the armpit, where his armour afforded him no protection, and he fell upon the deck. Still the intrepid seaman continued to encourage his men with his whistle, till, receiving a shot in the body, he expired. The greater part of his crew were also killed; and the English boarded the vessels, and carried them into the Thames. The captives, after a short imprisonment, were dismissed, but the ships were detained as lawful prizes, and the Lion became the second man-of-war in the English navy.* James was highly indignant at this insult offered to his flag, and the loss of his ship, and his favourite captain, in time of peace, and he instantly despatched a herald to demand satisfaction; but the proud and imperious Henry paid no attention to the remonstrance, merely remarking that the destruction of pirates was no infringement of their treaty, nor any just cause for war.

Death of Andrew Barton.

Various other causes unfortunately contributed at this time to increase the dissatisfaction of the Scottish king, and to precipitate a quarrel between him and his brother-in-law. One of these had its origin in the reign of Henry VII. Sir Robert Ker, the chief cup-bearer of King James, the master of his ordnance, and warden of the middle marches, having given offence to some of the more turbulent borderers, was attacked and slain by three Englishmen, named Heron the Bastard, Lilburn, and Starhead. Henry, with the prudent and pacific policy which marked all his proceedings towards Scotland, at once agreed to surrender the murderers. Lilburn was accordingly delivered up to the Scots, and died in prison; and the other two having fled, Heron of Ford, the brother of the assassin, was apprehended, and sent in fetters to Scotland. After the accession of Henry VIII., and the rumours of a disagreement between that monarch and the Scottish king, Starhead and his accomplice, who had lurked in the interior of England, began to show themselves more openly, and to excite disturbances on the Borders, doubtless expecting that if war should break out between the kingdoms their offence would be overlooked or forgotten. Starhead had taken up his residence at the distance of ninety miles from the Border, where he thought himself safe; but the kindred of the murdered warden were not so easily balked in their schemes of revenge. Sir Andrew Ker, the son of Sir Robert, sent two of his vassals, named Tait, to inflict vengeance on his father's murderer; and they broke into his house accordingly, under night, and having put him to death, brought his head to their master, who, with savage exultation, exposed it publicly at the cross of Edinburgh.† The Bastard Heron, however, was still permitted to rove about the Border, and James made the impunity granted to this criminal a subject of complaint against the English monarch; and his growing dissatisfaction with the conduct of his brother-in-law was aggravated by the meanness and injustice with which Henry withheld from his sister, the Queen of Scotland, a valuable legacy of "silver work, golden work, rings, chains, precious stones, and other abuilzements," bequeathed to her by her father or her eldest brother, Prince Arthur.‡

Murder of Sir Robert Ker by the English Borderers.

* Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 247.

* Lesley, pp. 82, 83. Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 70, 71. Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxviii.

† Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxvi.

‡ Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxiv. Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 259. There is a strange discrepancy between the statements of the Scottish and English historians respecting

Henry VIII. joins the coalition against France.

The main cause, however, of the quarrel which now broke out between the two kingdoms, was the determination of Henry VIII. to engage in war with France, the ancient ally of Scotland. The haughty and ambitious pontiff, Julius II., having gained all he wished by the league of Cambrai, became alarmed at the progress of the French arms in Italy, and, in conjunction with Ferdinand of Spain, succeeded in forming a coalition against France, to which the Emperor Maximilian, the Venetians, and the Swiss republics acceded. Well aware of the importance of securing the aid of England, the pope and Ferdinand employed every effort to prevail upon the English monarch to join the league, and undertake the invasion of the French territories. Henry, whose imagination had been dazzled by the recollection of the brilliant conquests of his ancestors, lent a willing ear to their suggestions, and not only sent ten thousand men, under the Marquis of Dorset, to co-operate with the Spanish army in the invasion of France, but prepared to lead an army in person into the dominions of Louis. Anxious to provide during his absence for the security of his kingdom on the side of Scotland, the English monarch now sent ambassadors to the Scottish court to offer satisfaction for any violations of the peace. Nearly about the same time, envoys arrived in Scotland from the pope and the King of Spain, for the purpose of persuading James to join in the league against France; and, on the other hand, the French monarch, fully aware of the dangers by which he was surrounded, entered into negotiations with his Scottish ally, and to embarrass the operations of England, laboured to induce him to declare war against Henry VIII.

To the proposals of the Spanish ambassador, James answered that his sole wish was to establish the peace of Christendom; and he laboured by every means in his power to accomplish this desirable object. He sent a commission to his uncle, the Duke of Albany, as ambassador to the emperor, to request him to act as mediator between Louis and the papal court; while Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, proceeded to France for the same purpose, and after endeavouring to impress his pacific views upon the College of Cardinals and the Marquis of Mantua, laboured but in vain to effect a reconciliation between the pope and the French king.* All these efforts, however, to maintain peace were ineffectual. War had already broken out between France and the papal confederates, and James, whose sympathies were strongly enlisted on the side of his ancient ally, soon found himself involved in the quarrel. Negotiations with England, however, still continued, James's warlike preparations. and meanwhile Scotland rang with the din of military preparations. Armed musters were held in the various districts of the kingdom; cannon were cast by Robert Borthwick, the master gunner; gunpowder was manufactured under the superintendence of a German, named Urnebrig; ships were launched and equipped with artillery, brought from the fortresses in the interior of the country; and the most experienced naval officers and seamen were directed to hold themselves in readiness for active service. In the midst of these hostile preparations, the Scottish queen, who was still childless, though she had given birth to three children, was delivered in the palace of Linlithgow, on the 10th of April, 1512, of a prince, who was shortly after baptized James, and proclaimed Prince of Scotland and the Isles. He afterwards succeeded to the throne, by the title of James V.

Meanwhile, though war became daily more imminent, negotiations with England Embassy of were still continued; and Lord Dacre and West. Dacre and Dr. West arrived as ambassadors from Henry, to negotiate a mutual remission of all violations of the treaty between the two countries. They were also instructed to request the Scottish king to renew his oath to maintain the peace with England, and to offer on the part of Henry a similar oath for the observation of inviolable amity with Scotland.* They were received by James with great courtesy, and on their departure were loaded with splendid presents; but all their efforts were counteracted by the intrigues of the French ambassador, De la Motte; and the ancient league with France was not only renewed, but a new and most impolitic article was inserted, by which the Scottish court became bound to make no treaty with England, unless with the consent of France.† It is conjectured by Pinkerton, and not without great probability, that "much French gold must have been expended in procuring this extravagant concession, so foreign to any dictate of common prudence." Hostilities may be said virtually to have commenced between the two countries at this time. Inroads were made by the borderers of both countries. An English squadron harassed the Scottish coasts, and took several vessels. A Flemish ship, laden with goods belonging to some Scottish merchants, was captured and carried into Berwick, and a vessel commanded by Falconer, one of James's best captains, was sunk, and himself sent prisoner to London. On the other hand, Robert Barton, acting under his letters of reprisal, captured no fewer than thirteen English merchant vessels, and De la Motte attacked a fleet of these merchantmen, sunk three, and carried seven in triumph into Leith.‡ Henry, perceiving from these proceedings that a war was impending, ap-

this legacy. The former assert that the jewels referred to were bequeathed to Margaret by her brother, while the latter universally declare that the legacy was left by her father, Henry VII. There is certainly no such bequest in Henry's will, which has been printed in the 'Testamenta Vetusta' of Sir Harris Nicolas; but in the letters sent by Margaret herself to Henry VIII., there are frequent references to his unfriendly conduct toward her in the matter of her 'father's legacy.'

* Epistolæ Reg. Scot. vol. i. pp. 126—128. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 73.

* Lesley's History, p. 85.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 75.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 76, note 7.

pointed the Earl of Surrey lieutenant-general of the marches, with authority to array the fencible men of the northern counties, and to take the field against the Scots.

Negotiations with England.

The hope, however, of effecting an amicable adjustment of the differences between the two sovereigns seems not to have been abandoned on either side. The extensive preparations of the Scottish king had exhausted his exchequer; and Lord Dacre, in a letter to the Bishop of Durham, 17th August, 1512, mentions that the Treasurer of Scotland had privately informed him, that if a present of four or five thousand angels were sent to James, and the disputed legacy paid to his queen, matters might still be brought to a favourable issue.* At this juncture, the Archdeacon of St. Andrews arrived at the Scottish court with letters from Louis, urging a declaration of war with England; but James in reply proposed, that the same annuity should be assigned to him as had been paid to Henry, for Scotland did not possess sufficient funds to carry on an extensive war. Repeated communications passed between the Scottish king and his imperious brother-in-law, and both monarchs continued to profess a desire for peace, though their sincerity appears to be doubtful.

About the beginning of the year 1513, Lord Drummond was sent ambassador to England, and, on the part of his master, offered to Henry a complete and gratuitous remission of all the injuries inflicted by his subjects upon the Scots, provided that monarch would abandon the confederacy against France; but the proposal was peremptorily rejected.† Commissioners were appointed, however, by Henry, to redress any violation of the treaty of perpetual peace; and Dr. West was

Second embassy of West.

again sent on an embassy to Scotland, to negotiate a mutual remission of offences, and to endeavour to detach the Scottish king from the interest of France, or at least to procure the promise of a cessation of hostilities during Henry's absence from England. The progress and termination of this mission are detailed, with considerable minuteness, in two letters from West to his sovereign, which furnish some interesting particulars respecting the Scottish court at this period. In the first, which is dated from Stirling, April 1st, 1513, he informs his master that King James, in one of his temporary fits of penitence and devotion, during which he was wont to assume the dress and conform to the rules of the order of Franciscans, had been shut up for a week in the church of the Friars Observants, at Stirling, 'and will meddle with no matter.'‡ Unicorn Herald and John Barton arrived from France with tidings of the death of Pope Julius II. That turbulent pontiff had, it seems, by the promise of a cardinal's hat, secured the services of Forman, Bishop of Moray, who, in the preceding December, had been refused a safe-conduct by Henry, to proceed through England to the French court, for the purpose of negotiating a universal peace. This crafty and ambitious prelate, who was mainly instrumental in instigating hostilities with England,* now informed West of the injury he had received from the refusal of the safe-conduct, and declared that in seven months England should repent of the war. James spoke with great acerbity of the late pontiff, who had issued a bull of excommunication against him, if he should violate the peace with England; a step which had inflamed the mind of the king more than all the French embassies. He expressed his resolution to appeal from this sentence, and to send the Bishop of Moray to the Romish court for that purpose, and to congratulate the new pope, Leo X.; and he declared, that if Julius had lived he would have supported a council of even three bishops against him. He stated to West, that if he were disposed to make war upon England, he would not abandon his design for the pope's 'monition;' but that he would not commence hostilities without previously sending a declaration by a herald, so that if Henry passed over to France, as he intended, he might have ample time to return for the defence of his kingdom. The ambassador having intimated that Henry would pay the sum of one thousand marks if the Scottish king would consent to the abolition of all claims and to keep the peace with England, James replied, that he had no need of Henry's money, and that he would not sell his gear (effects), 'with much other void conversation,' says the courtly reporter. It appears that the Scottish king had formed the romantic project of an expedition to Jerusalem, probably with the hope that, by fighting against the infidels, he might expiate the guilt which he had incurred by taking part in the conspiracy against his father;—and after showing West "a little quire of four sheets of paper, sewed together, and signed with the French king's hand and sealed with his signet," setting forth the advantageous terms offered by the French court to James, if through his instrumentality peace should be made,—he urged, that by the assistance of Louis alone could his expedition to the Holy City be accomplished. He complained that Henry had nominated a successor to the English crown, to the prejudice of his rights as the nearest heir; but this West, as authorized by his instructions, solemnly denied. With regard to the inquiry whether the Scottish monarch would consent to remain inactive during the campaign against France, which formed the main object of West's mission, after various eva-

* Caligula, b. iii. 3. Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 76.

† Rymer, Foedera, vol. xiii. pp. 347, 348.

‡ Even after his return to court, the king regularly attended the royal chapel every forenoon; and several of his conversations with the English ambassador took place in his 'traverse,'—or enclosed seat, with a lattice,—before high mass. On Good Friday, West went to the king's chapel, where 'the passion was preached,' and after sermon was ended, the queen sent for him 'into her traverse,' where he delivered to her the letters which he had brought from her royal brother.

* Epistolæ Reg. Scot. vol. i. p. 209; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 86.

sions, it was at length declared, that the continuance of amicable relations between the two nations depended entirely upon the maintenance of peace with France. The queen complained, in spirited terms, of the conduct of her brother in withholding her legacy,* which West informed her he was authorized to pay if her husband would agree to keep the peace; but this proposal was scornfully rejected by James, who declared that the queen should lose nothing for his sake, for he would pay her the sum himself. The English ambassador concludes his letter with an assurance, that he would rather that his master had commanded him to tarry as long in Turkey, "this country is so myser, and the people so ungracious, and even that I shall have scant money to bring me home, the country is so dear. My tarrying here, as I suppose, shall do no good, for this great suit that I make in your grace's name here maketh the people so proud, that almost they know not themselves, and they be so bounden by this new treaty to France, that they dare not displease him neither in word nor deed."†

At this period a fiercely contested action took place in the harbour of Brest, between the French and English fleets, in which the gallant admiral, Sir Edward Howard, lost his life. James on this sent a letter to his brother-in-law (24th May, 1513), in which, after entreating him, in the most urgent terms, to make peace with France, he expresses his grief for the loss of this brave commander, although Howard had in the preceding year slain his favourite captain, Andrew Barton. "Surely, dear brother," he wrote, "we think there is more loss to you of your late admiral, who deceased to his great honour and laud, than the advantage that might have been to you of winning all the French galleys and their equipage. The loss is great to Christendom of that umquhile valiant knight, and other noblemen, that on both sides apparently perished. Pray you, dearest brother, to take our writings in gude part, as our own is; for verily we are sorry, and also our dearest fellow (consort), for this loss, through aquaintance of his father, that noble knight the Earl of Surrey, who conveyed our dearest fellow, the queen, to us.

Correspondence between James and Henry.

Right excellent, right high and mighty prince, our dear brother and cousin, the blest Trinity have you in tuition."*

Soon after the return of Dr. West to England, a formal demand was made of the jewels bequeathed to Margaret; and if we may rely upon the narrative of the venerable Pitscottie, Henry sent a reply full of the most flattering promises, assuring his sister, that she should be "well satisfied, not only of the same, but the double thereof, on condition that the King of Scotland will keep his oath and band to me that he made lately with consent of his parliament." "Therefore," he continues, "I desire him that he will sit at home in his own chair, and let me and the King of France part betwixt us to seek the right of my own pension, which is holden from me wrongously; and if he does me no good that he does me no evil; and show to him, that it shall neither be gold, silver, lands, riches, nor rent, that shall stand in difference betwixt me and him. And if he will faithfully keep his promise to me, I shall incontinent, with the consent of my nobles, make him Duke of York and Governor of England to my home-coming, for heirs of England must come either of him or me, and I have none as yet lawfully; but I hear say that Margaret, my sister, hath a pretty boy, likely to grow a man of estimation,—I pray God to bless him, and keep him from his enemies, and give me grace to see him in honour when he cometh of age, that I may entertain him according to my honour and duty."†

Meanwhile, the views of the French court were powerfully supported by the frequent and urgent letters of the Bishop of Moray,‡—on whom Louis had conferred the archbishopric of Bourges,—and by the intrigues of De la Motte, the French ambassador, who at this time returned from France with four vessels laden with flour and wine, for the supply of the Scottish fleet, and (if we may believe the assertions of Henry) with a large sum of money, which was divided between the king and his nobles. The King of Denmark also sent several ships, freighted with arms and ammunition; and a powerful Irish chief, named O'Donnel, visited Edinburgh and took the oath of homage to James, and offered his services against England. The romantic character of James was well known to the French monarch and his counsellors; and an artful appeal now made by Anne of Brittany, the consort of Louis, to the fantastic spirit of chivalry by which the Scottish king was actuated, had, it is believed, no small influence in accelerating the unhappy rupture with England. Assuming the character of a distressed damsel, she addressed an epistle to James, calling herself his mistress and lady-love, assuring him that she had suffered much blame in defence of his honour and in excusing his inactivity, and imploring him to advance

Reinforcements from France and Denmark.

* "We cannot believe," says she, in a letter to Henry, which was delivered by Dr. West on his return, "that of your mind, or by your command, we are sa *fremdly* (like a stranger) dealt with in our father's legacy, whereof we would nocht have spoken nor written, had not the doctor now spoken to us of the same. Our husband knows it is withholden for his sake, and will recompense us so far as the doctor shows him. We are ashamed therewith, and would God never word had been thereof! It is not worth sic estimation as is in your divers letters of the same. And we lack nothing; our husband is ever the larger, the better to us, as knows God."—Appendix to Pinkerton, vol. ii. No. viii. It has been justly remarked by Mr. Aikman, that Henry, whose fondness for splendid pageantry and expensive show was attended—as all foolish extravagance usually is—by numberless mean and pitiful shifts, in resisting this just claim made upon him for his sister's jewels, behaved in the most ungenerous manner.

† Illustrations of Scottish History, published by the Maitland Club, pp. 76—89.

* Cotton. MS. Caligula, b. vi. f. 67.

† Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 259, 260.

‡ Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxx.

three steps into English ground, for the sake of his mistress. She sent him, at the same time, a ring from her own finger, with fourteen thousand crowns to assist in paying the expenses of his expedition.* This appeal to that high-wrought sense of honour which was the peculiar foible of the Scottish king, was enforced by the remonstrances of Bishop Forman, who assured him, that he would be for ever dishonoured if he did not send to France the assistance which that intriguing prelate had promised in his sovereign's name.

At length, on the 30th of June, 1513, Henry passed over to Calais to open in person the war against France; and as soon as this intelligence reached the Scottish king, he despatched his principal herald to the English camp before Terouenne, with a letter to Henry, enumerating the injuries which James had received from the English monarch and his subjects, and declaring his resolution to support his ally, the King of France. Among the other wrongs which had induced the Scottish king to declare war, mention is made of the death of Barton, with the detention of his ships and artillery; the protection given to Heron, the murderer of the Scottish warden; and the withholding of the jewels and legacy which had been left to Queen Margaret by her father. James complains, also, that several of his nobles had been unjustifiably slain in time of peace, and others had been carried off in fetters into England; that Henry had refused a safe conduct to his ambassador, who wished to proceed to the continent for the purpose of negotiating a general peace,—conduct unheard of even among infidels; and that the English king had not only unnecessarily delayed the redress of these grievances, but, in spite of the remonstrances of his brother-in-law, had made a wanton attack on his allies, the Duke of Gueldres and the King of France, thereby giving him too much reason to dread that similar treatment awaited himself. Wherefore, he concludes, "we require and desire you to desist from further invasion of our brother and cousin, the most Christian king, to whom, by all confederation of blood and alliance, we are bound and obliged for mutual defence of each other, certifying that we will take part in defence of our brother and cousin, and will do what thing we trust may cause you to desist from pursuit of him." †

Letter of James to the English king.

On perusing this letter, which he justly regarded as a declaration of war, Henry broke out into a paroxysm of rage, and poured forth a torrent of invectives against James, which he desired the Scottish herald to repeat to his master. "Sire," said the envoy, "I am his natural subject, and what he commands me to say, that must I boldly utter; but the commands of others I may not, nor dare say, to my sovereign lord. But your letters sent by me may declare your pleasure, albeit the matter requireth doings, and not sayings—that is, that you should immediately return home." "I will return," replied Henry, "at mine own pleasure, to your damage, and not at your master's summons."* A violent and scornful reply to the letter of the Scottish king was forthwith drawn up by Henry, treating his complaints as mere colourable pretexts, reproaching him with the violation of his oath in breaking the peace which he had solemnly sworn to observe, and with dishonourable behaviour in taking advantage of the absence of the English monarch from his own dominions, which it was evident he had waited for, as in none of his letters preceding that event had he ever mentioned his intention of taking part with the French; "which we cannot greatly marvel at," he adds, "considering the ancient accustomable manner of your progenitors, whiche never kept longer faithe and promise than pleased them." He informs James, however, that, remembering the 'brittleness' of his promise, and suspecting his unstedfastness, he had taken precautions for the defence of his kingdom, which he firmly trusted would be sufficient for its protection against the 'malice of schismatics and their adherents.' He holds out a threat, that the conduct of the Scottish king should be punished by the exclusion of himself and his descendants from the succession to the crown of England, on which he alleges that James had fixed his eye; and reminds him of the fate of the King of Navarre, who, by adhering to the cause of the French monarch, was now a king without a kingdom. Finally, he rejects with scorn the summons of James, requiring him to desist from his invasion of France; and declares that he does not regard him as a competent authority to make such a demand. This letter, however, never reached the Scottish king, as the herald was detained, on his return, in Flanders, and did not arrive in Scotland till after the fatal battle of Flodden.†

Henry's reply.

James, however, did not await the return of his ambassador to commence hostilities. On the same day in which the Lion herald was despatched to France, the fleet which the Scottish king had built and equipped at an immense cost, sailed to the assistance of his ally. It consisted of twenty-three sail, of which thirteen were large ships of war, including the Great Michael, the Margaret, and the James; the rest were small-armed craft. It had on board three thousand soldiers, under the command of the Earl of Arran, a nobleman of limited talents and experience, and, as the event proved, utterly unfit for such an important trust. James, who had taken the deepest interest in the equipment of this expedition, was anxious that it should reach the coast of France as speedily as possible; and with the object of animating the leaders, captains, and seamen, he embarked in the Great Michael, and remained on board till they had passed the Isle of May. But the foolish and incompetent commander, instead of proceeding to his appointed destination, ordered the fleet to be conducted to

Sailing of the Scottish fleet.

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 171; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 87.
† Holinshed, vol. v. pp. 473—475.

* Holinshed, vol. v. pp. 473—475. † Ibid. pp. 475, 476.

Carrickfergus, in Ireland, which was at that time in alliance with Scotland, and after pillaging and burning the town, sparing neither sex nor age,* he returned to Ayr with his plunder, "as if," says Buchanan, "he had performed a great exploit." James was exasperated beyond measure at this infamous behaviour on the part of Arran, and immediately ordered him to be superseded in the command, and to be sent back to answer for his conduct. The Earl of Angus was appointed general of the troops in his room, while the celebrated naval officer, Sir Andrew Wood, was directed to assume the command of the fleet; but before they could reach the coast, Arran having, it is said, heard from his friends how the king stood affected towards him, hoisted his sails and stood out to sea. A deep obscurity rests over the subsequent history of this armament, on which the Scottish king placed so much dependence, and expended such vast sums of money. A part of the fleet returned to Scotland, shattered and disabled, while another part, including the Great Michael, was purchased by Louis at a small price, from the Scottish government after the death of King James.†

Owen's disgraceful expedition against Ireland.

Although the war with England was generally unpopular, both among the nobles and the people of Scotland, yet the Scottish prince was so beloved by his subjects, that when orders were given to assemble all the array of the kingdom upon the Borough-moor of Edinburgh, the appeal was answered by the muster from all parts of the country of one of the most numerous and best-equipped armies Scotland has ever seen. Hostilities were commenced by the Earl of Home, the lord chamberlain, who, at the head of three or four thousand men, made an incursion into England, and pillaged and burned seven villages or hamlets on the borders. On their return home, laden with booty, and marching carelessly and without order, the invaders fell into an ambush laid for them by Sir William Bulmer, among the tall broom on Millfield Plain, near Wooler, and were surprised and defeated with great slaughter. Five or six hundred were slain on the spot, and four hundred were taken prisoners, among whom was Sir George Home, the brother of the earl.‡

Defeat of the Scots in a Border-raid.

This mortifying reverse deeply incensed the Scottish monarch, and made him doubly impatient to commence hostilities, in order to avenge the defeat sustained by his warden. He determined, therefore, without delay, to lead his army in person across the English border. His wisest counsellors strove in vain to divert him from this rash and fatal resolution, and his queen, with sobs and tears, implored him not to peril his own life and the security of his realm, by taking the field against her brother. She assured him that she had been frightened and perplexed by terrifying dreams, and asked him, with the displeasure natural to wounded and slighted affection, "Why he preferred pleasing the Queen of France, to her, his wife, and the mother of his children?" But James, says Pitscottie, "refused all advice which was for the weal of his crown and country, neither would he listen to the counsel of his wise and prudent wife, for no prayer or supplication she could make him. Albeit, this noble woman, labouring as mickle (much) as she might, for the weal of her husband, and as well as for the love she bore her brother the King of England, she desired that no discord should occur between the two realms in her time."* The remonstrances and entreaties of his queen and nobles having thus failed of effect, an attempt was made to deter him from his expedition by working upon the feelings of superstitious melancholy which, partly arising from constitutional habits, partly from his remorse on account of his rebellion against his father, formed a prominent feature in the character of the Scottish king. The account of the singular stratagem employed for this purpose, is given by Pitscottie with characteristic simplicity.

Efforts made by the queen and nobles to prevent war.

"The king, seeing that France could get no support of him, for that time, made a proclamation full hastily through all the realm of Scotland, both east and west, south and north, as well in the isles as in the firm land, to all manner of men between sixty and sixteen years, that they should be ready within twenty days to pass with him, with forty days' victual, and to meet at the Burrow-muir of Edinburgh, and there to pass forward where he pleased. His proclamations were hastily obeyed contrary the Council of Scotland's will, but every man loved his prince so well that they would on no ways disobey him, but every man caused make his provision, so hastily, conform to the charge of the king's proclamation.

Stratagem to deter the king from war.

"The king came to Lithgow where he happened to be, for the time at the council, very sad and dolorous, making his devotion to God to send him good chance and fortune in his voyage. In this mean time, there came a man, clad in a blue gown,

* The unprovoked barbarities perpetrated by the Scottish troops in the sack of Carrickfergus are described by Sir David Lindsay, in his 'Historie of Squire Meldrum,' a Scottish gentleman, who was present in this expedition; and he represents his hero as protecting women, priests, and friars from the brutal outrages of the soldiers. Sir D. Lindsay's Works by Chalmers, vol. ii. p. 248.

"And as they passed by Ireland coast
The admiral gart land his host,
And set Craigfergus into fyre,
And saved neither barne nor byre;
It was great pity for to hear
Of the people, the baleful cheer,
And how the land folk were spulyeit (spoiled),
Fair women under fute were fulyeit (defiled)."

† Buchanan, book xiii. ch. xxv.; Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 263.

‡ Holinshed, vol. v. p. 476. Buchanan (book xiii. chap. xxix.) estimates the number of prisoners at two hundred. He says, the invaders divided their plunder on the enemy's territory, and each proceeded home with his portion by the nearest route—that it was the rear which fell into the ambuscade, and that the plunder which had been sent on before arrived safely in Scotland.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 267.

in at the kirk door, and belted about him in a roll of linen-cloth; a pair of brotikins (buskins) on his feet, to the great of his legs; with all other hose and clothes conform thereto; but he had nothing on his head but syde (long) red yellow hair behind, and on his haffets (cheeks) which wan down to his shoulders; but his forehead was bald and bare. He seemed to be a man of two-and-fifty years, with a great pike-staff in his hand, and came first forward among the lords, crying and speiring (asking) for the king, saying he desired to speak with him. While, at the last, he came where the king was sitting in the desk at his prayers; but when he saw the king, he made him little reverence or salutation, but leaned down grofling on the desk before him, and said to him in this manner, as after follows:—'Sir king, my mother hath sent me to you, desiring you not to pass, at this time, where you are purposed, for if thou does, thou wilt not fare well in thy journey, nor none that passeth with thee. Further, she bade thee méll (meddle) with no woman, nor use their counsel, nor let them touch thy body, nor thou theirs; for, if thou do it, thou wilt be confounded and brought to shame.' By this man had spoken these words unto the king's grace, the evensong was near done, and the king paused on these words, studying to give an answer; but, in the mean time, before the king's eyes, and in the presence of all the lords that were about him for the time, this man vanished away, and could no ways be seen or comprehended, but vanished away as he had been a blink of the sun, or a whip of the whirlwind, and could no more be seen. I heard say, Sir David Lindsay, lyon-herald, and John Inglis, the marshal, who were at that time young men and special servants to the king's grace, were standing presently beside the king, and thought to have laid hands on this man, that they might have speired further tidings at him. But all for nought; they could not touch, for he vanished away betwixt them, and was no more seen." *

The tradition of Linlithgow bears that the mysterious stranger eluded the grasp of those who attempted to seize him, by gliding behind a curtain which concealed a private stair leading towards the upper part of the church; and that, on leaving this building, he crossed the court, and entered the palace by a small door under the chapel window.† This strange story is confirmed by Buchanan, who received it from Sir David Lindsay, and whose testimony he declares to be unimpeachable.‡ Thus supported, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, we have only to choose betwixt a deception and a supernatural appearance. The visitant is said to have been a servant of the queen; and there can be little doubt that the stratagem was contrived by Margaret, or some of the party opposed to the war, in the hope that a warning conveyed in this mysterious manner might have some effect on the romantic spirit of the king.

Undeterred by this simulated vision, the origin of which he probably suspected, James proceeded to Edinburgh to meet the feudal array of his kingdom on the Borough-moor, which was at that time, according to Drummond of Hawthornden, "a field, spacious, and delightful by the shade of many stately and aged oaks."* There were assembled "all his earls, lords, barons, and burgesses; and all manner of men, between sixty and sixteen, spiritual and temporal, burgh and land, islesmen and others, to the number of a hundred thousand, not reckoning carriage-men and artillery-men, who had the charge of fifty shot of cannons."† At this last hour, another attempt was made to deter the king from his unpolitic war, by working upon his superstitious fears. His artillerymen were employed night and day in bringing down military stores from the castle of Edinburgh, and they were at work one night, heaving down the cannon called the Seven Sisters, which had lately been cast by Robert Borthwick, the royal master-gunner; the king being in the abbey of Holyrood at the time, "when," says Pitscottie, "there was a cry heard at the market-cross of Edinburgh, at the hour of midnight, proclaiming as it had been a summons, which was named and called by the proclaimer thereof, 'The Summons of Plotcock,' (or Pluto,) which desired all men to compear, both earl, lord, and baron, and all honest gentlemen within the town (every man specified by his own name)—to compear, within the space of forty days, before his master, where it should happen him to appoint, and be for the time, under the pain of disobedience. But whether this summons was proclaimed by vain persons, night-wakers, or drunken men for their pastime, or if it was a spirit, I cannot tell truly; but it was shewn to me that an indweller of the town, Mr. Richard Lawson, being evil-disposed, ganging in his gallery-stair, foreanent the cross, hearing this voice proclaiming this summons, thought marvel what it should be; cried on his servant to bring him his purse, and when he had brought him it, he took out a crown, and cast it over the stair, saying, 'I appeal from that summons, judgment, and sentence thereof, and take me all whole in the mercy of God, and Christ Jesus, his Son.' Verily, the author of this that caused me write the manner of this summons, was a landed gentleman, who was at that time twenty years of age, and was in the town the time of the said summons; and thereafter, when the field was stricken, he swore to me there was no man that escaped that was called in the summons; but that one man

* Pittscottie, vol. ii. pp. 264, 265.

† Chambers's Picture of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 33.

‡ Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxxi. St. Catherine's aisle, where the king had constructed a throne for himself, with twelve stalls for the Knights Companions of the Order of the Thistle, is still shown as the place where the apparition was seen; the use of the words "my mother," shows that the vision was intended to represent St. John and not St. Andrew, as was at the time supposed.

* Upon this and similar occasions the royal standard is traditionally said to have been displayed from the Harestane; a large stone now built into the wall on the left hand of the highway leading toward Braid, not far from Bruntsfield Links.

† Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 268.

alone, which made his protestation, and appealed from the said summons; but all the lave (rest) were perished in the field with the king." "This news spread through the town on the morne, and came to the king's ears, who gave them but little credance, nor would he give no credance to no counsall, signe, nor token that made against his purpose."*

March of the Scottish army.

The Scottish king, leaving his capital, marched southward at the head of one of the most formidable armies that had ever invaded England. He crossed the Tweed on the 22nd of August, and encamped on the banks of the Till, near Twisel. Here he remained for two days, and on the 24th, with the consent of the members of the three Estates who were in his army, he passed an act ordaining that the heirs of all who fell in the present war should be free from the feudal burdens of 'ward, relief or marriage,' whatever might be their age.† From Twisel-haugh, where this decree was enacted, the Scottish army moved down the side of the Tweed, and laid siege to the castle of Norham, which surrendered on the 29th of August. The border towers of Wark, Etal,

Foolish conduct of the king.

and Ford, were then in succession attacked and taken, and in these petty enterprizes, utterly unworthy of his vast preparations, James wasted the precious time which might have enabled him to carry his arms to the gates of Newcastle, before the English were prepared to offer any resistance. When the castle of Ford was stormed, Lady Heron, the wife of Sir William Heron the castellan, who was still a prisoner in Scotland, was taken prisoner, and according to the Scottish historians this beautiful and artful dame had such influence over the infatuated monarch as to induce him to idle away his time till the opportunity of striking an effective blow against the enemy was irretrievably lost.‡

Muster of the English host.

While James lay thus inactive, his troops began to experience a scarcity of provisions, and to suffer severely from the incessant rains. Great numbers, especially of the highlanders and islesmen, returned home. Many, too, deserted for the purpose of placing in safety the booty which they had collected, so that in a short time the army was reduced to about thirty thousand men, a disproportionate number of whom consisted of lords and gentlemen, with their personal attendants.§ Meanwhile the Earl of Surrey, to whom Henry had committed the task of defending his dominions during his absence, was actively engaged in concentrating the military array of the northern counties, and soon succeeded in raising an army of twenty-six thousand men. In passing through Durham he received from the prior of the convent the sacred banner of St. Cuthbert, for the purpose of animating the courage of his soldiers. On the 30th of August he was joined at Newcastle by Lord Dacre, Sir William Bulmer, Sir Marmaduke Constable, and others of the northern chivalry; and on reaching Alnwick, was met by his son Thomas, the Lord High Admiral of England, with a reinforcement of five thousand men who had been sent home from the English army in France, to assist in the defence of their native country.* After this junction, Surrey, feeling himself the stronger party, despatched a herald on the 4th of September, to challenge the Scottish king to fight on the following Friday, if he had courage to remain so long on English ground. The herald was also instructed to charge James with the violation of the treaty of perpetual peace between the two kingdoms, which had been confirmed by his solemn oath; and Lord Thomas Howard sent at the same time a rude and insulting message, informing the King of Scots, that as High Admiral of England, he was come to justify the death of that pirate Andrew Barton, of which James had so often complained; that he would be in the vanguard of the army, and as he expected no quarter from his enemies, so he would give none, unless to the king himself, should he fall into his hands. James left the insulting message of the admiral unnoticed, but to the challenge of Surrey he returned for answer, that to meet the English in battle was so much his wish, that had the message of the earl found him at Edinburgh, he would have laid aside all other business to have met him on the field of battle. With regard to the accusation of a breach of faith, which the English general had brought against him, he gave it an unqualified denial. His brother, the King of England, he said, was under equal obligation with himself to observe the league; he had sworn to keep the peace with England, so long as the English monarch maintained his faith with him. This he was the first to break; redress had been frequently demanded, but without effect. He had given warning to his brother of his resolution to commence hostilities, which was more than his brother had done to him. On the equity of these proceedings he rested his quarrel, which, by God's help, it was his purpose to maintain with his arms on the day that Surrey had named.

Messages between James and Surrey.

The Scottish nobles, however, were exceedingly dissatisfied with this resolution of their king. They insisted that he had already done all that was requisite to vindicate his honour or to satisfy the claims of his ally; that his retreat would oblige the English either to retire or to disperse, as it was impossible they could subsist in a country so grievously plundered and laid waste; but if it was his determination to try the issue of a battle, he would fight to much greater advantage in his own kingdom; and finally, that the loss of a battle in present circumstances, would be productive of the most fatal consequences to the welfare of the country. They held a council to discuss the point

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 266, 267.
† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 278.
‡ Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 269; Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxxii.
§ Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 269.

* Ridpath's Border History, p. 486, and note.

at issue, and Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byres, then the Nestor of the Scottish army, was appointed their chancellor or president, as being "the most learned of their number, and of the greatest age, and of the greatest experience amongst them all." The nobles laid the case before him, and required his opinion.

Deliberations of the Scottish nobles.

"My Lords," replied the sage old baron, "ye desire my opinion, if the king shall give battle to England or not, at this time. My lords, I will give you forth a similitude, desiring you to know my mind by the same hereafter. I compare your lordships to an honest merchant, who would in his voyage go to the dice with a common hazarder, and there jeopard a rose-noble, on a cast against a gleed (crooked) half-penny — which if this merchant wins it will be counted but little, or else nought; but if he tynes (loses) he tynes his honour with that piece of gold—which is of far greater value. So, my lords! ye may understand by this, ye shall be called the merchant, and your king the rose-noble, and England the common hazarder who has nothing to jeopard but a gleed halfpenny, in comparison of our noble king, and an auld crooked carle, lying in a chariot. And though they tyne him, they tyne but little; but if we jeopard our noble prince at this time with a simple wight and happen to tyne him, we will be called evil merchants, and far waur (worse) counsellors to his majesty; for if we tyne him, we tyne the whole realm of Scotland, and the nobility thereof (for nane, my lords, have bidden here with us at this time but nobles and gentlemen). Sa, I conclude, that it is not decent nor seemly for us to jeopard our noble king and his nobility with an auld crooked carle and certain sutors (shoemakers) and tailors with him in company. But better it were to cause the king to remove, and certain of his lords, whom he thinks maist expedient to take the matter in hand, and jeopard themselves for the king's pleasure and their own honour, and for the common weal of the country at this time; and if your lordships will conclude in this manner I hold it best in my opinion."*

The barons had agreed in this conclusion, and were appointing leaders to the different divisions of the army, "to fight against England, and the king to pass with certain of his nobility, a little from the army, where he might see the valiant acts on both sides;" when James, who was present in disguise, interrupted their deliberations with a furious avowal of his determination to fight against England with his own arm, though they had all sworn to the contrary; "and as for Lord Lindsay," said he, turning to the venerable statesman, "I vow to God, I shall never see Scotland sooner than I shall cause hang him over his own yett (gate)!"

The aged Earl of Angus, the celebrated Bell-the-Cat, earnestly remonstrated against this rash and imprudent resolution of the king, and charged the French ambassador De la Motte, by whom this fatal policy was eagerly abetted, with being willing to sacrifice the interests of Scotland to those of France. But James was so enraged at the free remonstrance of the old warrior that he scornfully replied, "Angus, if you are afraid you may go home." The earl burst into tears at this unpardonable insult, and turned to depart, saying mournfully, "If my past life does not free me from any suspicion of cowardice, I do not know what can: as long as my body was capable of exertion I never spared it in defence of my country, or my sovereign's honour. But now since my age renders my body of no use in battle, and my counsel is despised, I leave my two sons and the vassals of Douglas in the field: may Angus's forebodings be unfounded." He quitted the camp that night, but his two sons, George, Master of Angus, and Sir William Douglas, of Glenbervie, with two hundred gentlemen of the name of Douglas, fell in the battle.* The counsels of the Earl of Huntley, a wise and experienced leader, were equally ineffectual. The king obstinately adhered to his resolution to fight, even though the enemy should be a hundred thousand strong.†

Remonstrances of the Earls of Angus and Huntley.

The Earl of Surrey had now advanced as far as Wooler, so that the hostile armies were separated by a distance of only four or five miles. The Scottish king had meanwhile changed his first encampment for a much stronger position upon Flodden Hill, one of the last and lowest eminences of the Cheviot range; steep on both flanks, and defended in front by the deep and sluggish river Till, a tributary of the Tweed. When the English general came in sight of this position he durst not venture to attack it, and having succeeded in his former attempt to pique the romantic honour of the Scottish king, he resolved to try whether he could not prevail on him to abandon his vantage-ground and descend into the plain. He, therefore, sent a letter to James from Wooler-haugh, subscribed by himself and the principal leaders of his army, reminding him of his acceptance of the offer of battle, and complaining that, instead of remaining in the place where the English herald had found him, he had "put himself into a ground more like a fortress or a camp than any indifferent field for battle to be tried." He, therefore, invited the king to come down from the height, and to give battle in the open plain of Millfield below, and hinted that it was the opinion of the English nobles that any delay of the encounter "would sound to the king's dishonour."‡

Strong position of the Scottish army.

The conduct of James had been sufficiently rash and imprudent, but either his returning good sense, or the remonstrances of his counsellors, prevented him from acceding to the unreasonable request of

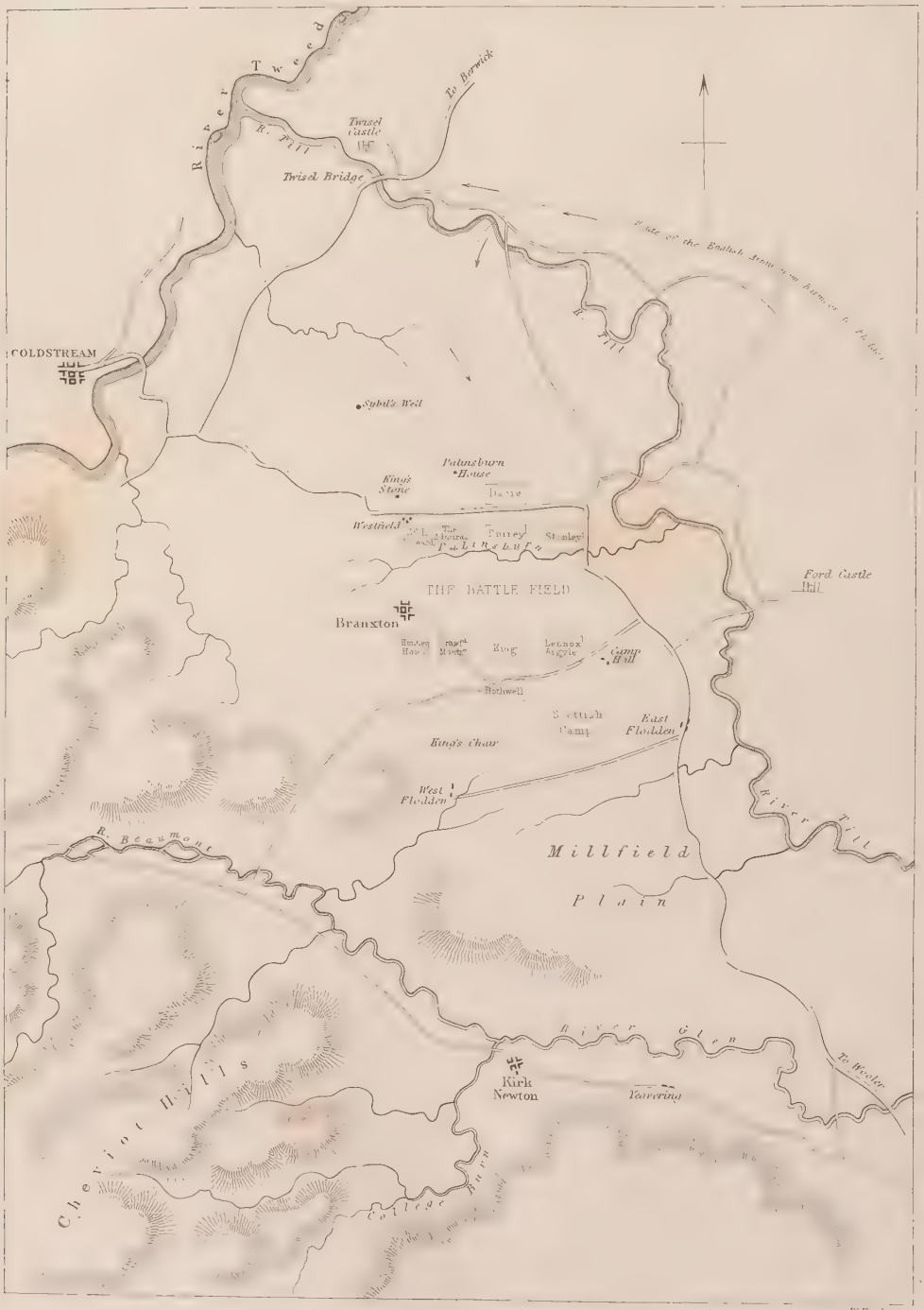
* Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp 273—276.

* Holinshed, vol. vi. p. 472. The aged earl, broken-hearted at the calamities of his house and his country, retired into a religious house, where he died about a year after the battle of Flodden.

† Holinshed, vol. vi. p. 473.

‡ Ellis's Original Letters, vol. i. pp. 86, 87.

SKETCH TO ILLUSTRATE THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN.



© VIRTUE LONDON & NEW YORK

his adversary, and he refused even to admit the messenger into his presence. The English army was now reduced to great straits for want of provisions in a plundered and wasted country,* and their commander resolved to try another mode of bringing the Scots to action. On the 8th of Sept. he passed the Till, near Weetwood, and marched through some rugged grounds on its east side to Barmoor Wood, about two miles distant from the Scottish position, where he spent the night. An eminence on the east of Ford concealed the march of the English from the enemy, but a few cannon shots were fired upon Lord Thomas Howard and his staff while reconnoitering their position from this height. Early next morning the English army continued its march in a north-westerly direction, till near the confluence of the Till and the Tweed, when the vanguard and artillery recrossed the Till at Twisel Bridge, while the rear passed the river at a ford about a mile higher up. Having by this skilful manœuvre fairly placed themselves between the Scottish king and his own country, the English bent their march in full array towards Flodden Hill. The Scots seem to have thought their position sufficiently protected on the east side, by the deep and sluggish Till and its dangerous fords, and by a battery of cannon which they had erected near the foot of the eastern declivity of Flodden, bearing on the bridge of Ford, in the vicinity of their encampment. When the movement of Surrey was first perceived James imagined that it was the intention of the English general to cross the Tweed, and plunder the fertile district of the Merse, in order to provide subsistence for his army. In this opinion he is said to have been confirmed by one Giles Musgrove, an Englishman, who enjoyed his confidence, and treacherously advised him to descend from his advantageous position to pursue the enemy, and prevent them from laying waste his kingdom.†

Skilful manœuvre of Surrey.

Infatuated conduct of the Scottish king.

While the English were crossing the Till with their vanguard separated from their rear, the Scottish nobles in vain entreated their king to avail himself of the favourable opportunity thus afforded of attacking them. Borthwick, master of his artillery, fell on his knees before him, and earnestly implored permission to bring his guns to bear on the columns of the enemy as they defiled over the narrow bridge, when they could easily have been driven back, and thrown into irretrievable confusion. "But the king," says Pitscottie, "answered this gunner, Robert Borthwick, like to ane man bereft of all wit and judgment, saying, 'I will cause hang thee and quarter thee if thou shoot a shot this day, for I will have the enemy all in a plain field before me, and assay them what they can do.'"‡

* Holinshed, vol. vi. p. 474.

† Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxxvii.; Ridpath's Border History, p. 490.

‡ Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 277.

As soon as the English army was drawn up in order of battle, on the left bank of the Till, the Scots setting fire to the temporary huts of their encampment, descended from the ridge of Flodden, and hastened to take possession of the neighbouring eminence of Brankston, towards which the vanguard of the enemy was advancing from the opposite direction. They were divided into five battles, drawn up in a line about the distance of a bow-shot from each other; and "they marched like the Germans," says the official account of the battle, "without talking or making any noise."* The clouds of smoke from the burning huts being driven in the face of the English, obscured their view, so that they had crossed the little stream of Palinsburn, and advanced almost to the foot of Brankston-hill, before they perceived the Scottish army at the distance of only a quarter of a mile. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, each consisting of about thirty thousand men, and the arrangement of both was nearly the same. The English advanced in four divisions. The right wing, which formed the van of their army, consisted of ten thousand men, and was led by Lord Thomas Howard, the Admiral of England, and his brother, Sir Edmund. The centre was commanded by the Earl of Surrey; the left wing, which was composed of the men of Lancashire and of the Palatinate of Chester, was committed to the charge of Sir Edward Stanley; while a strong body of horse, under Lord Dacre, formed a reserve. The artillery was placed in the front and in the spaces between the divisions. The left wing of the Scots, which formed the vanguard, was commanded by the Earl of Huntley and Lord Home. The king in person led the centre; and the Earls of Lennox and Argyle the right wing; the reserve, consisting of the men of Lothian, was commanded by the Earl of Bothwell. The admiral perceiving the Scots approaching in four strong columns, 'armed with Moorish pikes,' immediately despatched a messenger to his father, with the Agnus Dei which he wore at his breast, as a token, requesting him to extend his lines with all speed, and to

Battle of Flodden.

* Gazette of the Battle, Pinkerton's History, Appendix, vol. ii. p. 456. The striking silence observed by the Scots in their descent from the hill is noticed by nearly every contemporary writer. 'Little or no noise did they make,' says an account of the battle, printed in the year in which it was fought. This picturesque incident, together with the firing of the Scottish camp, is noticed by Sir Walter Scott, in his spirit-stirring description of the conflict:—

"—— Sudden as he spoke
From the sharp ridges of the hill,
All downward to the banks of Till,
Was wreathed in sable smoke.
Volumed and vast and rolling far,
The cloud enveloped Scotland's war,
As down the hill they broke.
Nor martial shout, nor minstrel tone,
Announced their march; their tread alone,
At times one warning trumpet blown,
At times a stifled hum,
Told England from his mountain-throne
King James did rushing come.—
Scarce could they hear or see their foes,
Until at weapon point they close."

Marmion, canto vi. st. v.

strengthen the van by drawing up the centre on its left.* The battle commenced at four in the afternoon, with cannonading on both sides. The English were superior in artillery, and their guns appear to have been better served. "Then out burst the ordnance on both sides," says an old chronicler, "with fire, flame, and hideous noise, and the master gunner of the English slew the master gunner of Scotland, and beat all his men from their guns, so that the Scottish ordnance did no harm to the Englishmen, but the Englishmen's artillery shot into the midst of the king's battail, and slew many persons—which seeing, the King of Scots and his brave men made the more haste to come to joining." The first that encountered, was the left wing of the Scots, under Huntley and Home, which made such a furious onset upon that portion of the English vanguard commanded by Sir Edmund Howard, as to overpower and throw it into disorder. After a stout resistance, Sir Edmund's banner was taken, his division totally routed, and he himself beaten down and placed in imminent danger, when he was rescued by the bastard Heron, who had joined the English army at the head of a band of fierce outlaws like himself. Sir Edmund escaped with difficulty to his brother's division; but Lord Dacre, advancing to his support with the reserve of cavalry, appears to have kept Huntley in check; while Home's men, who were chiefly Borderers, began to disperse over the field in search of plunder.† Meanwhile the admiral, whose flank the victors ought to have attacked, availed himself of their inactivity, and, reinforced by Dacre, bore down upon another division of the Scottish vanguard, commanded by the Earls of Crawford and Montrose. After a long and stubborn contest, these nobles were both slain, and their forces routed. On the extreme right of the Scottish army, the Campbells, Mackenzies, Macleans, Macleods, and other clans from the Highlands and Isles, who were commanded by the Earls of Lennox and Argyle, suffered so severely from the volleys of the Cheshire and Lancashire archers, that they broke their array, and rushed eagerly forward to close with the enemy, in spite of the signals, menaces, and cries of La Motte, and other experienced French officers, who strove to keep them in their ranks.* At first the English pikemen reeled under the fierce onslaught; but speedily recovering from the shock, they attacked their undisciplined and disorganized assailants in front and flank, and routed them with great slaughter. The Earls of Lennox and Argyle, with most of the chiefs of the clans, perished in the struggle. While the fortune of the day thus varied on the wings, the Scottish king and the Earl of Surrey were engaged in a fierce and dubious conflict in the centre. In spite of the remonstrances of his attendants, James, who fought on foot like the rest of his division, persisted in exposing his person in the thickest of the battle, and, surrounded by his nobles and knights, he placed himself in front of his spearmen, and charged with such fury, that the ranks of the English were broken, and the standard of Surrey was in imminent danger. At this critical moment, the flank of the Scottish centre was assailed by Lord Dacre and the admiral, who had succeeded in defeating the division led by Crawford and Montrose. The Earl of Bothwell, however, came up with the reserve, and restored the fight. The struggle was long and obstinately maintained, and for a time victory seemed to incline to the Scots. No quarter was given on either side, and the ground became at length so slippery from the blood shed in this desperate strife, that the combatants pulled off their boots and shoes, to obtain a firmer footing, and fought in their hose. But by this time the right wing of the Scottish army had been totally routed, and Sir Edward Stanley, with his victorious followers, assailed the rear and right flank of the king's division, which was thus surrounded on all sides and pressed by overwhelming odds. The Scots, however, still resolutely maintained the contest, and throwing themselves into a circle, with their spears extended on every side, they repelled every attempt to break their serried phalanx.† At length, the king himself fell, pierced with arrows and mortally wounded in the head by a bill, within a spear's length of the Earl of Surrey; but his nobles

Defeat of the Scots, and death of the king.

* Hall's Chronicle, p. 562.

† It is alleged by Pitscottie (vol. i. p. 278) that when the Earl of Huntley urged Lord Home to go to the assistance of the king, he replied, "He does well that does for himself. We have fought our vanguard, and won the same, therefore, let the lave (rest) do their part as well as we." This statement, however, is in the highest degree improbable, and seems to have been invented by the enemies of Home, who incurred great odium, in consequence of his having returned unhurt, and loaded with spoil from this fatal conflict. Lord Dacre, in a letter to the English council, dated 17th May, 1514, states that in the field of Brankston he and his friends encountered the Earl of Huntley and the Chamberlain; that Sir John Home, Cuthbert Home, of Fastcastle, the son and heir of Sir John Home, Sir William Cockburn, of Langton, and his son, the son and heir of Sir David Home, the laird of Blacater, and many other of Lord Home's kinsmen and friends were slain; and that, on the other hand, Philip Dacre, brother of Lord Dacre, was taken prisoner by the Scots, and many other of his kinsfolks, servants, and tenants were either taken or slain in the battle. This statement completely disproves the charge against Home, that he remained inactive after defeating the division under Sir Edmund Howard. Pinkerton, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 460.

* Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxxviii.

† "The English shafts in volleys hail'd,
In headlong charge their horse assail'd;
Front, flank, and rear, the squadrons sweep,
To break the Scottish circle deep,
That fought around their king.
But yet though thick the shafts as snow,
Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,
Though bill-men ply the ghastly blow,
Unbroken was the ring;
The stubborn spearmen still made good,
Their dark, impenetrable wood,
Each stepping where his comrade stood
The instant that he fell.
No thought was there of dastard flight,
Link'd in the serried phalanx tight;
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
As fearlessly and well."

Marmion, canto vi. st. xxxiv.

closed around the body, and obstinately defended it till night put an end to the carnage, and separated the combatants. The English general then drew back his forces, as he was yet uncertain of the issue of the conflict, for the Scottish centre was still unbroken, and the division under Home had been victorious. During the night, the Borderers who fought under the banner of that noble collected a considerable booty, by pillaging the slain, while the marauders of Tynedale and Teviotdale, who like birds of prey had been hovering in the neighbourhood, were employed in rifling the tents and stealing the horses of the English. When the morning broke, the Scots were found to have abandoned the field, and their artillery were seen standing deserted on the side of the hill.

The English general immediately ordered solemn thanks to be given for the victory, and then created forty knights on the field. Even after all this, Home's banner was seen hovering near the right flank of the English, while another body of the Scots, probably the remnant of the centre division of their army, appeared upon a hill in front, and were about to renew the contest, when they were dislodged from their position by a discharge of the English artillery.* Lord Dacre, with his cavalry, followed their retreat for about four miles, but they retired deliberately and in good order, and the Borderers carried off with them into Scotland a large booty and a considerable number of prisoners.

The Scottish artillery, which fell into the hands of the victors, consisted of seventeen cannon of various shapes and dimensions, among which was the fine train of seven pieces, called the 'Seven Sisters,' recently cast by the celebrated Robert Borthwick, who was killed beside his own guns in the beginning of the conflict. According to the official report of the battle, they were "the neatest, the soundest, the best fashioned, the smallest in the touch-hole, and the most beautiful of their size and length that ever were seen."

The loss of the Scots in this disastrous field amounted to from eight to ten thousand men;† but these included the flower of their nobility, gentry, and even clergy. Besides the king and his natural son, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had studied abroad under Erasmus, there were slain twelve earls—Crawford, Montrose, Lennox, Argyle, Errol, Athole, Morton, Cassilis, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithness, and Glencairn. To these must be added the Bishop of Caithness and of the Isles, the Abbots of Inchaffray and Kilwinning, the Dean of Glasgow, and fifteen lords and chiefs of clans, amongst whom were Sir Duncan Campbell, of Glenurchy; Lauchlan Maclean, of Dowart; and Campbell, of Lawers; and five eldest sons of peers; besides La Motte, the French ambassador, and the secretary of the king. Scarce a Scottish family of eminence, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, but has had an ancestor killed at Flodden. Some of them lost all their male members that were capable of bearing arms; and there is no province in Scotland, even at this day, where the battle is mentioned without a sensation of terror and sorrow.* The loss of the English has been variously estimated, it probably amounted to about five thousand men;† but in that number were included very few persons of distinction. The body of James was found by Lord Dacre amongst the thickest of the slain, and although much disfigured by wounds,‡ was recognized by that noble, who was well acquainted with the king's person, and was afterwards identified at Berwick by the Scottish chancellor, Sir William Scott, Sir John Forman, and some other persons. It was embalmed and ultimately placed in the monastery of Sheen, in Surrey.§ It was long believed in Scotland, that James did not perish in the fatal field of Flodden. Buchanan states, that he himself had heard one Lawrence Telfer, one of the royal pages, say that he saw the king cross the Tweed on horseback after the battle, and a similar statement is made by Bishop Lesley.‖ This report probably originated in the circumstance that several of the Scottish nobles had worn in the engagement a dress similar to the king's. According to one of the preposterous stories which passed current among the credulous of that day, in the twilight, when the fight was nearly ended, four horsemen mounted the king on a dun hackney,

Idle reports respecting the king's fate.

* "To town and tower, to down and dale,
They tell red Flodden's dismal tale,
And raise the universal wail;
Tradition, legend, tune, and song,
Shall many an age that wail prolong;
Still from the sire the son shall hear
Of the stern strife and carnage drear
Of Flodden's fatal field,
Where shiver'd was fair Scotland's spear,
And broken was her shield!"
Marmion, canto vi. st. xxxiv.

† Original Gazette of the battle; Polydore Virgil; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 105.

‡ "When James's body was found, his neck was opened in the middle with a wide wound, his left hand, almost cut off in two places, did scarce hang to his arm, and the archers had shot him in many places of his body."—Godwin's Annals, p. 22; Tytler, vol. v. p. 68, note.

§ As James died under sentence of excommunication, which he incurred by breaking the treaty of peace, his body was not committed to the tomb. Leo X., in a letter dated Nov. 29, 1513, granted permission to Henry to inter the body of his brother-in-law with due pomp in the cathedral of St. Paul's, because he had been informed that in his last moments the king of Scotland had given some signs of repentance. It was left above ground, however, at Sheen, lapped up in a sheet of lead, till the Reformation, when the monastery became the property and residence of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, who permitted it to be flung into a lumber room among old pieces of wood, lead, and other rubbish, in which state it was seen by Stow, the historian. "Since the which time," says that writer, "some workmen there for their foolish pleasure hewed off the head; and one Lancelot Young, master glazier to Queen Elizabeth, feeling a savour to come from thence (owing, doubtless, to the spices used for embalming the body), and seeing this same dried from all moisture, and yet the form remaining, with the hair of the head and beard red, brought it to London, to his house in Wood Street, where for a time he kept it for its sweetness, but in the end caused the sexton of St. Michael's, Wood Street, to bury it among other bones taken out of the charnel-house of that church."—Stow's Survey of London.

‖ Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 96.

* Hall in Weber's Flodden Field, p. 364.

† Original Gazette of the Battle; Polydore Virgil; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 105.

and conveyed him across the Tweed with them at nightfall. From that time he was never heard of, but it was believed that he was murdered either in Home Castle, or near Kelso, by the vassals of Lord Home.* This story is too absurd to require refutation. Home had no adequate motive to induce him to commit such a crime. He was the chamberlain of the king, and his prime favourite; and, as it has been justly remarked, he had much to lose (in fact did lose all) in consequence of James's death, and nothing earthly to gain by that event. Another report long current in Scotland gave a more romantic turn to the king's fate, and averred that James had gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to pray for the souls of his slaughtered nobles, and to do penance for the death of his father and the breach of his oath of amity with England.† In support of this opinion, it was contended that the English could never show the iron belt which the king is said to have worn round his body, as a token of his repentance for his share in the rebellion against his father. But this he was likely enough to have laid aside on the day of battle, as encumbering his personal exertions when he meant to do the duty of a brave soldier rather than of a prudent and skilful commander. The English, however, produced the unfortunate monarch's sword and dagger, which are still preserved in the Herald's College in London.

His character.

Thus perished, in the forty-second year of his age, and twenty-sixth of his reign, one of the most popular monarchs that ever filled the Scottish throne. "As he was greatly beloved while alive," says Buchanan, "so when dead his memory was cherished with an affection beyond what I have ever read or heard of being entertained for any other king."‡ His disposition was frank, generous, and he was easy of access to the meanest of his subjects. He manifested the most exemplary activity in the discharge of his royal duties, and in promoting the peace and prosperity of his kingdom. He was indefatigable in providing for the national security, in promoting the impartial administration of justice, and in maintaining the authority of the law in every part of his dominions. His efforts for the formation of a navy, and for the encouragement of the fisheries, the manufactures, the commerce, and the agriculture of the country, manifest an enlightened regard for the welfare of his people, and are deserving of the highest commendation. The remarkable prosperity of Scotland during his reign bore most satisfactory testimony to the wisdom of his measures. He was a zealous patron both of the useful and ornamental arts, and spent large sums in adorning and improving the royal palaces, and in the erection of monasteries and other religious edifices. He was expert in all martial and manly exercises, and had acquired great skill in the practice of medicine and surgery, and appears to have studied the occult science of alchemy. He was passionately fond of music and poetry, and excelled in performing upon the lute and various other musical instruments. His vices were in not a few cases akin to his virtues, and are in a great measure to be traced to the defects of his early training, and to the wicked advice of evil counsellors who basely pandered to the passions of the youthful monarch, in order to gain their own selfish ends. He was fond of popularity, devoted to pleasure, and profuse in his expenditure, and frequently lavished upon unworthy objects and pursuits the money which he obtained from his people, not always by the most honourable expedients. He was headstrong, impetuous, and impatient of contradiction; and his fantastic sense of honour, and obstinate adherence to his own opinion, caused him to plunge needlessly into the miseries of war, and ultimately led to the sacrifice of his army and the loss of his life, and once more exposed the kingdom to the manifold and complicated evils of a long minority. James left one legitimate child, who succeeded him by the title of James V.; another son, named Alexander, who was born nearly eight months after his father's death, survived only about two years.

* This idle tale was revived about half a century ago by a groundless rumour, that a skeleton wrapped in a bull's hide, and surrounded with an iron chain had been found in the well of Home Castle. Sir Walter Scott says he could never find any better authority for the story than the sexton of the parish having said, that if the well were cleaned out he would not be surprised at such a discovery. This absurd legend has recently been repeated by a living writer, but without the shadow of evidence.

† Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xli.

‡ Ibid. book xii. chap. xlii.

CHAPTER XXIII.

JAMES THE FIFTH.

1513—1542.

Consternation of the Scottish people after the defeat at Flodden.

EVIL tidings always fly rapidly, and the news of the fatal defeat of Flodden soon carried 'mourning, lamentation, and woe,' into every part of Scotland. The wail of sorrow was heard in every town, village, and hamlet; women were to be seen rushing distractedly into the streets and highways, lamenting with loud cries, their husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers, who had fallen. The labours of the harvest were abandoned, 'the voice of the merchant ceased in the streets,' and the churches and chapels were filled with mournful processions to invoke the Divine protection, and to sing the requiem of the slain.* The loss fell with peculiar severity on the southern districts of the kingdom, as their inhabitants composed a large portion of the forces which remained with the royal army. The citizens of Selkirk, Hawick, Jedburgh, and other Border towns, were almost entirely cut off, and their songs and traditions still keep alive the memory of this national disaster, which is justly considered the most calamitous event in Scottish history.†

In this perilous crisis, however, the indomitable resolution of the Scottish people was displayed in its noblest colours. They were "pressed on every side, yet not reduced to extremity; perplexed, but not in despair; cast down, but not destroyed." Though they had lost their king, and the greater part of the nobles, barons, and magistrates, as well as the flower of the burghers and yeomanry, so that the country seemed to be left defenceless and open to invasion and conquest, they 'bated not a jot of heart or hope.' The imminency of the public danger checked the violence of individual sorrow, and every man was promptly at his post, ready to combat in behalf of the liberty and independence of his country. In this 'day of darkness and of gloominess,' a noble example of firmness and spirit was exhibited by the merchants, who had been left in charge of the metropolis. The lord provost and magistrates of that city, along with the burghers, had followed the standard of the king, and most of them had shared his fate. During their absence, a certain number of the most influential citizens at the head of whom was George Towers, of Inverleith, were left with a commission to discharge the duties of the magistracy; and, on the 10th of September, the day after the battle, these noble-hearted men issued a proclamation, which, it has been well said, would do honour to the annals of any country in Europe, and took all necessary precautions to defend the city against the apprehended attack of the enemy. "Whereas," says this remarkable document, "there is a great rumour now lately risen within this town, touching our sovereign lord and his army, of the which we understand there is as yet no certainty: we strictly charge and command all persons within the burgh, to have ready their fensible gear (armour of defence) and weapons of war, and to be ready to assemble at the tolling of the common bell, for the defence of the town against those that would invade the same. We also charge and require that all women of the lower class, and specially vagabonds, do repair to their work, and be not seen upon the street clamouring and crying, under the pain of banishment out of the city; and that the women of better sort do repair to the kirk and offer up their prayers at the stated hours, for our sovereign lord and his army, and for our neighbours who are with the king's host; and that they keep to their private occupations in their houses, and abstain from appearing on the street as becometh."* Although George Towers and his gallant associates speak of the uncertainty of the rumour respecting their beloved monarch and his army, there can be no doubt that they were aware of the full extent of the disaster which had befallen them; and the simplicity and firmness of their language showed their calmness and courage, in the perilous and perplexing position in which they were placed.

Spirited proclamation of the temporary magistrates of Edinburgh.

Their fears of an immediate invasion, however, were speedily dispelled by the welcome intelligence that Surrey had disbanded his host. He had suffered so severely in the battle, that he was in no condition to follow up his advantages; and as his troops had been assembled for the defence of their own frontier, and not for the invasion of Scotland, the crown vassals dispersed as soon as their term of service had been rendered. A breathing interval was thus allowed to the country, and early in October a meeting of Parliament was assembled at Perth, to concert what measures ought to be adopted for the defence of the kingdom, and the management of public affairs, at this perilous juncture. As the greater part of the nobles had perished with their sovereign, this national council was principally composed of the clergy. The infant king, then only eighteen months old, was crowned at Scone with the usual solemnities. The castle of Stirling was selected as his residence, and the queen-

Coronation of James V.

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 109.

† See Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, notes to the 'Souters of Selkirk,' and the exquisite ballad, 'The Flowers of the Forest.' The citizens of Selkirk, eighty in number, distinguished themselves by their desperate valour at Flodden, and nearly all perished in that disastrous conflict. A standard, taken from the English, and the sword of William Brydone, the town clerk, who led the gallant 'Souters' to the battle, are still carefully preserved. The English, in revenge, reduced the defenceless town to ashes. James V. granted to the inhabitants, by royal charter, the right of tilling one thousand acres of the common lands of the burgh, along with various other privileges and immunities, both as a reward of their valour and as compensation for their sufferings.

* Hailes' Remarks on the History of Scotland, vol. viii.

mother was appointed regent of the kingdom and guardian of her son, in accordance with the will of the late king. The Archbishop of Glasgow and the Earls Huntley and Angus were selected to be the councillors of Margaret till another parliament should assemble, and the government of the castle of Stirling was entrusted to Lord Borthwick. The appointment of a female to hold the reins of government was contrary to the customary law of Scotland, and was far from popular among the Scottish nobles. The near connection, too, of the queen-mother with the English monarch, the inveterate enemy of Scotland, excited a suspicion that she might be unduly swayed by his influence, and a secret message was despatched to France, inviting the Duke of Albany, who, after the youthful monarch, was next heir to the throne, to repair to Scotland, and assume the office of regent.

Several of the Scottish historians affirm, that while the people were preparing resolutely to defend their country against invasion, the queen wrote an affectionate and humble letter to Henry, entreating his forbearance for a widowed sister and an infant orphan;—that the English monarch, with great wisdom and moderation, resolved to forego the tempting opportunity which the victory of Flodden afforded him for the invasion of Scotland, and replied that the Scots should have peace or war from him according to their own choice and behaviour;*—and that a truce was speedily concluded to last for a year and a day. These statements are unfortunately devoid of truth. No sooner did Henry, who was still in France, receive information of the victory, than he transmitted orders to Lord Darcy, and Lord Dacre, warden of the eastern marches, directing them to make three principal incursions into Scotland. In obedience to this injunction, Lord Dacre and his brother entered Scotland at the head of three thousand cavalry and three hundred infantry, and after plundering and laying waste the country, and burning several villages in Teviotdale, they retired at the approach of Lord Home, carrying off with them considerable booty.† The Scottish warden lost no time in retaliating, and a desolating but indecisive warfare was carried on by the Borderers on both sides.

Implacability of Henry.

Meanwhile the Duke of Albany had received the secret invitation from the French party of the Scottish nobles, and unable at this time to comply with it, he sent over the Sieur D'Arsie de la Bastie, who had been a favourite of James the Fourth, along with the Earl of Arran, who in consequence of the disgraceful failure of his naval expedition, appears to have been afraid to return to Scotland during the lifetime of the late king. Arran was the son of the Princess Mary, sister to James the Third, and his high birth and important office of lord high admiral, which he still held, entitled him to a prominent share in the administration of public affairs; but the inferiority of his talents unfitted him for the lofty position at which he aimed. His designs were successfully resisted by the Earls of Angus, Home, Huntley, and Crawford, who were at this moment possessed of the greatest authority in the country. But these powerful nobles were jealous of each other's influence, and could not be induced to co-operate cordially in the maintenance of law and order throughout the kingdom. A bitter feud arose between the chamberlain and the youthful Earl of Angus, which threatened to involve the whole of the southern countries in all the miseries of civil war. David Ker, of Ferniehirst, an adherent of Lord Home, taking advantage of the lawless state of the country, forcibly expelled the Abbot of Kelso, and seized the revenues of that monastery while Robertson of Strowan, at the head of a band of eight hundred freebooters, openly traversed Athole and the surrounding districts, plundering the inhabitants at his pleasure. To add to the difficulties of the unhappy country, thus torn by intestine divisions, the emperor, who was in alliance with England, interdicted the commerce between his own dominions and Scotland, and Lord Dacre continued to lay waste the border districts by continued inroads. In the quaint language of an old chronicler, "to rehearse the troubles, and great disquietness that chanced at this time through lack of due administration of justice, and by discord and variance daily rising among the lords and peers of the realm, a man might have just cause greatly to wonder thereat; and in weighing the same thoroughly, no less lament the oppression done to the poor commons, in that wicked and most miserable time, when justice seemed to sleep, and rapine, with all the other sorts of injurious violence, invaded her empty seat, triumphing over all as a conqueror."

Distracted state of the country.

Return of the Earl of Arran to Scotland.

As the war with England still continued, an embassy was despatched to the Court of Denmark to represent the distressed situation of the country, and to solicit from their Danish ally subsidies of men and ammunition. But the application was wholly unsuccessful, although James IV. had given prompt and liberal assistance to the King of Denmark in suppressing the insurrection of the Swedes. The French court showed equal ingratitude to their faithful allies, who had suffered so much in a war undertaken at the instigation of France, and to promote the interests of that country. Louis XII., who was hard pressed by his enemies, was now anxious to conclude a peace with England, and so fearful of any step that might interfere with this object, that he not merely denied all assistance to the Scots in the day of their calamity, but most ungenerously refused permission to the Duke of Albany to leave his dominions, lest the presence of that nobleman in Scotland should prove an obstacle to the conclusion of

Assistance sought in vain from Denmark and France.

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 283; Lesley's History, p. 98.

† Letter of Dacre to Henry, 18th Nov. 1513; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 117.

the treaty then pending between England and France.

Feuds among the nobles and clergy.

In this trying position of affairs, the council of state was repeatedly assembled, but the conflicting opinions and discordant interests of its members distracted their deliberations, and prevented them from agreeing upon any firm and consistent course of policy. The prudent advice of the aged peers was thwarted by the violent and headstrong councils of the youthful nobles, whom the carnage of Flodden had prematurely elevated to rank and power. The higher clergy, from among whom the sovereign had been accustomed to select his wisest and most patriotic councillors, were now unhappily divided into factions among themselves, occasioned by disputes respecting the vacant benefices. A meeting of parliament was fixed for the 20th of March, but was postponed by the council to the 15th of May, after ordaining that the principal fortresses of the kingdom should be committed to the custody of trustworthy governors, and appointing the Earl of Crawford, chief justice to the north of the Forth, and Lord Home to the same office in the south, for the immediate repression of the deadly feuds then raging throughout the country.

Character of the queen-mother.

For some time after the death of the king, the queen-mother seems to have discharged the duties of her office to the satisfaction of the nobles and the people; but the inherent defects in her character soon became apparent. Her talents were of a high order, but in several points she too nearly resembled her brother, Henry VIII., to make a wise ruler. She was fond of pleasure, hasty in her resentment, headstrong and passionate, and in her thirst for power and personal gratification, she frequently showed herself little scrupulous as to the means by which these objects were to be gained. On the 30th of April, 1514, about eight months after the death of the late king, she gave birth to a son, who was named Alexander, and created Duke of Ross; and in a parliament which met in the month of July, she was confirmed in the office of regent, and the custody of the young king and his brother was committed to three wise lords, whose names do not appear. Scarcely had the queen recovered from her confinement, however, when, to the surprise and regret of all her friends, she hastily married the young Earl of Angus, without any previous consultation with her council. Margaret was now in her twenty-fourth year, and in the peculiar and difficult position in which she was placed, it was by no means extraordinary or blameworthy that she should have desired a protector from the selfish designs of the fierce and lawless nobility by whom she was surrounded, among whom the abduction of an opulent widow was no uncommon crime. And had the queen-mother entered into a second marriage with a suitable husband, after due consultation with the council assigned to her by parliament, and after a decent interval, no fault could have been found with her conduct. But the precipitation with which she hurried into the match with Angus so soon after the death of her husband and the birth of her child, was scarcely consistent with decency or decorum, and had the effect of lowering her reputation in the eyes of the nation. Angus, too, was by no means the husband whom a prudent person, placed in Margaret's circumstances, would have selected. In some respects, indeed, he did no discredit to her choice. He was the grandson and successor of the celebrated Archibald Bell-the-Cat, and was therefore at the head of the powerful house of Douglas. He was also possessed of great personal attractions and showy accomplishments; but according to the shrewd Lord Dacre, he was "childish young, and attended by no wise counsellors," and to the faults of youth he added the characteristic vices of his family,—lawless ambition and lust of power. It speedily became apparent that on his side the match was one of interest, not of affection. He seems to have expected by his alliance with the regent, to obtain possession of the government of the country; and disappointed in this ambitious scheme, he soon ceased to pay the queen, who was some years older than himself, that respect to which she was justly entitled, and he showed himself both a careless and an unfaithful husband. Margaret, blinded by passion, lavished on her youthful husband the treasure* which the late king had entrusted to her charge before his fatal invasion of England, and, with the headlong favouritism of her race, she did not hesitate to abuse the powers of her office for the purpose of aggrandizing the family and faction of the Douglases. Her marriage, however, was highly unpopular among all classes of the Scottish people. By the terms of the royal will it at once put an end to her regency, and the council lost no time in carrying the wishes of their late sovereign into effect. "We have shown heretofore our willingness to honour the queen," observed Lord Home; "contrary to the ancient custom of this kingdom we suffered and obeyed her authority whiles she herself kept her right by keeping her widowhood. Now she has quit it by marrying, why should we not choose another to succeed in the place she has voluntarily left? Our old laws do not permit that a woman should govern in the most peaceable times, far less now when such evils do threaten, as can scarcely be resisted by the wisest and most sufficient men." Nearly all the members of the council agreed in this opinion, one of them remarking, "that the point principally annoying to

Her imprudent marriage with the Earl of Angus.

* On the evening before his departure from his capital for the Borders, James confided to the queen the place of his treasure, "in case that aught happened other than good to him." He likewise wrote an order upon the treasurer for her to receive in trust, for his infant son, the last subsidy of eighteen thousand crowns of the sum paid to him by Louis XII., and, besides this mass of treasure, he bestowed upon her many other valuables. This money she refused to restore, on the plea that it was owing to her for arrears of dower."—Cott. MS. Calig. B.ii.f.27. Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i. p. 90.

them was the fact, that the Earl of Angus, as head of the house of Douglas, was already great, the queen's marrying him had made him greater still, but continuing her authority as regent now he was her husband, would make him far too great for the peace and prosperity of Scotland."* The queen was, therefore, solemnly deposed by the council from her office as regent, the Duke of Albany was chosen in her room, and the Lord Lion was forthwith deputed to proceed to France to convey to that prince the official announcement of his election. The obstacles which had prevented his compliance with the invitation of the Scottish nobles were now removed; the sentence of forfeiture against his father, which had hitherto excluded the duke from the enjoyment of his rank and estates in Scotland was cancelled; and as peace had been concluded between England and France, Louis had no longer any pretext for his detention. Scotland was included in this treaty at the request of the French monarch, on condition, however, that if any invasion took place on the Borders after the intimation of these terms, which was to be made before the fifteenth of September, the clause comprehending that country should be void. No invasion of any importance took place, but various petty inroads were made on the Borders; and the difficulty of adjusting the disputes arising out of these disturbances, together with the sudden death of the French king, and the expectation of Albany's arrival, delayed the settlement of peace, so that it was not till the following May that the Scots formally acceded to the treaty.†

She is deposed from the office of regent.

Conclusion of peace between England and France.

Scotland is included in the treaty.

At this juncture (Oct. 25th, 1514) the struggles for promotion among the higher clergy were renewed by the death of the venerable Bishop Elphinston, of Aberdeen, whom the queen had intended to appoint to the archbishopric of St. Andrews. Margaret immediately nominated her husband's uncle, the celebrated Gawin Douglas, to the primacy of Scotland. His claims were fiercely opposed, however, both by Forman, the intriguing Bishop of Moray, who was appointed to the vacant see by a papal bull; and by Hepburn, the Prior of St. Andrews, a powerful, factious, and cunning priest, who was elected by the chapter. The servants of Douglas seized the archiepiscopal palace, but were summarily expelled by Hepburn, who kept possession of the fortress, in spite of the threats of the queen and Angus. This scandalous contention was at length terminated by a compromise between the rival claimants. Home, the chamberlain, was gained over to the interest of Forman, by rich gifts and the grant of the abbacy of Coldingham to his youngest brother David; and Hepburn, thus abandoned by his most influential supporter, was forced to surrender the castle, on condition of retaining the revenues which he had already collected, and receiving the appointment to the see of Moray, vacated by Forman, together with a pension of three thousand crowns from the revenues of the archbishopric.*

Death of Bishop Elphinston.

Disputes about the primacy.

The country was now in a state of almost total anarchy. The Chancellor Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who was a zealous supporter of Albany, was arrested at Perth, at the instigation of the queen, and the great seal forcibly taken from him.† The Earl of Arran, assisted by Lennox and Glencairn, aspired to the regency, and the former, taking advantage of a dark and stormy night, surprised the castle of Dunbarton, and expelled Erskine the governor, who held it for the queen.‡ A bitter feud raged between Angus and Home, who marshalled their vassals against each other, and prepared for open hostilities. In addition to the disturbances occasioned by these private quarrels, the nobles and the country were divided into two great factions,—the English party, at the head of which was Margaret and her husband, with the Earl of Huntley, Lord Drummond, and the Earl Marischal; and the French party, which comprehended the great mass of the nobility and of the people. The queen, highly indignant at her deposition from the office of regent, had now thrown herself completely into the arms of her brother, who unscrupulously availed himself of this favourable opportunity to acquire a paramount influence over the government of Scotland, and still farther to embroil the affairs of that unhappy country. By the agency of Lord Dacre, he kept in pay a number of spies and pensioned supporters, bribed many of the nobles, maintained a constant correspondence with the queen, and even had the baseness to urge her immediate flight with the infant monarch and his brother to the English court, holding out as an inducement, the hope that her elder son should succeed him in the throne of England. Margaret was quite willing, on her part, to adopt this nefarious proposal, but she informed Henry that it was impossible to carry it into effect by any means that she or her husband, or his uncle Gawin, could devise, as all her movements were closely watched, and she declared that if she were a private woman, that was able to go 'with her bairn on her arm,' she would not be long absent from her brother.§

State of the country.

Intrigues of Henry VIII.

The departure of Albany from France was delayed for some time longer by the death of Louis XII. and the accession of Francis I., but the policy of the French court underwent no material change,

* Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i. p. 166; Godscroft's Hist. of the Douglases, p. 241.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 121, 122.

* Lesley's History, p. 101; Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xliv. xlviii.

† Holinshed, vol. vi. p. 484.

‡ Lesley, p. 101.

§ Caligula, B. iii. f. 278; Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i. p. 112. An English ecclesiastic, named Williamson, and Sir James Inglis, the secretary of the queen, seem to have been the principal agents in this plot. See Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 128, 129.

and the new monarch soon after confirmed the peace which had been concluded with England. Le Vaire and Villebresme were despatched as ambassadors, to induce the Scottish government to express their willingness to be comprehended in the treaty on the terms formerly stipulated. In a letter from the council of state to Francis, they intimate their compliance with this request, and their acceptance and ratification of the offered peace, moved thereto, as they declare, by the earnest solicitations of their ancient ally, the King of France and of Balthazar Stewart, the papal nuncio; and that they might show that the Scots could forgive their private injuries for the sake of promoting a general crusade against the Turks, although they had now so far recovered from their recent heavy misfortunes as to leave no doubt that they should soon be able to requite their enemies.*

Arrival of Albany in Scotland—

On the eighteenth of May, three days after this answer was given by the council, the Duke of Albany arrived at Dunbarton with a squadron of eight ships (probably a part of the fleet of James IV.), laden with ammunition and warlike stores.† He was eagerly welcomed by a large concourse of the nobles and gentry of the western counties, and by Lord Home, whom he is said to have mortally offended by his haughty and contemptuous treatment.‡ On advancing to the capital, he was received with almost regal magnificence. The citizens testified their joy at his arrival by acting 'sundry farces and gude plays,'§ and the queen came from the castle to the gate of Holyrood House to meet him, and do him all possible honour. At a meeting of parliament, held in July, 1515, he was solemnly installed in the office of Regent, invested with the sword and sceptre of state, and proclaimed Governor and Protector of Scotland till the young king should reach the age of eighteen. It very soon became evident, however, that Albany was more of a courtier than a soldier or statesman, and that he was totally unfit to cope with the tremendous difficulties of his position.

—his character—

At this moment, Scotland required an upright, vigorous, and patriotic governor, who could guide the affairs of the country with discretion, and hold the balance with an even hand between the contending parties. But Albany's talents were by no means of a high order, his temper was passionate, and he was as much devoted to the interests of France, as the queen and Angus were to those of the English court. He was ignorant of the constitution, of the manners, and, to a great extent, even of the language of the country. He was the son of a French mother, had married a French woman, and having spent his life in France, where his chief estates were situated, constantly styled the French king his master. His family, too, rendered him an object of suspicion to a considerable portion of the Scottish people. He was the son of that Duke of Albany who had attempted to set aside the royal family as illegitimate, and to seize the crown for himself; and it was plausibly argued by his enemies that the custody of the infant sovereign and his brother could not be safely entrusted to one whose hereditary feelings and claims justly rendered him an object of distrust.

—his vigorous measures—

Albany appears, however, to have entered upon the duties of his office with spirit and resolution, and a firm determination to repress and punish the lawless excesses of the nobles, and to curb the insolence and treasonable practices of Angus and his supporters. Lord Drummond, the grandfather of that noble, was committed prisoner to the castle of Blackness, for striking the lion herald in the queen's presence, when delivering an unpalatable message to Angus from the Council of State;* and Gawin Douglas, the uncle of Angus, was imprisoned in the sea-tower of St. Andrews, on a charge of having improperly procured his nomination to the bishopric of Dunkeld by the influence of the queen and Henry VIII. with the pope. Margaret in vain implored the pardon and liberation of her friends. "I went down," she says, "from Edinburgh castle sore weeping to Holyrood, where the regent lodged, intreating him to let them out, as they were the principal members of the council, but grace gat I none."† These vigorous measures struck terror into the supporters of the queen; and the nobles of her party, with the exception of Angus and Home, and many even of her servants, were so intimidated that they abandoned her cause.

Although certain nobles had long before been appointed by the council of state to take charge of the young king and his brother, the royal children still remained in the keeping of their mother, and it became an object of great importance to withdraw them from this dangerous situation. The traitorous intrigues into which Margaret had recently entered with the creatures of her brother, which could not have altogether escaped the penetration of Albany, rendered this step absolutely necessary for the safe keeping of the princes, and the security of the kingdom. The regent accordingly summoned a parliament, which met at Edinburgh, and nominated eight lords, out of which four were to be chosen by lot, and from these the queen-mother was to select three to have charge of the king and his brother. This arrangement having been agreed to, the four peers proceeded from the parliament house to the castle of Edinburgh, for the purpose of carrying into effect the commands of the parliament, attended by a great concourse of people, who crowded to witness the imposing scene. On the approach of the nobles the gates of the fortress were thrown open, and Margaret was seen standing under the archway with the little king at her side, his hand locked in hers, and a nurse behind her holding the infant Duke of Ross in her arms. As soon as the shouts

The queen refuses to give up the king, her son.

* Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 509.
‡ Godscroft, p. 243.
† Lesley, p. 102.
§ Lesley, p. 102.

* Calig. B. vi. 105; Lesley, p. 105.
† Calig. B. vi. 115.

of applause, with which the populace greeted the spectacle, were silenced, the queen, with a dignified air and a loud imperious voice, commanded the delegates to stand and declare the cause of their coming. The peers replied that they came in the name of the parliament to receive from her their king and his brother, when, to their great astonishment, Margaret commanded the warder to drop the portcullis, and the massy iron grating having instantly descended between her and the nobles, she thus addressed them: "This castle is part of my enfeoffment, and of it, by my late husband the king, was I made sole governor, nor to any mortal shall I yield the important trust. But I respect the parliament and nation, and request six days to consider the mandate, for most important is my charge, and my counsellors now, alas! are few." Angus, who had hitherto remained a silent spectator of this dramatic scene, apprehensive of the consequences of this refusal to obey the injunctions of the parliament, now took a notarial instrument that he had counselled the surrender of the children.*

The queen, however, finding it impossible to hold out the castle of Edinburgh against the forces of the parliament, suddenly removed with her children to Stirling, her usual place of residence, where her adherents were numerous and powerful. She then transmitted to the regent an offer to maintain the princes out of her own dowry, provided they were left under her charge; or if this could not be granted, she proposed that they should be entrusted to Angus, Home, the Earl Marischal, and Sir Robert Lauder, of the Bass, all of them, except Marischal, her devoted partizans. Indignant at this evasion of the orders of Parliament, Albany determined to compel obedience, and for this purpose proceeded to collect an armed force, and meanwhile ordered Lords Ruthven and Borthwick to blockade the castle of Stirling, and to prevent the admission of any provisions into that fortress. Lord Home, who was now Provost of Edinburgh, was directed to arrest Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, but he peremptorily refused, and, under cover of night, fled to the Border tower of Newark; while the Earl of Angus, who had been enjoined by the regent to march with his vassals to Stirling, to blockade his own wife, retired to his estates, and armed his retainers for the impending struggle.

Decisive measures adopted by Albany.

A proclamation was now issued, denouncing the penalties of treason against all those who should continue to hold out the castle of Stirling against the regent and parliament; and Albany at the head of seven thousand men, and accompanied by almost all the peers, marched against that fortress. As the queen's adherents had almost all deserted her, resistance was hopeless, and advancing to meet the regent she delivered the keys of the castle to the young king, who, by her directions, placed them in the hands of Albany. She then requested that he would extend his favour to herself, her husband, and her children. The regent in reply assured the queen that he entertained the most respectful regard for her and his infant sovereign; but he could show no indulgence to Angus and his family, so long as they persisted in their present treasonable practices.* Albany left a guard of seven hundred soldiers to garrison the castle of Stirling, and committed the two princes to the custody of the Earl Marischal, with the Lords Fleming and Borthwick; whilst the queen retired to Edinburgh, where she took up her residence in the castle.

The queen surrenders Stirling castle and the custody of her children.

Meanwhile Lord Home had thrown himself openly into the arms of England, and was engaged in concerting measures with Dacre to overthrow the government of the regent; while Angus, though he was not admitted to their secret councils, was employed in raising the strength of Teviotdale for the purpose of supporting their traitorous schemes.† In this emergency Albany acted with great spirit and prudence. He summoned the array of the kingdom to meet him on the Borough-muir, near Edinburgh; but before proceeding to extremities he attempted to gain over the queen and her husband by offering to support them in all their just and equitable actions, and to put her in full possession of her jointure-lands, on condition that she would co-operate in the measures of his government, and abandon her intrigues with the English court. These favourable proposals were at once rejected by the queen, whose foolish and headstrong behaviour deprives her of all sympathy or respect; but she sent them privately to Dacre to show the sacrifice she had made for the interests of England.‡ With regard to Home, the regent insisted that he should leave Scotland; and that turbulent noble, stung with resentment, immediately wrote to Dacre, requesting the assistance of an English army, and informing him that the country lay open to invasion, and that King Henry might easily destroy his enemies there, and remodel the government at his pleasure.§ Relying on the support of England, the chamberlain collected a powerful force, and after retaking his own castle of Home, which had fallen into the hands of the regent, he seized the strong Border tower of Blacater, situated about five miles to the west of Berwick.‖ The object of this movement was presently seen, for Margaret finding herself, as she alleged, in a kind of captivity at Edinburgh, and her revenues retained by the regent, determined to retire to the fortalice of Blacater, which was recommended by Lord Dacre, from its proximity to England, while at the same time, as it was within the Scottish frontier,

Treasonable conduct of Lord Home.

The queen flies to England.

* Letter of Lord Dacre to the Council; Calig. B. ii. 341; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 140.

* Calig. B. ii. 369; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 143.
† Dacre's Letter to the Council; Calig. B. ii. 369.
‡ Calig. B. vi. 83, 84.
§ Letter of Home to Dacre; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 145.
‖ Franklin to the Bishop of Durham; Calig. B. iii. 153.

she could not be said to have forfeited her rights by leaving the country. She accordingly retired to Linlithgow, where she took her chamber, and secluded herself from observation, under the plea that the time of her confinement was at hand. But soon after her arrival she quitted her palace under cover of night, attended only by her husband and four or five servants, and at the distance of a few miles from Linlithgow she was joined by Lord Home, at the head of an escort of forty soldiers, who conveyed her in safety, first to the strong castle of Tantallon, the seat of the Douglases, and then to Blacater.*

Moderate conduct of the regent.

This highly imprudent step completely alienated the nobles and clergy from the cause of the queen dowager, and induced them to give their strenuous support to the government of the regent. Before proceeding to extremities against the mother of his sovereign, Albany, to show his anxiety to avoid hostilities, despatched Sir William Scott and Sir Robert Lauder to meet the English commissioners, Dacre and Dr. Magnus, for the purpose of adjusting any disputes on the marches; and at the same time commissioned the French envoy, John Duplanis, to renew his offer to the queen of the complete restoration of all her rights and revenues.

These liberal terms were again arrogantly rejected by this imprudent and headstrong princess, and Albany instantly advanced to the Borders at the head of an army of forty thousand men. Dacre had strongly recommended an invasion of Scotland, but no English army made its appearance; and Home finding it impossible to offer any effectual resistance, fled to England, whither he was speedily followed by the queen and Angus. The regent after ravaging the estates of the chamberlain, and razing the tower of Blacater to the ground, returned to the capital and dismissed his army. Home was soon after taken prisoner, it is alleged, by means of a dishonourable stratagem of Albany,† and was committed to the charge of the Earl of Arran, till he should set out for France or Italy, where he was commanded to remain in exile for three years. He found means, however, to gain over his keeper, who not only suffered him to escape, but accompanied him in his flight to England. They were received with open arms by Lord Dacre, and having been joined at Wooler by Angus and the brothers of Home, immediately proceeded to concert measures to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland, and to overthrow the government of Albany. The queen shortly before this had sent a letter to the regent, in which she attempted to vindicate her flight by asserting that apprehensions for her life had constrained her to quit Scotland; but she renewed her claim that the government of the kingdom and the tutelage of her children should be conceded to her agreeably to the will of the late king, which had received the papal confirmation. To this demand the council of Scotland returned answer, that the government of the realm could not be disposed of by their late sovereign, as by his death it devolved on the three Estates, who had conferred it upon the Duke of Albany; that moreover Margaret had by her second marriage forfeited all right to the regency, as well as to the custody of her children; and that as for the interference of the pontiff, Scotland had, ever since its first inhabitation, been subject in temporal matters only to God.*

The regent was still anxious to reclaim the queen from the impolitic course which she was pursuing, and on the same day he addressed two letters to her, the first from the council, imploring her to listen to reason, and declaring their aversion to all rigorous measures; the other, a private communication, written with his own hand, offering a benefice to the celebrated Gawin Douglas, and promising to leave at the disposal of the queen all benefices, and a portion of the wards and marriages within her dowry lands, and to entrust her with the guardianship of her children, if she would engage that they should not be withdrawn from the kingdom.† These liberal proposals, however, were peremptorily rejected by the queen, probably through the influence of Angus, Home, and Arran, who at this period entered into a private bond, by which they engaged to stand by each other, to make no agreement with the regent except with the consent of their kindred, vassals, and supporters, and to deliver the king and his brother from the suspected guardianship in which they were now held.

Margaret is delivered of a daughter.

Eight days after the queen had taken refuge in England, she was delivered, at Harbottle, of a daughter, the Lady Margaret Douglas, afterwards the mother of the unfortunate Darnley, and grandmother of James VI. The absence of her attendants, whom Dacre had positively refused to receive into the fortalice,‡ and the anxieties and mortifications connected with her situation, retarded her recovery, and prevented her from proceeding to her brother's court, which she eagerly longed to reach. While she lay at Harbottle, Margaret received the affecting intelligence of the sudden death, at Stirling, of her younger son, Alexander, Duke of Ross, an event which the queen and her faction did not hesitate to ascribe either to neglect or poison; and even Gawin Douglas did not scruple, seven years later, to repeat the atrocious calumny. Meanwhile, Albany, having in vain tried conciliatory measures, proceeded to punish Arran's defection and flight by seizing his castles; but when at Hamilton, he was met by the mother of the rebellious noble, a daughter of James II., who intreated forgiveness for her son. He received the venerable matron with the respect due to her years and royal descent, and

Death of her younger son.

* Credence, Calig. B. vi. 85.
† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 149.

* Council of Scotland, 13th Oct. 1515; Calig. B. vi. 120; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 150.
† Calig. B. vi. 122, 123; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 151
‡ Lesley, p 104.

promised a free pardon to Arran if he would return to his allegiance. He faithfully kept his word, for that weak and irresolute nobleman, finding that no dependence could be placed on the promises of Dacre, renounced his league with Angus and Home, and, on the 12th of November, came to Edinburgh and made his peace with the regent.*

Arran makes his peace with the regent.

At this period the alliance with France was renewed; and, at the same time, Dunbar, Archdeacon of St. Andrews; Sir William Scott, of Balwearie; and Duplanis, the French ambassador, were sent by the regent to meet Dacre and Magnus, the English commissioners, at Coldingham, for the purpose of negotiating a peace between the two countries. The brilliant successes of Francis the First in Italy had roused the jealousy of the English king, and made him anxious to maintain amicable relations with Scotland, in order that he might be at liberty to unite with the emperor in the war against France. The truce between the two kingdoms was therefore renewed till the following Whitsunday; and the regent agreed to send a solemn embassy to the English court to treat of a permanent peace. Home and Angus having now discovered the insecurity of their position, and the duplicity of the English warden, and despairing of any aid from England, resolved to withdraw themselves from the queen, who lay dangerously ill at Morpeth, and to make their peace with the regent. They accordingly returned to Scotland, where they were readily pardoned and restored to their estates. Margaret was highly indignant at this selfish and ungrateful conduct on the part of her husband, who, to serve his own purposes, had the inhumanity to abandon his wife while on a sickbed, and at a distance from all her relations and friends. There is reason to believe that the lasting enmity which the queen henceforth entertained against Angus, is primarily to be traced to her indignation at this scandalous desertion. As soon as she recovered from her illness she hastened to the English court, where she was received with great distinction and respect by her brother and his queen, to whom she bitterly complained of the treatment which she had received both from the regent and her husband, and entreated him to protect her son, and to procure the restoration of her rights.

Home and Arran desert the queen.

The English monarch readily yielded to Margaret's importunity, and though the truce between the two kingdoms had just been extended till the Midsummer of the following year, and Albany had always manifested the most conciliatory spirit towards England, Henry addressed a letter to the three Estates, in which in the most peremptory terms he demanded the removal of the regent from his office, and his expulsion from the kingdom, upon the ground that as the nearest heir to the crown he was the most suspicious guardian that could be appointed to take charge of the king's person; and he added a threat, that if this request was refused, he would be constrained to take other measures for the protection of their infant sovereign. To this insolent epistle, which was laid before a meeting of parliament, held in Edinburgh, on the first of July, 1516, the Estates returned a positive refusal, declaring that the appointment of Albany to the office of regent had been made by the general council of the nation, and was in strict accordance with the ancient law and practice of the kingdom,—that he had undertaken the office, not from his own wishes, but at their earnest request, and had wisely and honestly discharged its duties,—that with regard to the safety of their infant sovereign, there was no cause for the anxiety expressed, as he was entrusted to the care of the three good lords, in whom his own mother had formerly placed the greatest confidence; and, finally, that they were firmly resolved to resist to the utmost every attempt to disturb the peace of the country, or to overthrow the existing government.*

Imperious demands of Henry.

Spirited reply of the Estates.

This bold and dignified assertion of their national independence, disconcerted, for the moment, the project of the English king to obtain the superiority over Scotland, but he speedily resumed his former base system of keeping in pay a band of spies and pensioned supporters, and bribing a number of the Scottish nobles, to thwart the measures of Albany, and to distract his government. Lord Dacre, the English warden, was the principal agent employed in promoting this nefarious policy; and in a letter to Wolsey, Henry's favourite minister, he boasts that he had in his pay no less than four hundred Scots, whose principal employment was to excite popular tumults, and to lay waste the country. "I labour and study all I can," says this able but unprincipled intriguer, "to make division and debate, to the intent, that if the duke will not apply himself that the debate may grow, that it shall be impossible for him to do justice; and for that intended purpose I have the Master of Kilmaurs kept in my house secretly, which is one of the greatest parties in Scotland. .... And also I have secret messages from the Earl of Angus and others, which, I trust, shall be to the pleasure of the king's grace, if the said duke submit not himself; and also I have four hundred outlaws, and giveth them rewards, that burneth and destroyeth daily in Scotland, all being Scotsmen that should be under the obedience of Scotland. And if the said duke will apply him to the king's pleasure, then shall all these practices be void and of none effect, and the said Master of Kilmaurs be put to his own fende (shift) at his liberty in secret manner."†

Intrigues of the English king.

A new insurrection soon broke out, headed by Arran, who entered into a league with Lennox, Glencairn, and other barons, for the purpose of

* Lesley, p. 104.

* Rymer, Foedera, vol. xiii. p. 550.

† Letter of Dacre to Wolsey; Ellis's Original Letters, First Series, vol. i. p. 131.

wresting the regency from Albany. Mure of Caldwell, one of the partisans of Arran, stormed and plundered the castle of Glasgow, belonging to Archbishop Beaton, and prepared to hold it out against the government. But the regent promptly marched to Glasgow at the head of an army, took the fortress, and compelled the conspirators to submit to his authority, and to sue for pardon, which with almost blameable lenity, was readily granted to them, on the intercession of Archbishop Beaton.* Soon after, however, Albany felt himself constrained to inflict summary punishment on another inveterate offender—the turbulent and factious chamberlain. His former treasons had been forgiven, but only on condition that if ever he rebelled again, he should be brought to trial for his old offences.† Unmindful of his promise, and of the warning he had received, he speedily renewed his treasonable intercourse with Dacre, who hired the retainers of the Scottish baron to plunder and lay waste the country, and commit the most frightful excesses, so that, as the English warden himself admits, the kingdom was a prey to constant robberies, fire-raisings, and murders. In these circumstances, the regent feeling that longer forbearance would be a crime against the state, Home and his brother, having imprudently visited the court, it is alleged on the invitation of Albany, were instantly apprehended by the advice of the council, brought to trial for their manifold treasons, condemned, and executed. Their heads were afterwards exposed above the Tolbooth, and their estates confiscated. According to Buchanan, one of the charges brought against the chamberlain was that of having been accessory to the defeat at Flodden, and the death of the king; but this accusation, he adds, though strongly expressed, being feebly supported by proof, was withdrawn.‡ Kerr of Ferniehirst, a powerful Border chief, and one of Home's most zealous adherents, was brought to trial and condemned at the same time; but having obtained a reprieve from the regent, afterwards succeeded in making his escape. Soon after this exercise of authority, Albany made a progress to Jedburgh in person, for the purpose of more effectually repressing and punishing the excesses of the banditti upon the Borders. The office of chamberlain was conferred upon Lord Fleming; and the French knight, De la Bastie, who stood high in the confidence of the regent, was made warden of the east marches, an appointment which excited the most vindictive feelings among the kindred and vassals of Home.

Insurrection of Arran.

Home and his brother executed.

At this period Francis de Bordeaux arrived in Scotland as an ambassador from the French court, and, to the great mortification of Albany and the Scottish nobles, made known to them the failure of all their hopes of assistance from their ancient ally, for whose sake they had risked and suffered so much. To serve his own purposes, Francis I. was anxious to conciliate the friendship of the English monarch, and, therefore, turned a deaf ear to all the solicitations of the Scots. Their claim to the county of Xaintonge, which was originally assigned by Charles VII. to James I. in 1428, was evaded on the pretext that this district was an inalienable portion of the royal domain; and their request for aid was not only declined, but the French monarch even refused to ratify the alliance between France and Scotland, which had been renewed by his ambassador, Duplanis, and the Scottish council of regency, within a year after the death of James IV. In these trying circumstances Albany resolved to visit France, probably for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain assistance from the French court, to enable him to resist the intrigues of England, and to maintain the independence of the kingdom. The parliament at first offered a most strenuous resistance to his request for permission to revisit his foreign estates; and at length a most reluctant consent was extorted from the national council, on the express condition that his absence was to extend only to four months. Arrangements were accordingly made for his departure. The government of the country was entrusted to a council of regency, consisting of the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, with the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Angus, and Arran. The young king was brought from Stirling to the castle of Edinburgh, and entrusted to the care of the Earl Marischal, and Lords Erskine, Borthwick, and Ruthven. To De la Bastie was committed the important duty of maintaining the tranquillity of the Borders; and the fortresses of Dunbar and Dunbarton, the eastern and western keys of the kingdom, with the tower of Inchgarvie, were garrisoned by French soldiers. Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Patrick Panter, secretary to the king, were despatched on an embassy to the French court, to prepare for the arrival of the regent, and to assist the Bishop of Ross, the former ambassador to France, in negotiating a permanent alliance; and all the necessary preliminaries having been adjusted, Albany himself embarked at Dunbarton the seventh of June, carrying with him as hostages the eldest sons of many of the principal barons, and landed at Montmichael, in France, on the twenty-seventh of that month.*

Ungenerous conduct of France.

Albany revisits that kingdom.

Previously to his departure it had been settled in parliament, that the queen-mother should be allowed to return to Scotland, and to resume possession of her dowry and all her effects, upon condition that she should abstain from all attempts to overthrow the authority of the regent. As soon as she heard of Albany's arrival in France she commenced her journey northward; and at Lamberton Kirk, the scene of her first reception by the Scottish nobles as the bride of their sovereign, she was met by Angus, Morton, and De la Bastie. On her ar-

Return of the queen-mother.

* Lesley, pp. 105, 106.
† Buchanan, book xiv. chap. vii.
‡ Ibid.

* Lesley, p. 109.

rival in Edinburgh she was not permitted at first to visit her son; but in consequence of an apprehension that the plague had made its appearance in the capital, the youthful monarch was soon after removed to Craigmillar, where his mother was occasionally allowed to see him. Margaret's faithlessness, however, and propensity to engage in intrigues seem to have been incurable, and a strong suspicion having arisen that she had formed a secret project to carry off the prince into England, his guardians took the precaution to restore him to his original residence in the castle of Edinburgh.*

Activity and vigour of De la Bastie—

Albany had mainly relied for the maintenance of order and tranquillity during his absence upon the courage and activity of De la Bastie, who was both an able statesman and a chivalrous soldier. Nor was his confidence in the fidelity and zeal of the gallant Frenchman misplaced. Invested with the title of lieutenant or deputy of the governor, and entrusted with the difficult task of repressing the excesses of the lawless and turbulent Borderers, he discharged the duties of his office with great vigour and impartiality. On the first intelligence of any commotion he lost no time in proceeding to the spot for the purpose of repressing and punishing the disturbance. An example of his indefatigable diligence and promptitude in maintaining the authority of the law is mentioned by Pitscottie, in his account of a shameful outrage perpetrated by Stirling, of Keir, upon the person of William Meldrum, Laird of Binns,—the 'Squire Meldrum' of Sir David Lindsay. Meldrum was betrothed to Lady Gleneagles, a rich heiress, and only waited the arrival of a dispensation from Rome to complete the marriage. Meanwhile Stirling, of Keir, who possessed an estate near this lady's castle in Strathern, had determined that Luke Stirling, a near relative of his own, should marry the lady, and disappointed in his hopes by the success of Squire Meldrum, he laid a cowardly plot for his destruction. Accordingly, when about to cross the ferry between Leith and Fife, on his return from Edinburgh, attended only by eight servants, Meldrum was suddenly beset by his mortal enemy, at the head of sixty men. After a desperate conflict, in which Keir himself was severely hurt, and twenty-six of his followers either wounded or slain, the unfortunate squire was left for dead on the spot, bathed in his blood, hamstringed, and almost cut to pieces by unnumbered wounds. Intelligence of this foul deed having been sent to De la Bastie, who was living at the time in the abbey of Holyrood, he instantly sounded to horse, got his guards together, and pursued the cowardly assassins so closely that they were compelled to take refuge in a peel-house in Linlithgow. But this afforded them no protection, for it was so vigorously assaulted by De la Bastie, that the defenders were compelled to surrender unconditionally. They were speedily brought to trial and condemned; and Stirling himself was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh till instructions should be received from the governor respecting his disposal. But in consequence of the cruel murder of De la Bastie himself, shortly after this vigorous exercise of authority, Keir and his accomplices were ultimately set at liberty.*

* Lesley, p. 109.

—his cruel murder by the Homes, 19th Sept. 1517.

The appointment of De la Bastie to the wardenship of the marches was exceedingly unpopular among the Borderers, and especially among the friends and vassals of Lord Home, who hated him both as a foreigner and as an adherent of Albany, by whom their chief had been put to death. Among that fierce race the exaction of blood for blood to the uttermost drachm was handed down from father to son as a sacred duty, and though it does not appear that De la Bastie had the least concern in the execution of the chamberlain, the fact that he was the friend of the regent was sufficient to expose him to the vengeance of the ferocious Borderers, who burned to avenge the death of their chief. For the purpose of entrapping the gallant knight, who seems to have been altogether unsuspicious of their designs, Home, of Wedderburn, and some other friends of the late lord, pretended to besiege the tower of Langton, in the Merse. As soon as he received intelligence of this outrage, the warden, who was residing in Dunbar, hastened towards the spot, accompanied by a slender train, and before he was aware found himself surrounded by his unrelenting enemies. Seeing his life aimed at he attempted to save himself by the fleetness of his horse, but his ignorance of the country unfortunately led him into a morass, near the town of Dunse, where he was overtaken and cruelly butchered. The ferocious Wedderburn cut off his head, in savage triumph knitted it to his saddle-bow by the long flowing locks which had been much admired by the ladies of France, and galloping into Dunse, affixed the ghastly trophy of his vengeance to the market cross.†

Forfeiture of the murderers.

As soon as the news of this atrocious murder reached the council of regency, they proceeded to take steps to bring the perpetrators to justice. Arran was appointed warden of the marches. Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, and his confederate Mark Ker, were committed to prison on suspicion that they had been implicated in the plot against the late warden; and in a parliament assembled at Edinburgh on the nineteenth of February, sentence of forfeiture was passed against David Home of Wedderburn, his three brothers, and the rest of his accomplices. Arran immediately assembled a powerful army, and accompanied by the king's ar-

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp. 305, 336; Sir David Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. pp. 292—300.

† Lesley, p. 110; Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 307. The murder is believed to have been committed by John and Patrick Home, younger brothers of the Laird of Wedderburn; and the hair of the unfortunate warden is said to be still preserved in the charter chest of the family.

tillery, marched towards the Borders, for the purpose of enforcing the sentence. But the Homes, finding resistance hopeless, resolved to make their submission. The keys of Home castle were delivered to Arran at Lauder, the Border towers of Langton and Wedderburn were also surrendered; and the warden, with a culpable leniency, allowed the murderers to escape without further punishment.*

Albany, whose leave of absence had nearly expired, feeling a natural reluctance to resume the reins of government in a country so distracted by the contentions and feuds of rival factions, now wrote to the queen-mother, earnestly recommending her, if she could obtain the consent of the nobles, to take the regency once more into her own hands. But Margaret, who had been reconciled to her husband, insisted that Angus should be appointed regent; and as this was resolutely opposed by the whole body of the nobles who had suffered from his insolence and vacillation, the government continued in the hands of the council.† The truce with England was renewed for two years, and the regents sought to avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them to repress the disorders which had broken out in the Highlands and Isles, which, like the other districts of the country, were torn by rival factions, and exhibited scenes of the wildest excesses. It appears that scarcely had the Highland chiefs, who escaped from the carnage at Flodden, returned to their own estates, when they entered into a conspiracy to restore the ancient lordship of the Isles, in the person of Sir Donald Macdonald, of Lochalsh. The leaders of the insurrection, Maclean of Dowart, and Macleod of Dunvegan, seized the castles of Carneburgh and Dunskaich, and plundered and laid waste the estates of the chiefs who refused to join their faction; but they were ultimately induced by the Earl of Argyle to submit to the regent, and, on repairing to the court, were pardoned and restored to favour. Scarce, however, had the chief of Lochalsh returned to his own dominions, when he again took up arms against the government; and, as it has now been discovered that Sir Donald and his followers had joined with Lord Home in the treasonable practices which brought that nobleman's head to the block, and after his death had given shelter to his persecuted followers, there is good reason to believe that the island chief was first excited to rebellion by the base intrigues of the English agents, who laboured to ferment disturbances in every part of the kingdom. In spite of the efforts of Argyle and other well-affected chiefs, the insurgents maintained their ground, and though abandoned by Maclean of Dowart, his principal supporter, Sir Donald, having united his forces to those of the Macleods of Lewis and Rasay, and Alexander of Isla, attacked and defeated, at a place called Craiganairgid, in Morvern, Mac-Ian, of Ardnamurchan, who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the rebels by his vigorous support of the government. Mac-Ian himself, with his two sons, fell in the engagement; and the consequences of this success might have been serious, had not the death of Sir Donald, a few weeks after, brought the rebellion to a sudden close.*

Insurrection of the Highlands and Isles.

The reconciliation between Angus and the queen was short-lived. Disappointed in his attempt to obtain the regency, this haughty and ambitious noble soon quarrelled with his wife, and retiring from the court, secluded himself in Douglasdale with a mistress, a daughter of Stuart of Traquair, to whom he is said to have been betrothed previous to his marriage with the queen. This new insult caused an open rupture with Margaret, who broke out into violent reproaches, upbraiding her husband with his inconstancy and ingratitude, reminding him that she had pawned her jewels to support him in his misfortunes, and expressing her determination to sue for a divorce.† But Henry, well aware that such a step would be ruinous to his influence in Scotland, no sooner heard of the resolution formed by his sister, than he despatched a friar, named Chatsworth, who filled the office of minister-general of the Observantines in England, to remonstrate against the divorce, and to threaten the queen with his serious displeasure if she should attempt to carry it into effect. The violent denunciations of Chatsworth, who declared that she was labouring under some damnable delusion, and insinuated that her own conduct would not bear strict investigation, seem to have intimidated, if they did not convince Margaret, and to have induced her to lay aside her intention for the present. But although, against the advice of her counsellors, a temporary reconciliation took place between her and Angus, she insisted upon his renunciation of all claim upon her dower, and soon after appointed the Archdeacon of St. Andrews, the Provost of Crichton, and other commissioners, to collect her revenues and manage her estates.‡

Quarrel between the queen and Angus.

At this period Christiern II., king of Denmark, made application to his Scottish allies for a reinforcement of a thousand Highlanders to assist him in suppressing an insurrection, which had broken out among his Swedish subjects; but the regency eluded the request, by alleging that the Highland clans were at this time engaged in perpetual conflicts among themselves. The Danish monarch soon after renewed his request for a subsidy of soldiers and artillery, and enforced it by a letter from Albany, recommending the Estates to comply with the application; but the national council still prudently declined to accede to his request on the ground, that from the uncertain disposition of the English court, they could not reckon on the continuance of

Mission from Denmark.

* Lesley, p. 111.

† Margaret to Dacre; Calig. B. i. 247; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 171.

* Gregory's Highlands and Islands, pp. 114—126.

† Lesley, p. 113; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 173.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 174, 175; Caligula, B. ii. 333, and B. vi. 194.

peace in their own country. In the following year, however, (1519,) in consequence of the urgent and reiterated entreaty of the Danish monarch, a small body of troops was sent to Copenhagen, under the command of Stewart of Ardgowan, but the tyrannical conduct of Christiern, which ultimately led to his deposition, and the piratical seizure by Danish privateers of a merchant ship belonging to Leith, completely alienated his Scottish allies, and induced them to abandon any further attempt to support his unpopular cause.*

It appears that Albany, on his return to France, had received authority from the Estates to manage the foreign affairs of Scotland; and it is admitted, even by those who take the most unfavourable view of his character and government, that he manifested a disinterested regard for the public welfare, and that in the disposal of the Scottish benefices his applications to the pope were invariably in favour of natives, while the cardinals and the Italian clergy, their dependents, were eagerly grasping at every vacant benefice in Christendom.† At this period the French monarch renewed the peace with England, and his Scottish allies having been included in the treaty, provided they agreed to its terms, La Fayette and Cordelle, the French ambassadors to the English court, attended by Benolt, the Clarencieux herald, proceeded into Scotland for the purpose of procuring a prolongation of the truce, which was about to expire on St. Andrew's day. As the council of regency did not possess sufficient powers to complete this transaction, a meeting of parliament was held; and the French ambassador having intimated, that if Scotland rejected this treaty no farther assistance needed to be looked for from her French allies, the conditions were after some deliberation accepted, and the prolongation of the truce between England and Scotland to St. Andrew's day (Nov. 30th), 1520, was immediately proclaimed at Stirling.‡

Turbulent conduct of Angus and his partisans.

Meanwhile the violence and ambition of Angus continued to annoy the government, and to disturb the peace of the nation. Supported by the Earls of Crawford and Errol, Lord Glammis, and other powerful barons, together with the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Orkney, and Dunblane, he openly aspired to the supreme power, and set at defiance the authority of the regent. On the arrival of the French ambassadors at Edinburgh, he endeavoured, but without success, to induce them to recognize him and his party as the rulers of the country, and to allow him the management of the treaty; and, irritated at their peremptory refusal, the haughty noble, at the head of a numerous body of his vassals, intercepted the envoys at Caerlaverock on their return to England; and not only violently upbraided them for their refusal to comply with his demands, but put them in terror of their lives.* His partizans throughout the kingdom, trusting to his protection, openly defied the laws and committed the most shocking outrages on the lives and property of all who ventured to oppose them. The ferocious Home, of Wedderburn, who had married the sister of Angus, about this time assassinated Blackadder, the Prior of Coldingham, with six of his family; upon which William Douglas, the brother of Angus, instantly seized the priory.† A fierce contest now arose between Arran and Angus, in which every kind of lawless violence and injustice was committed, and the streets of the capital were stained with blood. Arran had been chosen Provost of Edinburgh, an office which, on account of the influence it conferred, was at this time an object of ambition among the highest nobles. But the opposite faction, taking advantage of his temporary absence from the metropolis, procured the election of Archibald Douglas, the uncle of Angus, in his room; and when Arran returned from Dalkeith, where the court was then held, he found the gates of the city shut against him. His supporters attempted to force an entrance, but were repulsed, a number being wounded and slain on both sides.‡ Similar scenes of violence and bloodshed were of almost daily occurrence, so that the country was in a state of complete disorganization.

A parliament was summoned to meet in Edinburgh on the 29th of April, probably with the view of attempting to allay these intestine commotions, and to restore the authority of the government. It appears that the vassals and retainers of Angus had, for the most part, quitted the capital before the assembling of the Estates, and that only four hundred spear-men remained with him as a body-guard; while, in consequence of a recommendation transmitted by Albany, or, according to Buchanan, in order to remove the apprehensions of the Hamiltons, Archibald Douglas had resigned the office of provost, and Robert Logan, one of the citizens, had been elected in his room. The partizans of Arran deemed this a favourable opportunity to crush Angus, while the great body of his supporters were at a distance. Archbishop Beaton, the chancellor, whose niece Arran had married, and the other leaders of the faction, held a council in the church of the Blackfriars, for the purpose of concerting their measures. Angus sent his uncle, Gawin Douglas, the celebrated Bishop of Dunkeld, to the meeting, to caution the Hamiltons against any violence, and to offer that he would submit to the laws if any offence were laid to his charge. Addressing himself to Beaton, as the official conservator of the laws of the realm, Douglas remonstrated against their intention of arresting Angus, and entreated that prelate to act as a peace-maker. The archbishop, however, had actually prepared for battle by putting on a coat of mail under his linen rochet, and,

Skirmish in the capital between the partizans of Arran and Angus, 30th April, 1520.

* Epist. Reg. Scot. vol. i. pp. 317, 318; Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 172, 176.

† See Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 175;

‡ Ibid. p. 177; Margaret to Wolsey, Stirling, 26th Dec.; Calig. B. vi. 270.

* Lesley, p. 114. † Ibid. p. 114.

‡ Dacre to Wolsey, 10th Dec.; Lesley, p. 113.

in answer to the appeal of Douglas, he said, 'Upon my conscience I know nothing of the matter,' at the same time striking his hand upon his breast, which caused the armour to return a rattling sound. 'My lord,' replied the bishop, 'your conscience clatters;'* and leaving the meeting after this pointed rebuke, he hastened back to his nephew, and told him that he must do his best to defend himself with arms. 'For me,' he said, 'I will go to my chamber and pray for you.' Angus immediately put himself at the head of his followers, whom he drew up in a compact body in the High-street of the city. The citizens were favourable to his party, and handed spears from their windows to such of the Douglases as were not provided with that useful weapon,—a circumstance which gave them a great advantage over the Hamiltons, who were armed only with their swords. Meanwhile, the remonstrance of the bishop had produced a deep impression on the mind of Sir Patrick Hamilton, a prudent and moderate man, the brother of the governor, and he strongly advised Arran to preserve the peace; but he was rudely upbraided with cowardice, in refusing to fight in his friend's quarrel, by Hamilton of Draphane, a natural son of the earl, and a man of a fierce and sanguinary disposition. 'Bastard smaik!† thou liest,' replied Sir Patrick; 'I shall fight to-day where thou darest not be seen.' Upon this the Hamiltons rushed out into the street, and thronged up from the Cowgate through the narrow lanes which lead to the High-street, where their adversaries were drawn up ready to receive them. The outlets of these lanes had been barricaded by the Douglases with carts, barrels, and other lumber; and as the adherents of the governor struggled through these obstructions, and reached the open street breathless and disordered, they were fiercely attacked by the spearmen of Angus, whose long spears and close array gave them a great advantage over their opponents. At the first onset, Sir Patrick Hamilton was killed by Angus himself, and after a fierce struggle, the party of Arran was completely routed and driven from the city, leaving upwards of seventy men dead on the spot. The earl and his son, who was the principal instigator of the broil, were in such peril that they were obliged to make their escape through the North Loch, mounted on a coal horse, from which they threw the load. Archbishop Beaton took refuge behind the high altar of the church of the Blackfriars monastery;‡ but such was the ferocity of the victorious party, that they pursued him into the sanctuary, tore off his rochet, and would have slain him on the spot, but for the timely interference of the Bishop of Dunkeld. This skirmish was long remembered by the name of 'Clean-the-causeway,' because the faction of Arran was as it were swept from the streets.*

Angus and his party now remained for a time absolute masters of the capital, and boldly set at defiance both the authority of the government and the restraints of the law. They took down the heads of Lord Home and his brother from the Tolbooth, and interred them with great solemnity in the Dominican churchyard, causing masses to be said for their souls. Angus having learned that the governor and the chancellor, with some of their adherents, had resolved to meet at Stirling, made an attempt to seize them by a sudden and secret march to that place; but they received timely notice of their danger, and hastily dispersed.† Having failed in this enterprise, Angus dismissed his followers, and retired to his own estates.

The French monarch was still anxious to court the friendship of England, in the hope that, as Tournay had been restored to France by the influence of Wolsey, the restitution of Calais might be obtained also. Accordingly, Robert Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, and Johan Duplanis, were despatched as ambassadors to Scotland, for the purpose of inducing the Estates of that kingdom to maintain the peace with England, and to prolong the truce between the two countries. They were also instructed to point out the evil consequences which would result from the return of Albany, as Henry had declared that his resumption of the regency would be the signal for the immediate commencement of hostilities; and it was added, that Francis would never consent to the departure of the regent from France.‡ The ambassadors tried every effort, but without effect, to allay the differences of the contending parties, and to restore tranquillity to the country. At this juncture, a sudden revolution took place in continental politics. Charles V. of Spain had been elected to the imperial throne in opposition to Francis, and Wolsey, who expected to gain the papal chair through the influence of the emperor, contrived to dissolve the alliance between England and France. It became the interest, therefore, of the French monarch to resume his former policy towards Scotland, and to rekindle the flames of discord between that country and England.

Embassy of Aubigny.

Change in the policy of France.

Angus was regarded by Wolsey and Dacre as the main stay of the English party among the Scottish nobles; and the queen-mother, who was now completely alienated from her husband, was thus induced to embrace the interests of the French party, and to entreat Albany to return to Scotland, and to resume the government of the country. As the obstacles to the departure of that nobleman from France were now removed, and the French court was anxious to embarrass the operations of Henry,

Return of Albany to Scotland.

* Clatter is a Scotch word, signifying to tell tales.

† Smaik, a silly, mean fellow.

‡ This religious house stood on the site now occupied by the old High School, a spot not more than a hundred yards from the houses of both Beaton and Gawin Douglas. The former stood at the foot of Blackfriars Wynd, the latter nearly opposite to the bottom of Niddry Street.

* Lesley, p. 116; Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp. 285—289; Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xii.

† Lesley, p. 116.

‡ Instructions to Seigneur D'Aubigny, Calig. B. vi. 140; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 183.

who had openly espoused the cause of the emperor, the regent set sail, and arrived at the Gareloch, in Lennox, on the 19th of November. Proceeding to Stirling he was there joined by the queen, who welcomed him with the utmost cordiality, and bestowed upon him such imprudent marks of her regard as to excite scandalous murmurs regarding the nature of their intercourse. If the testimony of Lord Dacre may be credited, she spent not only the day but the greater part of the night in the company of Albany, paying no regard to appearances.* The nobles crowded to the court of the regent to welcome his arrival, and on his entrance into the capital, accompanied by the queen, the chancellor, and a numerous escort of the peers, Angus and his party precipitately abandoned the city, and fled towards the Borders.

Soon after his arrival, the regent summoned a parliament, to meet at Edinburgh on the 26th of December, and cited Angus and his principal adherents to appear before that assembly, and answer to the charges to be brought against them. But, conscious of their guilt, and unable to resist the united strength of the queen and Albany, they were compelled to fly for refuge to the kirk of Steyle, near the Borders, where they opened a negotiation with Henry by means of Gawin Douglas, the Bishop of Dunkeld, who was a zealous supporter of his nephew, Angus. This prelate, whose morality and patriotism were not equal to his genius, was instructed to visit Dacre on his journey to England, and afterwards to lay before the English monarch himself a statement of the views of the malcontent nobles, and of the alleged ambition and criminal conduct of the regent. Douglas accordingly proceeded to London, where he addressed a memorial to Henry, in which he accused the regent of numerous acts of peculation, in appropriating to his own use the subsidies sent by the French king, as well as the money received from him, as the price of three celebrated ships, the pride of the Scottish navy, and declared that he had even converted the royal robes and tapestries into dresses for his pages, and had coined the king's large silver vases. He asserted that the royal fortresses of Dunbar, Dunbarton, and Inchgarvie were garrisoned by Frenchmen; that the crown lands were dilapidated; the ecclesiastical benefices sold; the people oppressed and pillaged; and the young king himself kept not only in a state of durance but of want, by an usurper who had no legal title to the regency, as it had been expressly declared by Parliament, that, should Albany not return from France before the 1st of August, 1521, he should forfeit that office. And, not satisfied with bringing these heavy charges against the regent, the bishop revived the foul calumny that Albany had caused the death of the infant Duke of Ross; and the memorial concluded with an urgent intreaty that the English monarch would imitate the example of his ancestor, Henry III., who by force of arms expelled the wicked counsellors of the youthful Scottish king, Alexander III.*

His proceedings against Angus.

Charges brought against the regent by Bishop Gawin Douglas.

There can be little doubt that many of these vile accusations against the regent were utterly destitute of truth, and that the remainder were grossly exaggerated. The reports which were from time to time transmitted to the English court by Dacre are not entitled to greater credit. According to this active and unscrupulous political agent, it was reported that the regent had designs upon the crown, and that Margaret intended to set aside her son, to marry Albany, and to raise him to the throne; that the intercourse between her and the regent was of the most scandalous kind; and that they had attempted, by the offer of Ettrick forest (a part of the queen's jointure-lands), to induce Angus to consent to a divorce; and he even goes so far as to affirm that the life of the young king was believed to be in danger. There is good reason to believe that the greater part of these reports originated with Dacre himself, as it was his nefarious policy to keep alive the differences among the Scottish nobles, and to weaken the government by throwing distrust and suspicion upon every measure of the regent and the queen.† In answer to the remonstrances of Albany against the infractions of the truce, and the encouragement given by Henry to Angus and his traitorous adherents, Dacre retaliated by a complaint that Lord Maxwell, the warden of the western marches, had refused to proclaim the peace, and that the Scottish Borderers had made an incursion into England, and carried off a great booty. The regent, who was anxious for peace with England, promised immediate redress; but Dacre, while he recommended his master to abstain from a declaration of war, and to continue an appearance of truce, craftily and dishonestly suggested that sums of money should be paid to the English northern lords, on condition that they should make inroads into Scotland,—a plan which he assures Henry would distress the Scots as much as open hostilities.‡

Calumnies of Dacre.

Base policy of the English.

The queen-mother was speedily made acquainted with the charges which had been brought against her by the Bishop of Dunkeld, and she despatched an envoy to her brother, with copious instructions,

Message of the queen-mother to Henry.

* Calig. B. vi. 205; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 188.

* Calig. B. iii. 309; Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 195, 196.

† The following extract, from a letter addressed to the English king by Wolsey, contains a full exposition of the base and insidious policy of Henry and his ministers towards Scotland. "Nevertheless, to cause him (Dacre) not only to take a more vigilant eye to the demeanour of the Scots, as well within Scotland as without, and to be more diligent hereafter in writing to your grace and me, but also favourably to entertain the Homes, and other rebels, after his accustomable manner, so that they may contrive the division and sedition in Scotland, whereby the said Duke of Albany may at his coming hither be put in danger; and though some money be employed for the entertainment of the said Homes and rebels, it will quit the cost at length, wherein I have amply instructed the said Lord Dacre."—State Papers, p. 91.

‡ Calig. B. vi. 205, 206; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 192.

written with her own hand, in which she flatly contradicted the calumnious representations of her accuser. She declared that the regent's conduct to her was most respectful and liberal; that he had returned to Scotland solely in consequence of his engagements; that, if he had not come, she must have left the kingdom; and that he had in no way interfered with the custody of her son, who had been permitted by his guardians to reside with herself in the castle of Edinburgh. She entreated Henry not to lend an ear to the calumnies of an unworthy prelate, on whom she had conferred his bishopric, which she would show him she could resume, as the regent had placed the disposal of the see in her hands; and she implored her brother to return a more favourable answer than he had sent on a former occasion.*

Henry, however, had no desire for peace, and with his characteristic violence and insolence, he openly accused his sister of living in shameful adultery with the regent; charged Albany with having left France in defiance of the oath of the French king to detain him in that country, and declared that he would drive him from Scotland. He despatched a herald with a severe reprimand to the queen, and at the same time offered to the Scottish estates the alternative of the immediate dismissal of Albany, or a rupture with England. To this insolent communication, the Scottish parliament replied in spirited and dignified terms, repelling the charges brought against the regent, and deriding the apprehensions which Henry affected to entertain for the safety of his nephew, the king. They informed him that they had themselves invited Albany to assume the regency for the good of their king and country, and that they would never dismiss him, either at the request of his grace, or of any other sovereign prince whatever. "And if," they concluded, "because we assert our own rights we should happen to be invaded, what may we do but trust that God will espouse our just quarrel, and demean ourselves as our ancestors have done before us, who, in ancient times, were constrained to fight for the conservation of this realm, and that with good success and honour?"†

His impious demands.

Spirited reply of the Estates.

While the effect of this spirited reply by the estates of Scotland to the demands of Henry was yet undetermined, Angus, who had remained unnoticed and inactive on the English borders, became desirous to remove for the time to some other country, where he could mature his plans, and await the favourable moment for their execution. He prevailed on his wife to use her intercession with Albany for this end, and he was permitted to return to Scotland, from which he passed immediately into France,—the regent consenting, on his voluntary exile, to remit the sentence of treason and forfeiture which had been previously pronounced.‡

Angus passes into France.

The conduct of the Scottish government meanwhile was calm and dignified. Reluctant to engage in hostilities with England, from which, however advantageous to France, no benefit could result to their own realm, they were yet constrained to prepare for war as the only safeguard against the overbearing and unscrupulous policy of Henry. The measures of that monarch fully justified the wisdom of this course. Irritated by the resolute tone of the Scottish parliament, he visited with banishment and confiscation all the French and Scots in his dominions, and ordered the latter to be driven from the country on foot, and with a white cross affixed to their upper garment. The state of his finances, and the war with France, did not permit of his sending an army into Scotland, but a squadron of seven ships was despatched to the Firth of Forth, which captured several vessels, and ravaged the towns and villages along the eastern coast. The Earl of Shrewsbury also received instructions to collect the English Border force, and conduct an inroad into Scotland on the side of the Merse and Teviotdale; but, though the orders of Henry were faithfully executed, and part of the town of Kelso was given to the flames, the troops of Shrewsbury were resolutely repulsed by the Borderers, and retired into England, after sustaining considerable loss. On the news of hostilities, Albany convened a parliament at Edinburgh, and a formal declaration of war against England was agreed upon, while the whole military strength of the kingdom was summoned to meet the crisis. In compliance with the wishes of the governor and queen-mother, the young king, now in his eleventh year, was removed to Stirling Castle, and placed under the sole charge of Lord Erskine. Albany having mustered his army, consisting of eighty thousand men, and supported by a powerful train of artillery, advanced to the Borders, and encamped at Annan, from which he penetrated into England as far as Carlisle. The expedition, however, was destined to terminate more speedily and peacefully than might have been anticipated from its formidable character. In conducting it, a regard to the national honour seems to have weighed chiefly with Albany and the Scottish nobles, and though the northern part of England, now rendered almost defenceless by the absence of the flower of Henry's army in France, would have fallen an easy prey to the Scots, success must have been only partial and temporary, while the advantage thus gained would have been more than counterbalanced by the manifold and serious events which must have flowed from a protracted war with England. The Scottish leaders, therefore, who remembered the wise advice of Robert Bruce, to avoid a lengthened war, and never, if possible, to risk a general engagement, were anxious for peace on honourable terms. Happily for both countries, the wishes of Henry were entirely in unison with those of the Scots. A war with Scotland, besides other hazards, must have distracted his movements in France, on

Violent measures of Henry.

War with England.

Albany's expedition into England.

* Calig. B. vi. 208; Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 197, 198.
† Rymer, vol. xiii. pp. 761, 763.
‡ Lesley, p. 117; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 201.

which he was desirous to concentrate the whole military strength of his kingdom. He deemed it prudent, therefore, to adopt in his intercourse with the Scots a manner less presumptuous and offensive, professing to be anxious only that his nephew should be placed under proper guardians; while he no longer insisted on the departure of Albany from Scotland. Instructions were accordingly transmitted to Lord Dacre, to open immediate negotiations with Albany for the conclusion of a truce, and that able diplomatist found little difficulty in the accomplishment of his task. The queen-mother, with that fickleness which marked her attachments, had secretly deserted the cause of Albany, and begun a correspondence with the English warden, to whom she revealed the whole policy of the governor, and the general aversion which existed in the Scottish army to hostilities with England. Thus encouraged, Dacre commenced and prosecuted his overtures for peace with such success, that Albany, after consenting to a truce for two months, disbanded his army and returned to the capital.*

Truce between the two countries.

Nothing could be more complicated or irksome than the position in which Albany was now placed. He was anxious to remain at peace; but the refusal of Henry to include France within its provisions brought the negotiations for the continuance of the truce to an abrupt termination. Many of the nobles were in the pay of England, and the remainder were so much under the influence of a factious and selfish spirit, that it was difficult to find any one to whom he could give his confidence, or whom he could intrust with the execution of his designs; while the queen-mother, with characteristic faithlessness and caprice, thwarted his plans, and betrayed all his secrets to Dacre. Harassed and disheartened by the difficulties of his situation, the regent resolved to pass once more into France, for the purpose of holding a conference with Francis I., on the best method of overcoming the English faction. A council of regency was appointed, consisting of the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Earls of Huntley, Arran, and Argyle, along with Gresolles, a French knight, in whom the regent placed great confidence; and having bound them by oath to attempt nothing against his authority,† Albany set sail for France, promising to return before the 15th of August in the following year, under the penalty of forfeiting his regency.

Perplexing position of the regent.

His second visit to France.

Henry, who pretended that the sole cause of his hostility was the presence of Albany, on learning the departure of that prince, despatched Clarencieux herald, to declare in a solemn manner that he held the war with his nephew to be unnatural, and that he was most desirous of living in peace.‡ But nearly at the same moment that he was making these professions of good-will to the person and government of his nephew, his troops were by his orders engaged in laying waste the Scottish Borders. The Earl of Surrey was appointed lieutenant-general against the Scots, and at the head of ten thousand men, broke into the Merse and Teviotdale, ravaged the whole country, and reduced its places of strength, and afterwards took and burnt to the ground the town of Jedburgh, which, according to his own account, contained at this time twice as many houses as Berwick, and was defended by six strong towers. Even its ancient and beautiful monastery was not spared in this ruthless invasion. The English, however, suffered severely from the incessant attacks of the Scottish Borderers who hung upon their march, and shewed themselves, according to Surrey, "the boldest men and the hottest that he ever saw in any nation."* A detachment under Dacre, after a fierce struggle, reduced the castle of Ferniehirst, and took prisoner its owner, a celebrated Border chief, named Andrew Kerr. The town of Kelso was also given to the flames, and many of the adjacent villages were levelled with the ground. While the English lay in the neighbourhood of Jedburgh, the horses of the cavalry broke loose one night, and running terror-stricken about the camp, trampled down many of the soldiers, and spread a universal alarm. Amidst the confusion that ensued, it was supposed that the enemy were assaulting the encampment, and many guns and arrows were discharged, which killed and wounded great numbers of the horses, while several hundreds dispersed themselves over the country, and were captured by the Scots. "I think there is lost above eight hundred horses," says Lord Surrey. "I dare not write," he adds, "the wonders Lord Dacre and all his company do say they saw that night, of sprites and fearful sights; and universally all their company say plainly that the devil was among them that night six times."†

Dishonourable conduct of Henry.

Border war.

Meanwhile the queen-mother was busily engaged in carrying on her intrigues to advance her own interests at the expense of the welfare of the country, and a plot was concocted between her and the English court, to put an end to the regency of Albany, by causing the young king to assume the reins of government, with the expectation that the management of public affairs would in this way virtually fall into her own hands.‡ The scheme, however, was disconcerted by the unexpected return of Albany, who determined to make a last effort to maintain the independence of the kingdom, in the hope that the recent cruel aggression of England would have roused the patriotic feelings of the Scottish nobles, and induced them to lay aside for the time at least, their mutual jealousies and contentions, and to unite in repelling the assaults of the common foe. He brought with him a fleet of eighty-seven small

Intrigues of the queen.

Return of Albany.

* Lesley, p. 123.
† Calig. B. ii. 327.
‡ Ibid. B. vi. 254; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 212.

* Surrey to Wolsey, 27th September, Calig. B. ii. 24; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 219.
† Ellis's Hist. Letters, vol. i. p. 217, First Series.
‡ Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 216.

vessels, and a force of four thousand foot, five hundred men-at-arms, a thousand hagbutteers, six hundred horse, and a large train of artillery, with an extensive supply of provisions and wine.* It was reported that, for the purpose of disturbing the English government, he was to be followed by Richard de la Pole, who laid claim to the crown of England, as a descendant of the sister of Edward the Fourth.†

Arrival of Albany in Scotland.

Albany, on his arrival in Scotland, found that his affairs had not improved during his absence. The queen dowager had become thoroughly devoted to England; and the nobles, though prepared to defend the country from English invasion, were not disposed to undertake a war of aggression, more especially as Surrey stood ready with a large force to repel attack, and make reprisals on the Scottish Border, which he threatened to reduce to a desert, unfit for the habitation of men.‡ Even the French auxiliaries, from whose discipline and superior equipments much was expected, excited the dislike of a people proverbially jealous of foreigners, while their maintenance was regarded as a heavy burden on the impoverished country. Albany, however, calculated, not without reason, on the venality of the aristocracy; and by a profuse use of French gold, succeeded in silencing opposition, and producing the appearance of hearty co-operation in his enterprise. Determined, therefore, with all speed to bring the foreign troops into service, he procured the consent of parliament to a proclamation, requiring all persons capable of bearing arms to assemble within two miles of Edinburgh on the 20th of October, and with provisions for twenty days. Meanwhile he convened the leading peers at Glasgow, and after an imposing display of the foreign soldiers and artillery, made a powerful appeal to their patriotism, urging them by the memory of Flodden and the injuries which England had inflicted on Scotland, manfully to maintain the freedom and independence of their country. The venal and time-serving nobles fell on their knees, protesting devotion to his cause; § whilst he was still farther encouraged by promises of aid from Arran, Huntley, Lennox, and Argyle, the governors of the midland, northern, and western districts of the kingdom. These promises were not fulfilled, but an army of forty thousand men mustered on the day appointed on the Borough Muir, near Edinburgh, and with this force Albany proceeded to the Borders. His march was slow, owing to the state of the roads, along which the heavy artillery was dragged with great labour, and the difficulty in securing from the inhabitants on the line the necessary assistance in transporting the baggage. To add to his perplexities, the native por-

Assembles an army, and proceeds to the Border.

* Lord Ogle to Surrey, Sept. 1523, Calig. B. iii. 58; Margaret to Surrey, B. vi. 380.

† State Papers, p. 122—125.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 217.

§ Ibid. p. 224; Sir William Eure to Surrey, Calig. B. iii. 57.

tion of the army and its leaders broke out at last into open insubordination. Hatred of the foreign mercenaries and news of the advance of Surrey with a large army, gave strength to the discontent with which many had engaged in the enterprise; and on reaching Melrose, where the Tweed was crossed by a wooden bridge, in spite of the commands and entreaties of Albany, they openly refused to proceed farther. A part of the van were ultimately induced to cross the bridge, but even these in no long time rejoined their recusant countrymen on the other side. Finding it in vain to struggle against the obstinacy and treachery of his men, Albany encamped a little farther down on the left bank of the Tweed, and began the siege of Wark castle, which lay on the right side; having previously sent across a party of the French cavalry, who wasted with fire and sword the surrounding country. The celebrated historian, Buchanan, who was present in this expedition, states that Wark castle consisted of a strongly fortified and very high tower placed within an inner court, and surrounded by a double wall. The outer wall inclosed a large space, within which the country people, in time of war, were accustomed to seek refuge with their cattle and goods. The inner comprehended a much narrower portion, and was defended by a ditch and flanking towers.* The foreign auxiliaries, who alone were engaged in the siege, behaved with great spirit, and speedily stormed the outer court of the castle, but they were at last expelled by the smoke of the burning barns and straw, to which the garrison had set fire. The inner wall, which was more strongly fortified, was next exposed to a cannonade for two days, and a breach having been at last made, the assailants endeavoured to force their way; but the deadly discharges of shot and other weapons poured on them from the ramparts and windows of the great tower checked their advance, and compelled them, on the approach of night, to retire, leaving their dead beneath the walls of the castle. On the following day, as the Tweed, flooded by the snow and rain, threatened to cut off their return, they abandoned the siege, and hastily recrossing the river, joined the main body of the army.†

Albany, convinced at last that farther attempts would only prove ruinous, as Surrey was rapidly advancing with an army of forty-six thousand men, removed his camp to Eccles, a monastery six miles distant from Wark. To have awaited the advance of the enemy with troops which refused to fight, must have exposed him to inevitable defeat, and, therefore, amid a heavy fall of snow, his discontented and disheartened army was suffered to disband itself. Whatever opinion may be formed of the military talents of Albany, the result of this disgraceful expedition is to be attributed chiefly, if not entirely, to the faithlessness and pusillanimity of the Scottish nobles; nor does it seem possible, that in the circumstances, any general, however

* Buchanan's Hist. of Scotland, book xiv chap. xxii.

† Ibid.; Lesley, p. 125.

skilful and brave, could have prevented the unfortunate issue. The English general, who with a numerous and gallant army had hitherto remained on the defensive, to gratify the impatience of his troops for action, hastened, on the news of the siege of Wark, to give battle to Albany. His enemy, however, had disappeared; and as the heavy fall of snow amid which the Scots had dispersed, impeded his march and rendered farther operations almost impracticable, he disbanded his forces, after having honourably provided pay for their past services. His conduct elicited the warm approbation of Henry VIII., who could not fail to be gratified by a result which, besides strengthening the English interest in Scotland, had been accomplished without loss to his own kingdom. Surrey boasted that, while the damage done by Albany to England did not exceed ten pounds, that sustained by Scotland could not be repaired in seven years.*

Albany, on his return to Edinburgh, found himself subjected to increased mortifications. At a meeting of parliament held on the 17th of November, he accused the nobles of having basely deserted him: while they not only recriminated by charging him with having squandered the public treasure, but insisted on the immediate embarkation of the foreign mercenaries, whose maintenance they represented as burdensome to the country. With this demand he was forced to comply, and notwithstanding the inclement season of the year, the French troops were compelled to embark, but the transports were unfortunately wrecked on the Western Islands, with the loss of the greater part of their crews.† Disgusted and mortified by these proceedings, and hopeless of securing either stability to the government or tranquillity to the country, Albany requested permission to retire once more to France, with the secret determination, it is believed, of never returning to Scotland. He veiled his purpose, however, under the pretext of consulting Francis I., and obtaining from him the assistance of money and troops to carry on the war with England. His request was complied with, on the condition that if he did not return on the 31st of August, his authority as regent and the league with France should both terminate.‡ It was also agreed, though not without strong opposition on the part of the queen-mother, that in the mean time the young king should remain at Stirling, under the charge of Cassilis, Fleming, Borthwick, and Erskine, who were to reside with him in turn for three months. Margaret received permission to visit her son, but her stay was not to exceed two or three days at a time, and her attendance on such occasions was limited to her ladies and usual retinue. Having completed his arrangements by appointing Gresolles to the important office of treasurer, and committing the chief direction of the government during his absence to a council composed of the chancellor, the Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Earls of Argyle and Huntley, Albany left Scotland, to which he was never to return.*

The departure of Albany was followed, in the beginning of 1524, by the death of the Earl of Huntley, one of his most powerful adherents, and the leadership of his party fell into the hands of Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and chancellor of the kingdom. Nor did this prelate want either the spirit to undertake, or the ability to achieve, what might be done by one man to uphold the sinking cause. Promptly availing himself of his opportunity, he seized the reins of government, and for a few months maintained his position in the chief administrative authority. But it was evident to the queen that the losses sustained by her opponents through the flight of the regent, and the demise of Huntley, had now placed her in circumstances to acquire, by a vigorous movement, the long disputed supremacy. There was indeed a third party, headed by the Earl of Arran, whose royal descent and large possessions would have made him a formidable rival, if the defects of his character had not counterbalanced these advantages. Margaret succeeded in persuading him to unite his interest to hers; and having gained over others of the principal barons, she felt herself sufficiently strong to execute a design which she had of late cherished as the most probable means of securing her triumph. On the 25th of July she suddenly left Stirling with her son, and entering the capital, showed him to the townsmen as their legitimate sovereign, now about to administer in his own name the affairs of his divided and disordered kingdom. James had not yet reached his thirteenth year, but his energy of character had been early developed, and his educational accomplishments were much in advance of his age. His manly temper, his skill in martial exercises,† and the proficiency which he had made in graver studies under his learned preceptor, Gawin Dunbar—enhanced as these were by the prestige of royalty—had already won the esteem and awakened the hopes of the nation, which may well be supposed to have been weary of the protracted and calamitous conflicts for the regency. Accordingly he was welcomed to Edinburgh with enthusiasm; through admiring and applauding crowds of the citizens, he passed with the queen-mother and a train of the nobility, to his ancestral palace of Holyrood; and there, in solemn council, he was declared of age, issued proclamations in his own name, announcing his assumption of the government and received the homage of the assembled peers and prelates. The only recusants were Beaton and the Bishop of Aberdeen, who vainly

Revolution in the government.

Successful intrigue of the queen.

* Surrey to Henry VIII., Calig. B. vi. 306.
† Calig. B. i. 5; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 231.
‡ Ellis's Letters, vol. i. p. 247.

* Ellis's Letters, vol. i. p. 247; Lesley, p. 128.
† Dr. Magnus, the English envoy, writing to Cardinal Wolsey for an ornamental buckler as a present to the young king, says expressly that it must be of the full size for a man, as James had no juvenile weapons, even his sword being a yard long from the hilt, and yet he could draw it as well as any man.—Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 239.

reminded the nobles of their previous pledges to Albany, and argued the imprudence of plunging their monarch, at so early an age, into all the cares and temptations of royalty. In the course of the following month also, a bond was subscribed by a number of the lords spiritual and temporal, formally cancelling their previous engagement with Albany, and promising that they "shall in all tymes cumin be leil, true, and obedient servands to our said soveraine lord, the kyng's grace." This agreement bears the signatures of the Earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, Murray, Morton, and Cassilis; Lords Erskine, Fleming, Borthwick, Livingstone, and Evandale; the Bishops of Ross and Galloway; the Abbots of Holyrood, Scone, Paisley, and Jedburgh; the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and many of the gentry.* Nor did any serious token of hostility arise elsewhere in the kingdom, although the partizans of the regent stood aloof, and regarded this change in the government with an unfriendly eye.

The prospect of a more settled administration, opened by this bloodless revolution, was speedily clouded. A new complication of the national affairs arose on the side of England, where the tidings of the queen's rapid movement and success, threw some uncertainty over the projects of her brother and Cardinal Wolsey. Although the step which she had taken was entirely in accordance with the policy previously concerted betwixt her and them, they looked upon the manner of its execution as suspicious. She had hurried on the issue without warning Henry of her intention, or waiting for the subsidies of men and money which he had promised; nor was there any reference to the English interests in the acts of council which established the new regime. These circumstances, coupled with Margaret's well-known aversion to Wolsey, made it doubtful that she would be found as subservient to influence from the English court, as had been expected. Nor was the fear altogether groundless. The queen, with all her leanings towards her brother and her native land, had no desire to see her adopted country and her son in a degrading attitude of subjection. She seems to have gladly carried out her design by her own resources, thus placing matters on a basis the most favourable to her own and her son's independent authority. She could not venture, however, and indeed did not desire, anything like a rupture with her English allies. In the message which she sent to announce her success, she still entreated the promised assistance, and ere long received, with obvious satisfaction, a considerable sum of English money, and a company of two hundred soldiers, who were to form the body-guard of the newly inaugurated king. Wolsey's plans had contemplated a much more prominent interposition of his master's influence in the Scottish affairs; and the Duke of Norfolk was lying with a large force upon the Borders, waiting the signal to cross and assume the merit of raising James to a power which he was expected to make subservient to his uncle's ambition. The Earl of Angus also had been recently invited from the continent to the English court, with the view of being employed in his native land to promote the interests of Henry, who counted upon him as a cordial and effective partizan. The queen's rapid and independent action disconcerted these projects. Wolsey saw reason for mistrust, which was soon greatly strengthened, by her peremptory refusal to sanction the proposed return of her husband Angus, by her opening new negotiations with the French monarch, and by her setting at liberty Beaton and the Bishop of Aberdeen, whom she had at first committed to prison in consequence of their opposition to her measures. There was a pause accordingly in the Cardinal's movements, and a truce of a few months was concluded at Berwick, between Norfolk and the Earl of Cassilis, the commissioners of the two kingdoms.

Suspicions of the English court.

If Margaret had now continued to preserve her reputation and her popularity, it might not have been difficult for her to establish her independence and confirm her power. But she had become enamoured of Henry Stewart, the second son of Lord Evandale. Her unconcealed partiality for this young nobleman, and the arrogance which he assumed on the ground of her favour, awakened general dissatisfaction. Several of the barons withdrew from her court in displeasure; and even Arran, her principal supporter, began to consult his own interests in preference to her cause. Thus weakened, she appeared to present to her brother and Wolsey a more pliable instrument for the execution of their ambitious designs. Accordingly, the ambassadors, Dr. Magnus, Henry's chaplain, and Roger Ratcliffe, his gentleman usher of the privy chamber, were directed to repair without delay to her court, and to endeavour to effect her reconciliation with her husband—the presence of Angus in Scotland being still deemed of primary importance to the English interests there. But the queen's former attachment to him had been replaced by so strong an aversion, that no argument could induce her to consent to his recall. Her opposition, however, did not prevent the return of Angus to Scotland: in the beginning of November he crossed the Borders, and took up his residence at Coldingham Priory, re-entering his native country after a two years' exile, to make it once more the scene of bitter contentions for the regency.

Misconduct of the queen.

Return of Angus.

The reappearance of the earl did not threaten at first any serious disturbance of the queen's authority. If the step taken by him had the sanction of the English court, that was kept secret; professedly he was escaping from restraint imposed upon him at Newcastle by the orders of Henry. Nor did he seek on his arrival to surround himself with the state and power, which the prestige of his name and his family influence still placed within his

* O. Cal. B. vi. 378; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 473.

reach. His retinue did not exceed forty armed men, to which number all the barons and gentry were restricted by a recent order of council; and he wrote to Margaret in submissive and conciliatory terms, entreating her to grant him a personal conference, professing his readiness to make amends for any offences which he had committed, and declaring that he had no other desire than to be of service to her and his sovereign. No notice was taken of this communication; and when the parliament met in the middle of the month, it proceeded to the transaction of business without any overt reference to the new element of discord. The regency of Albany was formally abrogated, and a new administrative council was formed, consisting of the chancellor, the Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Earls of Arran and Argyle, with the queen as president.* These two measures met with no opposition; but the disturbed state of the realm, and the relations with England, presented grave questions, in regard to which it was more difficult to effect unanimity.

Abrogation of Albany's regency.

The sittings were adjourned from day to day, and the debate was still pending, when an incident occurred which rudely interrupted the deliberations of the parliament, and completely changed the aspect of affairs. Early on the morning of the 23rd of November, several hours before sunrise, the inhabitants of Edinburgh were roused from their slumbers by the sound of war in their streets. The Earls of Angus and Lennox, with the Master of Kilmaurs and the Laird of Buccleuch, had scaled the walls, opened the gates, and penetrated to the Cross with a body of their partizans, to the number of four or five hundred. Their declared intentions were pacific; they offered no further violence to property or life; and announced that they only sought to have the king's person removed from the custody of individuals who were compassing the injury of the state. But a proclamation of peaceful designs from men who had forced an entrance into the capital with their drawn weapons in their hands, could not be expected to carry much weight. The fire of the castle was directed against them; and the queen, who was at Holyrood, having hastily collected a force of five hundred men, was preparing to drive them from the city at the point of the sword, when the Bishop of Aberdeen and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, accompanied by Dr. Magnus, hurried to the palace to entreat that she would stop the cannonade from the castle, which was doing much more injury to the citizens than to the intruders. They found her in a state of angry excitement. She imperiously ordered the English ambassador home to his lodging, suspecting him to be a party to the outrage; and for a little, there appeared no hope of preventing a fierce and sanguinary conflict between the two factions in the narrow streets of the metropolis. More moderate counsels, however, at length prevailed. A proclamation in the king's name, commanding the immediate departure of Angus and his adherents, had the desired effect. They withdrew in the direction of Dalkeith; and ere the late dawn of the winter's day called the merchants and craftsmen to their booths in the Lawn-market, the queen had passed up the street with her son, by torchlight, to the castle, and shut herself up in the fortress to devise further measures for the promotion of her security and influence. She was attended by no individuals of note, except the secretary of the late regent, and the Earl of Murray, another well-known partizan of the French faction.*

Attack of Angus upon the capital.

* Keith's Hist., App. p. 9.

Meanwhile the agents of Wolsey had been busily employed. With English spies, even in the palace of James, and many of the most illustrious persons at his court in receipt of English pensions, it was not wonderful that considerable success had attended their intrigues. Dr. Magnus, writing to the Cardinal on the 10th of November, had been able to report that Arran was no longer opposed to a reconciliation with Angus; that Albany's brother, the Commendator of Scone and Inchaffray, with Cockburn, Bishop of Dunkeld, the Earl of Cassilis, and the learned Adam Otterburn, were decidedly favourable to the alliance with England; and that even the Chancellor Beaton now listened to overtures from the same quarter. In this state of matters, the attack on Edinburgh was by no means so rash a measure as the small number of the assailants and their speedy retreat might seem to indicate. There had been grounds for expecting that many of those who had not yet broken off from the queen's party, would embrace that opportunity of declaring themselves, and joining the ranks of her opponents. Nor did the failure of the attempt to get possession of the capital materially hinder the subsequent progress of the confederates. The queen's retreat into the castle separated her in a great measure from the nobles and gentry, who had still continued to attend her councils. Her seclusion there, with no persons of influence in attendance upon her, save those whose leanings to the French court were notorious, threw new suspicion over her purposes, and put new arguments against her into the mouths of her rivals. In a few days Beaton and Angus entered into a coalition, which promised to give them a short and easy path to the contested supremacy. Alarmed by this unexpected and critical turn of affairs, Margaret was compelled to make another appeal to her brother. In her own name, and in that of Arran, who had not yet avowedly separated himself from her interests, she despatched the Earl of Cassilis, the Bishop of Dunkeld, and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, on an embassy to London: their instructions were, to remonstrate with Henry on account of her husband's return, to excuse her apparent alienation from the designs of the English court, on the ground of the jealousy of the Scottish people with regard to their country's independence.

Intrigues of the English agents.

Coalition of Angus and Beaton.

* Magnus to Wolsey, Calig. B. i. 121.

and to propose a permanent alliance between the two kingdoms, through the marriage of James to the Princess Mary. At the same time a herald was sent to France, for the purpose of announcing that the regency of Albany must be considered legally at an end, requiring the restitution of the military stores in his castle of Dunbar, and urging on the consideration of the French monarch the losses which the trade of Scotland had suffered on his account. This was intended to prove the sincerity of her professed desire for a reconciliation with Henry. But the suspicions which her previous proceedings had awakened, were too strong to be easily lulled to rest; and the close of the year found her ambassadors still in London, occupied with tedious and difficult negotiations, which gave little promise of terminating in any satisfactory result.

The beginning of the next year (1525,) saw the balance inclining more and more decidedly against the queen. Angus and Beaton, backed by an influential party of the other peers and prelates, had the country open to them, and the actual form of the government in their hands. Establishing their head quarters at St. Andrews, they proceeded to demand, in peremptory terms, the removal of the king from under the control of his mother, and the appointment of a new council of regency by the parliament. Margaret, on her side, could not venture beyond the walls of Edinburgh castle; the possession of this fortress, and her hold on the royal person, being the only elements of strength that remained to her. But her proud and energetic spirit was not yet broken; and she still maintained a high tone of resolution and independence in the measures which she adopted. The Earl of Cassilis, who had returned from England for further instructions, was sent back to propose, that supplies of money and ammunition should be forwarded to her without delay, and that the Duke of Norfolk should create a diversion in her favour, by advancing on the Scottish frontier with an army of ten thousand men. With these demands she coupled a declaration, that unless Henry would pledge himself to give his daughter in marriage to James, as soon as the princess attained the age of fourteen, the negotiations with France could not be finally abandoned. Margaret also attempted, through Barton, the Comptroller of her household, to sow dissension among the partisans of Angus and Beaton; and on the failure of this attempt, she did not hesitate to issue a violent proclamation against them in the king's name. Threatening death and confiscation on all who should be found supporting their pretensions, and singling out the chancellor, the Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Prior of St. Andrews, it specially charged them with treasonable practices, in withdrawing from the councils of their sovereign, and instigating measures subversive of his authority.*

Intrigues of the queen.

The deliberations which ensued at St. Andrews were anxious and protracted. As Angus was pledged to the policy of England, and the English ambassador was still exerting himself to bring about a reconciliation, the confederates hesitated to take any step which might widen the breach betwixt them and the queen. At length, after a discussion which lasted twenty days, they ventured to publish a strong declaration, in which they condemned the continued seclusion of the king in Edinburgh castle, summoned a meeting of the three Estates at Stirling, on the sixth of February, to settle the question of the regency, and announced that in the mean time no edict, though bearing the royal name, should be received as legal or obeyed as authoritative.* They also wrote to the English monarch, justifying their procedure, and entreating his pardon if it did not meet with his approval. Thus defied at home, and disappointed of assistance from abroad, Margaret did not yet permit her courage and hope to give way. As a last resource she determined to try an appeal to arms, and for this purpose entreated the barons who still lingered around her, to raise their retainers, and take the field on her behalf. To this, however, they would not consent, unless the young king accompanied them—a condition to which Margaret dared not agree, fearing to lose the advantage connected with the custody of her son. Accordingly she was at last compelled to yield. Negotiations being opened under the auspices of Dr. Magnus, it was mutually agreed that James should be removed to the palace of Holyrood, and placed under the guardianship of a council elected by parliament, and presided over by the queen; in whose favour it was also stipulated, that Angus should renounce his marital rights over her person and property, and that all benefices under the value of a thousand pounds should continue at her disposal. It was with strong but concealed repugnance that she subscribed this contract, for she could not fail to see that it was a virtual surrender of the power for which she had so long and resolutely struggled. There can be no doubt, that if she had afterwards obtained any favourable opportunity of casting off the restraints which this treaty imposed upon her, she would have done so without hesitation, regardless of the breach of faith which such a step involved. In fact, she had hardly completed the ratification of the compromise, when she sent off a trusty retainer to France, with letters to Albany, in which she addressed him as regent, entreated his assistance in procuring her divorce, and declared her desire to obtain the aid of the French court in an attempt to regain her position. But Francis was no longer able to succour her: within a few days from the date of her missive he was defeated and made prisoner at Pavia. Nor did she escape the punishment which her treachery deserved. Her letters, being intercepted and sent to England, extinguished the last lingering embers of her hopes in that quarter: and thenceforward, though she con-

She loses all weight in the government.

* Cal. B. vii. 75.

* Cal. B. vi. 394.

tinued for a little longer in nominal authority at her son's court, her influence was gone, and it scarcely needed her unseemly marriage, in the following year, with her paramour, Henry Stewart, to complete the ruin of her power and prospects.

Meanwhile, the foolish and wicked conduct of the queen-mother, in conferring the supreme power upon a boy, only in the thirteenth year of his age, withdrawing him from his studies, and exposing him to all the flatteries and vices of the court, was exercising the most injurious influence on the character of the youthful monarch. His early education had been entrusted to the care of the famous Sir David Lindsay, who has given a most graphic and deeply interesting description of the manner in which he moulded the character of the prince, and instructed him in the knowledge of all liberal and manly accomplishments. Sir David was appointed gentleman-usher to the royal infant on the day of his birth, and was for many years his constant companion and playmate. "On no man of his age," it has been justly observed, "could the superintendence of moments of such susceptibility have more providentially devolved. Lindsay was a man of elegant taste and grand ideas, as great a philosopher as he was a poet, a detester of abuses and prejudices, and the secret projector of some of the most important improvements which soon after took place in the condition of his country."* The duties of his important office were discharged by the accomplished and highly-gifted tutor with the most scrupulous fidelity and devoted affection, and he seems to have scarcely ever quitted the presence of his ward either by day or night. Few passages in historical biography are more interesting than those in which Sir David recalls to his sovereign's recollection the amusements with which he had entertained his infancy, and shows how gently and fondly he applied all the resources of his richly endowed intellect to amuse and instruct the royal babe, carefully exercising his faculties both of body and mind, gradually awakening his energies, and adapting his information to the tender years of the prince, and acting as 'sewer, cup-bearer, carver, purse-master, usher, and chief officer of his bedchamber.'

Early education of the young king.

Judicious instructions of Sir David Lindsay.

"When thou was young I bore thee in my arm
Full tenderly till thou begouth to gang ;†
And in thy bed oft happéd ‡ thee full warm,
With lute in hand, syne softly to thee sang;
Some time in dancing fierelie § I flang,
And sometimes playing farces on the floor,
And sometimes on mine office taking cure.

"And sometimes like ane fiend transfigurate,
And sometimes like the grisly ghost of Guy; ‖
In divers forms ofttimes disfigurate,
And sometimes disguised full pleasantly;
So since thy birth I have continually
Been occupied, and ay to thy pleasure."

* Lives of Scottish Poets. Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i. p. 212.
† Began to walk. ‡ Covered. § Strangely, merrily.
‖ The celebrated known 'Sir Guy' of romance.

Again, in his 'Complaint to the King's Grace, after telling his sovereign that he 'lay nightly by his cheek,' he reminds him—

"How as ane chapman * bears his pack,
I bore thy grace upon my back,
And sometimes stridlings † on my neck,
Dancing with mony bend and beck.‡
The first syllabis § that thou didst mute,‖
Was 'Pa Da Lyn,' ¶ upon the lute.
Then played I twenty springs perqueir,**
Whilk was great pleasure for to hear.
Fra play thou let me never rest,
But Gynkertoun†† thou loved ay best."

After awakening the youthful prince's natural love of music by the 'springs' he played on his lute, Sir David, who had a memory delightfully stored with ancient lore, kindled the imagination of his pupil by the recitation of historical tales, ballad stories, and marvellous traditions, and made him acquainted with the adventures of Hector, Alexander, Hercules, Samson, King Arthur, and 'gentle Julius;' and when history and tradition failed, he

"Feigned many a fable,
Of Troilus, the sorrow and the joy,
And sieges all of Tyre, Thebes, and Troy."

At one time he would tell him

"Of leal lovers, stories amiable;"

at another time he would recite to him the prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer, Bede, and Merlin, or the popular marvels of 'Red Etin' ‡‡ and the 'Gyr Carline.' §§

In the midst of these recreations, however, Sir David never lost sight of the grand object to which all his efforts were directed, the improvement of the young prince's character, so as to fit him for the duties of his exalted station.

"Wherefore since thou hast sic capacitie,
To learn to play sa pleasantly and sing,
Ride horse, rin spears with great audacitie,
Shoot with hand-bow, cross-bow, and culvering,
Among the rest, sir, learn to be ane king!
Kythe ‖‖ on that craft thy pregnant fresh ingyne, ¶¶
Granted to thee by influence divine.

"And since the definition of ane king,
Is for to have of people governance,
Address thee first, above all other thing,
To put thy body to sic ordinance,
That thy virtue thy honour may advance;
For how should princes govern great regions,
That cannot duly guide their own persons?

"And if thy grace would live right pleasantlie,
Call thy council, and cast on them the cure;
Their just decreits defend and fortifie—
But *** guid counsèl may na prince lang endure;
Work with counsèl then shall thy wark be sure;
Chuse thy council of the maist sapient,
Without regard to blude, riches, or rent."

* Pedler. † Astride. ‡ Bow. § Syllables.
‖ Articulate. ¶ 'Play, Davie Lindsay.'
** Twenty tunes off hand—by heart. Fr. *par cœur.*
†† The name of an ancient Scottish tune.
‡‡ A popular story of a giant with three heads.
§§ The Hecate or mother witch of the Scottish peasantry.
‖‖ Show. ¶¶ Genius. *** Without.

"Among all other pastime and pleasoùr,
Now in thy adolescent years ying,*
Wald thou ilk day study but half an hour
The regiment of princely governing,
To thy people it were a pleasant thing;
There might thou find thy awin vocatioun,
How thou should use thy sceptre, sword, and crown.

"The chronicles to know I thee exhort,
Whilk may be mirror to thy majesty;
There shall thou find baith guid and evil report,
Of every prince after his quality;
Though they be dead their deeds shall not die;
Trust weill thou shalt be styled in that storie,
As thou deserves, put in memorie.

"Request that Roy, whilk rent was on the rude,†
Thee to defend from deeds of defame,
That no poët report of thee but guid;
For princes' days endures but as ane dream.
Since first King Fergus bure ane diadem,
Thou art the last king of five score and five,
And all are dead, and nane but thou alive.

"Of whose number fifty and five were slain,
And most part in their awin misgovernance;
Wherefore I thee besech, my soverane,
Consider of their lives the circumstance;
And when thou knows the cause of their mischance,
Of virtue then exalt thy sails on hie,
Trusting to 'chaip‡ that fatal destiny.

"Treat ilk true baron as he were thy brother,
Whilk maun at need thee, and thy realm defend;
When suddenly ane doth oppress another,
Let justice mixt with mercy them amend;
Have thou their hearts, thou hast enough to spend;
And be the contrair, thou'rt but king of bane,§
What time thine heiris || hearts been from thee gane.¶

* * * * * * *

"And finally remember thou maun die,
And suddenly pass off this mortal see,
Thou art not sicher ** of thy life twa hours—
Since from that sentence there is nane may flee,
King, queen, nor knight of low estate, nor hie,
But all maun thole of bitter death the showers—††
Where are they gone, thir papes and emperours?
Are they not dead?—So shall it fare of thee!"‡‡

The skilful training of this wise and affectionate governor seems to have exerted the most beneficial influence on the susceptible mind of his royal pupil; and we learn from the testimony of Dr. Magnus and Roger Ratcliffe, the English ambassadors, that even at this early period James excelled in all the athletic and knightly exercises of the age. In a letter to Wolsey, dated Edinburgh, 15th November, 1521, there is the following interesting description of the amusements of the princely youth:—"The queen's said grace had us forth for solace (recreation) with the king's grace here at Leith, and in the fields, and to see him stir his horses, and run with a spear, among his lords and servants, at a glove. Also, by the queen's procuring, we have seen his said grace use himself pleasantly both in singing and dancing, and showing familiarity among his lords. All which, his princely acts and doings, be so excellent for his age (not yet thirteen till Easter next), that in our opinion it is not possible they should be amended. And much more to our comfort it is to see that in personage, favour, and countenance, and in all other his proceedings, his grace resembleth very much the king's highness (Henry VIII.) our master. And besides all this his said grace hath, with most loving countenance, showed unto us that much it pleased his grace to hear of the good manners of England, and much it displeaseth to see his subjects exercise the fashions and manners of France." His mother, with her characteristic recklessness and selfishness, did not hesitate to interrupt, for her own purposes, a course of training so well calculated to make her son a wise and great sovereign. During her residence in England she strove to irritate his fiery and impetuous temperament by taunts that he was treated as an infant, and held in a state of degrading bondage, in order to induce him to elope with her from the toils and tasks of the school into the liberty of his uncle's court, which she depicted in captivating terms. As might have been expected, such representations produced a most injurious effect on the ardent and wilful disposition of the prince, then in his eleventh year. On one of his attendants resisting his attempts to break his captivity, as his mother thought proper to term his educational restraint, the royal boy became furious with passion, and struck him through the arm with his dagger; and soon after this he threatened to stab the porter, 'because the man would not open the gates of Stirling castle at his order.'* In the following year, as we have seen, the intrigues of the queen were at length successful; the young prince was taken

Progress made by James in his education.

It is interrupted by his mother.

'Fra the schools,
Where he, under obedience,
Was learning virtue and science,

and put at the head of the government, in order that his mother and her faction might misgovern the kingdom in his name. His wise and virtuous governor, Lindsay, along with Bellenden, the learned translator of Boece, and the other personal attendants of the prince, were dismissed, and their places supplied with base sycophants and flatterers, who neglected his education, and pandered to his passions, in order that he might the more readily yield himself to their guidance. Under the pretence of providing for the security of the king's person, the queen surrounded him with a guard of two hundred men-at-arms, who were paid by

* Young. † The King who rent was on the Cross.
‡ Escape. Fr. *echapper*.
§ That is, King of the Bean in the amusements of Twelfth-day, the Feast of Epiphany.
|| Lords.
¶ The complaint of the Papingo. Works of Sir David Lindsay, pp. 300—303.
** Sure.
†† 'But all must undergo the throes of bitter death.'
‡‡ Exhortation to 'The King's Grace' at the conclusion of the 'Dream.' Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 250. "Sir David little thought," says Lord Lindsay, "when writing these noble stanzas, that he himself was to be one of the little company who attended the dying prince at Falkland, and closed his eyes—dying of a broken heart, through neglect of his father's example and Sir David's precepts, at the early age of thirty-one." Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i. p. 216.

* State Papers, vol. iv. p. 4. Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i. p. 178.

Henry, and, like the Scottish archer-guard of the French monarchs, were, for the most part, the younger sons of noble families. The temptations to which the youthful prince was exposed from the companionship of these licentious military courtiers, may be learned from the following lively picture, drawn by Sir David Lindsay, in his poem entitled 'The Complaint':—

The evil results of her policy.

"Sir, some would say, your majestie
Shall now go to your liberty;
Ye shall by no man be coarctit,*
Nor to the school no more subjected;
We think them very natural fools
That learn o'ermeikle in the schools:
Sir, ye must learn to run a spear,
And guide you like a man of war;
For we shall put such men about you,
That all the world and more shall doubt you.
Then to his grace they put a guard,
Which hastily got their reward:
Each man after their quality.
They did solist his majesty,
Some made him revel at the racket,
Some harlit him to the hurly-hacket,+
And some, to show their courtly corsis,‡
Would ride to Leith, and run their horses,
And wichtly wallop § over the sands;
They neither spared spurs nor wands,
Casting galmondis || with bends and becks,
For wantonness some broke their necks:
There was no play, but cards and dice,
And aye Sir Flattery bore the prize."

The poet then proceeds to depict in still darker colours the proceedings of these gentlemen of the body-guard whom Queen Margaret had placed about her son.

"Methought it was a piteous thing,
To see that fair, young, tender king,
Of whom thir gallants stood nane awe,
To play with him, pluck at the craw.¶
They became rich, I you assure,
But ay, the prince remained poor;
There was few of that garnisoun **
That learned him ane good lesson;
But, some to crack, and some to clatter,
Some played the fool, and some did flatter.
Quoth ane, I know ane maid in Fyfe,
Ane of the lustiest ++ wantoun lasses,
Whereto, sir, be Goddis blude, she passes.
Hold thy tongue, brother, quoth another;
I know ane fairer by fifteen futher.‡‡
Sir, when ye please to Lithgow pass,
There shall ye see ane lustie lass;
Now trittel, trattil, trow low,§§
Quoth the third man, thou dost but mow,|||
When his grace comes to fair Stirling,
There shall he see ane day's darling." ¶¶

We cannot wonder at the burning indignation with which Sir David anathematizes the folly and wickedness of those who, to gain their own base ends, exposed the young prince, at a most critical period of life, to the contamination of such evil counsel and example.*

Margaret, however, did not long enjoy the power which she had hoped to gain by the premature elevation of her son to supreme authority. Her duplicity and foolish obstinacy speedily lost her the confidence of all parties in the country, while her profligate behaviour rendered her disreputable in the eyes of the people. The detection of her intrigues with France had completely alienated from her the affections of the English court; and her imperious brother was so enraged at her indecent conduct and her pertinacious opposition to the proposal of a marriage between the young king and the Princess Mary, that he addressed to her a letter, full of the most violent reproaches, which caused her to burst into tears, and exclaim, that such a letter was never written to any noblewoman.† But though she at first forbade Magnus, the English envoy, to bring her any more such letters from her brother to read,—'for if she did read any more, she was right sure it would be her death,'—yet, intimidated by his violent menaces, she ultimately replied in a submissive tone and with humble remonstrances. She still persisted, however, in urging forward her divorce; and so deep were her apprehensions, real or pretended, of Angus, that she refused to return to Edinburgh, where her presence was necessary, as president of the council of state, to ratify the recent truce with England, though security was offered for her safety. But it was generally whispered, "that the queen was forced to retire awhile on account of the birth of her first child by Henry Stewart, with whom she had made a secret marriage." As she obstinately refused, from whatever cause, to trust her person in the capital, it was ultimately resolved that the deed should be held valid without her signature. True to her intriguing character, she now entered into a secret negotiation with Louisa of Savoy, the mother of Francis I., and the regent of the kingdom during his captivity, offering to conclude a firm alliance with France, on condition of receiving payment of a sum of money and an annual pension. But this selfish attempt shared the fate of her other schemes; for a treaty which was at this time concluded between France and England, put an end to all hopes of assistance from the French court, and extinguished for a season the French faction among the Scottish nobles.

An embassy, consisting of the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Earl of Angus, with other commissioners, now proceeded to Berwick, where a truce of three years was concluded with England. The queen-mother and Arran used every effort to prevent the ratification of the treaty; and when they found their intrigues ineffectual, Arran col-

* Subjected—restrained.

+ A school-boy sport, which consists in sliding down a steep bank. The scene of this courtly amusement was the 'Heading Hill' of Stirling, which lay immediately to the north of the castle walls. See ante, p. 260.

‡ Courtly persons.

§ Stoutly gallop.

|| Cutting capers.

¶ Pluck at the crow; pigeon him, in modern phrase. So in Gawin Douglas's 'Palace of Honour:'

"Pluck at the craw, they cryed, deplome the ruik,
Pulland my hair, with blecking face they bruik."

** Party, company.

++ Pleasing, lovely.

‡‡ 'Futher' means in general a great quantity, or number.

§§ Contemptuous, but unmeaning expressions.

||| Jest.

¶¶ 'The Complaint.' Sir David Lindsay's Works, vol. i. pp. 261—265.

* See 'The Complaint.' Sir David Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 260.

+ Letter of Magnus to Wolsey, 31st March, 1525. State Papers, p. 348.

lected a force of five thousand men, and advanced to Linlithgow, with the view of rescuing the king out of the hands of the Douglases. But Angus, Argyle, and Lennox, taking James with them, instantly marched against the insurgents, who precipitately retreated and dispersed at the sight of the royal standard, without attempting to offer any resistance.*

The long-pending suit of divorce between the queen and her husband was at length terminated. Angus had hitherto resisted the suit, not from any affection which he entertained for his wife, but in order to obtain possession of her extensive estates; and he now withdrew his opposition, on discovering that such a project would not receive the sanction of the council. The sentence of divorce accordingly was pronounced by the chancellor, in his Consistorial court of St. Andrews, on the alleged ground that Angus had been betrothed to a noble lady before his marriage with the queen. In the course of the same year a similar decision was delivered by the pope; and no sooner was this sentence promulgated than Margaret publicly acknowledged Henry Stewart as her husband. The Lords of the Council, incensed at this presumption on the part of Stewart, in forming such an alliance without the consent of the king, sent Lord Erskine, with a small body of troops, to Stirling, where the queen resided, and Margaret was compelled to surrender her husband, who was for a short time committed to prison.†

These proceedings on the part of the queen not only disgusted the people, but produced a great change in the policy of Angus, and ultimately led to a revolution in the government. That powerful baron had hitherto laboured to accomplish a reconciliation with his wife, with the hope that, by the possession of her estates, with the custody of the young king's person, he would be enabled to engross the supreme power. The divorce of the queen, and her marriage to her paramour, disappointed this expectation, and led him to adopt a new course of policy, which removed the only obstacle that stood between him and absolute dominion. In the month of April, 1525, the king completed his fourteenth year, a period when, by the law of Scotland, his minority terminated and he was to be regarded as an independent sovereign. Angus speedily resolved to take advantage of this event, in order to obtain the custody of the king's person, and to engross the whole power of the government. On the thirteenth of June a parliament assembled at Edinburgh, and on the fifth day of its session an ordinance was passed, declaring, that as the king had now attained his full majority, the royal prerogative rested solely in his hands, and that all other authority, which had been used by any person whatever in his name, was abrogated.‡ This artful measure at once annulled the power of the Secret Council, the only obstacle which stood between Angus and the complete control of the state. But the act of the three Estates, which entrusted the keeping of the royal person to certain peers in rotation, still remained in force; and as Angus had summoned the parliament to meet him at that precise time when the periodical guardianship of the king devolved upon himself and Beaton, now Archbishop of St. Andrews, the consequence of this politic manœuvre was to throw the supreme power entirely into their hands. A new Secret Council was nominated, composed exclusively of the adherents of Angus, and almost every office of trust and emolument in the kingdom was conferred on one or other of his supporters. His uncle, Archibald Douglas, of Kilspindy, was made high-treasurer; Erskine of Halton, secretary; and Crichton, Abbot of Holyrood, privy seal. The great seal was soon after taken from Beaton, and Angus himself assumed the office of chancellor, and wielded the full authority of regent, though without assuming the name.

Angus obtains possession of the king's person.

The influence of the house of Douglas seemed now to have revived in all its ancient strength, and once more threatened to destroy both the independence of the crown and the liberties of the people. An act of parliament was passed, granting to the leaders of this all-powerful faction a remission for all the crimes, robberies, or treasons, committed by them during the last nineteen years.* Murders, robberies, and other flagrant crimes were committed with impunity by their followers; the most sacred ecclesiastical dignities were violently seized, and bestowed upon the creatures of Angus, or sometimes even sold to the highest bidder; and so shamefully were the rules of justice perverted by the partiality of the earl for his kinsmen and vassals, that, according to an old historian, "there dared no man strive at law with a Douglas, or a Douglas's man; for if he did, he was sure to get the worst of the law-suit. And," he adds, "although Angus travelled through the country under the pretence of punishing thieves, robbers, and murderers, there were no malefactors so great as those who rode in his own company."

Tyranny of the Douglases.

The government of Angus soon became as odious to the king as it was oppressive to the country, and James eagerly sought an opportunity to free himself from a yoke which he felt to be at once galling and degrading. He secretly made known his feelings and wishes to the Earl of Lennox, a wise and upright nobleman, who was now alienated from Angus on account of his tyranny and grasping ambition; and by his advice, it is believed, a plan was concocted for the deliverance of the king from the irksome restraint in which he was held. About the middle of summer Angus made a progress into Teviotdale, for the purpose of repressing some excesses which had taken place on the Borders, and carried the king with him. On

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 271; Lesley, p. 133.

† Ibid.; Letter of Sir Wm. Dacre to Wolsey, 2nd April, 1525.

‡ Crawford's Officers of State, pp. 67, 68; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 276.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 307.

reaching Jedburgh, the chiefs of the neighbouring clans were summoned to meet their sovereign, and enjoined to apprehend certain notorious criminals within their bounds. Before this, however, James had secretly sent an intimation to Sir Walter Scott, of Buccleuch, a powerful Border chief, that he should raise his clan and rescue his sovereign out of the hands of the Douglases. Buccleuch eagerly obeyed the royal injunction, and immediately levied his retainers and friends, comprehending a large body of Elliots, Armstrongs, and other Border clans, over whom he exercised great authority. Angus, with his reluctant ward, had passed the night at Melrose on his return from Jedburgh, and the clans of Home and Ker, who had accompanied him in his expedition, had taken their leave of the king, when, in the grey of the morning, Buccleuch and his followers, to the number of a thousand horse, suddenly appeared on the northern slope of an eminence called Halidon Hill, and, descending into the plain, interposed between Angus and the bridge over the Tweed. A messenger was immediately sent to inquire of Sir Walter the reason of his appearance at the head of such a force. He answered, that he came to show his clan to the king, according to the custom of the Border chiefs when their territories were honoured by the royal presence. He was then commanded, in the king's name, to dismiss his followers; but he bluntly refused, alleging that he knew the king's mind better than Angus. On receiving this haughty answer, which was justly regarded as a defiance, the earl, addressing the king, said, "Sir, yonder is Buccleuch, and the thieves of Annandale with him, to intercept your passage; I vow to God they shall either fight or flee; and ye shall tarry here on this know (knoll), and my brother George with you, with any other company you please, and I shall pass and put yon thieves off the ground, and rid the gate (clear the way) unto your grace, or else die for it." With these words Angus alighted and hastened to the charge, while his brother Sir George, with the Earl of Lennox and Lord Maxwell, formed a guard around the king, and retired to a neighbouring hillock. Buccleuch and his retainers likewise dismounted, and received the assailants with levelled spears. The battle was fiercely contested; but the Borderers were unable to withstand the charge of the armed knights who were in the array of the Douglases; and the Homes and Kers, who were at no great distance, returned on hearing the noise of the conflict, and, attacking the left wing and rear of Buccleuch's little army, decided the fate of the day. About eighty of the Scotts fell in this engagement; while, on the side of the Douglases, the only material loss was the death of Ker of Cessford, who was killed in the pursuit by Elliot of Stobs, a retainer of Buccleuch.* In consequence of this untoward event, which was deeply lamented by both parties, a deadly feud arose between the Scotts and Kers, which raged during the greater part of a century, and ultimately led to the murder of Buccleuch himself, who was slain by the Kers, in the streets of Edinburgh, in the year 1552.*

Buccleuch attempts to deliver the king.

Battle of Melrose, July 25, 1526.

As Lennox was suspected of having privately encouraged the attempt of Buccleuch, he became from this period an object of distrust to the victorious faction, and speedily retired from court. Shortly after, in concert with Archbishop Beaton and the queen-mother, he resolved to make another effort to rescue the king from the ignominious thraldom in which he was held by the Douglases. Having collected an army of ten or twelve thousand men, he advanced from Stirling towards Edinburgh; but his march was intercepted near Linlithgow by the Earl of Arran, at the head of a superior force. This nobleman, the chief of the powerful family of the Hamiltons, had recently become reconciled to his former rival, Angus, and he was now despatched by the Douglases to meet his nephew Lennox, with the hope of conciliating his hostility, and thus averting the odium of a contest with a peer who was universally esteemed and beloved. The effort, however, proved unsuccessful. Lennox declared, with great vehemence, that he would enter the capital or die in the attempt.† On this, Arran instantly despatched a messenger to Angus, then at Edinburgh, who commanded the city bells to ring, and the trumpets to sound, for the purpose of calling the citizens to arms; and having displayed the royal banner, he obliged the king himself to mount on horseback, to give countenance to the measures of the Douglases against his own friends. James, however, on pretext of indisposition, delayed the march of the troops as much as possible, and Angus, unable to restrain his impatience, pushed forward to the assistance of Arran, leaving the king to follow under the charge of his brother, Sir George Douglas. On reaching Linlithgow, the earl found the Hamiltons drawn up on the bank of the river Avon, about a mile to the west of the town. Arran having seized the bridge which crossed the stream at that place, Lennox was compelled, by this skilful manœuvre, to attempt a passage by a difficult ford opposite the nunnery of

Scheme of the Earl of Lennox to free the king from his thraldom.

Encounter with the Hamiltons and Douglases.

* The spot where this battle was fought is between Melrose and the neighbouring village of Darnick. It is now called 'Skinner's Field,' by a corruption from 'Skirmish Field,' and forms part of the Abbotsford estate. A stone seat on the edge of Kaeside, about half a mile above the house of Abbotsford, marks the spot called 'Turnagain,' where Elliot turned and slew Cessford with a stroke of his lance. It was a favourite resting-place of Sir Walter Scott, and commands a magnificent view of Melrose and the vale of the Tweed.—See Abbotsford edition of the Waverley Novels, vol. v. p. 217. Cessford was the chief of the Roxburgh branch of the family of Ker, now represented by the Duke of Roxburgh.

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp. 319—321; Lesley, pp. 134, 135; Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xxvii.; Lay of the Last Minstrel, Appendix, note D.

† Lesley, p. 135.

Manuel, a little further up, and his soldiers were thus exposed to a galling fire from the Hamiltons, who occupied the high ground above the river. They made good their passage, however, and, pressing up the opposite bank, were in the act of closing with the enemy, when the shout of 'Douglas!' announcing the arrival of Angus, carried dismay into their ranks, and they gave way on all sides, and fled in great confusion. Meanwhile, the king and his escort were slowly approaching the scene of conflict. On reaching the village of Corstorphine, the distant sound of the artillery announced the commencement of the battle, and Sir George Douglas, enraged at the king's obvious reluctance to proceed, broke out into fierce reproaches and brutal menaces. 'Bide where you are, sir,' said he, 'for if they get hold of you, be it by one of your arms, we will seize a leg, and pull you in two pieces rather than part from you,'—a threat which the king never forgave.* Tidings now came from the field of battle that Angus had gained the victory, and the young king, dismayed at the news, urged his attendants to gallop forward, for the purpose of putting a stop to the slaughter, charging them especially to save the life of the Earl of Lennox. Sir Andrew Wood, of Largo, one of the king's most trusty servants, arrived on the field in time to save the Earl of Glencairn, who, protected by some strong ground, was still fighting gallantly, though he had scarce thirty men left alive. But Lennox, about whose safety the king was so anxious, had been murdered in cold blood by Sir James Hamilton, of Draphane, the bastard son of Arran, a bloodthirsty ruffian, who took him from the Laird of Pardovan, to whom he had surrendered himself.† Arran himself was found kneeling beside the bleeding body of his nephew, which he had covered with his scarlet cloak, and weeping bitterly he exclaimed: 'The hardiest, stoutest, and wisest man that Scotland bore, lies here slain!' Along with Lennox, there fell in this conflict the Abbots of Melrose and Dunfermline, Stirling of Keir, and the Laird of Houston.

Death of Lennox.

The victorious army spent the night at Linlithgow, with great rejoicings, but the young king was overwhelmed with grief on account of the death of Lennox, to whom he was warmly attached. The failure of the double attempt to rescue the king from the hated yoke of the Douglases, served only to rivet his chains more firmly than ever, and to place the supremacy of Angus on a securer basis. Determined to avail himself of this favourable opportunity to crush entirely the power of his enemies, he made a rapid march to Stirling, with the view of seizing the queen and the Archbishop of St. Andrews; but they had both made their escape. Margaret, according to Pitscottie, 'gaed vagrant disguised ane lang time, for fear of the Douglases;' while Beaton fled to the hills of Balgrumo, in Fife, where he assumed the disguise of a shepherd and tended a flock of sheep for three months, in order to elude the pursuit of his enemies. The Douglases, meanwhile, wreaked their vengeance on his estates, and pillaged the abbey of Dunfermline and the castle of St. Andrews.* These measures met with the cordial approbation of Henry VIII., who, soon after, sent letters to Angus and Arran, in which, after congratulating them on their success, he offered them his best advice for the education of his nephew, and exhorted them to crush their enemies,—especially the archbishop, the mainspring of the coalition against their authority.†

Flight of Beaton and the queen-mother.

The conduct of Angus and his associates sufficiently shows that they needed no exhortations to adopt vigorous measures against all who refused to submit to their sway. A parliament was convoked at Edinburgh, on the 12th of November, in which an act was passed vindicating the conduct of Angus and Arran, in the late conflict with Lennox; sentence of forfeiture was passed against the insurgent barons who had espoused his cause, and their possessions were distributed among the dominant faction. The lands of the Earl of Cassilis and Lord Evandale were allotted to Arran. The ample estates of Lord Lindsay of the Byres, and of the eastern and northern barons who had supported Lennox, fell to the share of Angus, and his uncle Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy; while Sir George Douglas obtained a grant of the lands of Stirling of Keir, who fell in the battle of Linlithgow. Angus behaved with great lenity towards the queen-mother, who at the intercession of her son was forgiven, and invited to the capital, where she was treated with respect, and inducted into the same apartments in the palace of Holyrood which were formerly occupied by the regent Albany. The young king resided with her, and slept in a room over her bed-chamber, and would scarcely ever leave her company for a moment, except when he was hunting or sporting. "It is thought," wrote Sir Christopher Dacre to his brother, "that if the queen remains thus near her son, the whole court will have a turn, for the king has no affection either to the Earl of Angus or to the Earl of Arran."

Forfeiture of the adherents of Lennox.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews had meanwhile succeeded in making his peace with the Douglases by liberal gifts of money, and the surrender of the abbey of Kilwinning,‡ and after the terms of the pacification were finally arranged he gave a sumptuous entertainment in his castle of St. Andrews to the king, the queen-mother, Angus and

Reconciliation between Angus and Beaton.

* Letter of Magnus to Wolsey, Sep. 13th, 1526. State Papers. Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xxviii.; Lesley, p. 136.

† Pitscottie, who mentions this fact, adds, that the brutal savage slew all whom he could overtake that day in the field, where there were many marked with his mark, 'ane overthort the chafts' (across the jaws or chops).

* Lesley, p. 136.

† Sir Thomas More to Wolsey, 21st Sep.; Calig. B. vii. 67, 69.

‡ Sir C. Dacre to Lord Wm. Dacre, December 2nd, 1526. Appendix to Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 478.

the other chiefs of the Douglas faction. "There," says Pitscottie, "he made them great banqueting and merriness, and also propined (presented) them with great gifts, that he might the better pacify their wrath towards him, and obtain their favour."* He prudently declined, however, to attend the court, or to interfere with the administration of public affairs; † whilst the Earl of Arran, who was now advanced in years, and overwhelmed with grief and remorse for the death of his nephew Lennox, shut himself up in one of his castles, and left the supreme power wholly in the hands of Angus. The Earl himself was chancellor, and had the law completely under his control, his uncle, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, was treasurer, and commanded the whole revenues of the country, while his brother Sir George Douglas, who was the object of the king's special aversion and dread, was master of the royal household. Above all, the Douglases had possession of the royal person, and could compel the king to affix his signature to any deed or letter which their tyranny or caprice might dictate. So long as the king remained in their hands, therefore, they could wield at will the whole resources of the government, and resistance to their overgrown power therefore was certain to be visited with all the pains and penalties of treason. The nobility were either gained over by the prospect of personal advantage, or cowed into submission by the disastrous results of the recent attempts to rescue the king from his captivity; while the people groaned under the oppression of their feudal tyrants, without the possibility of resistance or the hope of redress. The tyranny of the unprincipled faction who had usurped the royal authority became every day more intolerable to the nation. The arm of the law, paralyzed by their power, was unable either to repress or to punish their excesses, and crimes of the deepest dye were openly committed with impunity. 'As for the ordering of God's justice,' says a contemporary writer, 'there is none done in all Scotland.' Even during the sitting of Parliament Sir James Gordon of Lochinvar, who had murdered the Laird of Bomby at the door of St. Giles's church, had the audacity to walk openly abroad in the streets of the capital,‡ no one daring to arrest him, because he was an adherent of Douglas. Patrick Blackadder, Archdeacon of Dunblane, who had commenced a lawsuit against John Home, the husband of Angus's niece, was assassinated by the Douglases and Homes at the very gates of Edinburgh, though he had in his possession a safe conduct from Angus himself.* The Earl of Cassilis was murdered by Hugh Campbell of Loudon, Sheriff of Ayr, at the instigation of the ferocious Hamilton of Draphane; † and Maclean of Dowart, during a visit to the capital, was surprised when in bed, and put to death, by Sir John Campbell of Calder. Shortly before this, the Laird of Drumelzier slew Lord Fleming, while engaged in the sport of hawking, and the Laird of Meldrum was assassinated by the Master of Forbes,‡ so that the whole country seemed fast relapsing into a state of barbarism.

Miserable state of the country.

But although the law was too feeble to exact vengeance for these foul murders, their perpetrators did not always escape unpunished. Under the feudal system it was considered a sacred duty, which no lapse of time could set aside, to avenge the death of a clans man or friend, not only upon the actual homicide, but, in the phrase of the time, upon 'all his name, kindred, maintainers and upholders.' A striking example of this inveterate determination to exact blood for blood, occurred at this lawless period. A groom of the late Earl of Lennox had brooded over the murder of his master, to whom he was warmly attached, till at length he formed the resolution to avenge his death. With this intention he set out for Edinburgh, where meeting a fellow-servant in the street, he inquired if he had seen Hamilton, the bastard of Arran. Having received an answer in the affirmative, he exclaimed, 'Ungrateful wretch, didst thou suffer the villain to live who murdered our best of masters? Begone! Thou deservest to be hanged.' With these words he straightway proceeded to Holyrood, where two thousand of the Douglas and Hamilton clans were mustering in the palace yard for a projected expedition to the Borders. Singling out Sir James Hamilton, he watched him closely, till he saw him leave the assembly and enter a dark archway over the gate, when he suddenly sprung upon him, and repeatedly stabbed him with his dagger, leaving him extended on the ground with six severe wounds, none of which however proved fatal. An alarm was soon given, but as the perpetrator of this audacious deed had immediately mingled with the crowd, he might have escaped detection but for an order which was issued, that the palace gates should be shut, and all within the court should draw up in single file against the walls. The assassin was speedily seized with his dagger in his hand stained with recent blood. He boldly avowed the vengeful

An example of feudal revenge.

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 330.

† Sir C. Dacre in the letter already quoted, says, "The Archbishop of St. Andrews and they are well agreed, and so he may come to court if he will; but he will not come there till he see the court changed of another fashion. The said bishop has released and given to the Earl of Arran the abbey of Kilwinning; he has given to the Earl of Angus two thousand marks, Scots; to George Douglas a thousand marks, Scots; to Archibald Douglas a thousand marks, Scots, and he has also given to Sir James Hamilton a thousand marks, Scots. The Abbot of Arbroath (afterwards Cardinal Beaton), who is kinsman to the Bishop of St. Andrews, has lain all the Parliament time in Edinburgh for the fulfilling of this agreement."

‡ Letter of Sir C. Dacre, Appendix to Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 479

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xxvi.

† Ibid. chap. xxx. Cassilis had rendered himself obnoxious to the Hamiltons by haughtily declining to put himself under their protection after the battle of Avonbridge. He was brought to trial for his share in that encounter, but pleaded that he had joined Lennox in obedience to the king's command, and offered to produce the royal letters to that effect.

‡ Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 311.

deed, and only lamented that the attempt had not been successful. He was subjected to the most cruel tortures, which he bore with unflinching courage, and when previous to his execution his right hand was cut off, he observed that it merited its fate because it had failed to do its duty.*

State of the Borders—

When robberies and murders were openly committed in the streets of the capital and at the threshold of the royal palace and the cathedral church, the condition of the more remote districts of the country must have been deplorable in the extreme. The outrages of the Borderers became so frequent and destructive that Angus was at length constrained to undertake an expedition to Liddesdale for their suppression. Some of the most notorious offenders were executed, and the chiefs of the border clans compelled to make their submission, and to give hostages for their future peaceable behaviour.† Angus next proceeded to the north for the purpose of composing a deadly feud which had raged for some years between the powerful families of Lesley and Forbes, and had plunged the districts of Mar, Garioch and Aberdeen into fierce contention and bloodshed.‡

—and of the Highlands.

While the more civilized provinces of the country were thus frequently the scenes of rapine and slaughter, the Highlands, at all times in a lawless and barbarous condition, were now reduced to a state of almost total disorganization. 'Every man did that which was right in his own eyes,' without regard either to the decrees of the law or the authority of the government. Lauchlan Macintosh, the chief of the clan Chattan, 'a verrie honest and wyse gentleman,' as he is styled by Lesley, 'wha keipit his whole kin, friends and tenants in honest and guid rule,' was murdered by James Malcolmson, one of his principal kinsmen, for no other reason than that he had restrained the excesses of his vassals. The assassin fled for refuge to an island in the lake of Rothiemurchus, but his retreat was discovered, and he and his accomplices were summarily put to death by their infuriated clansmen. The infant son of the murdered chief was delivered to the custody of his uncle the Earl of Moray, and Hector, a bastard brother of Lauchlan Macintosh, was appointed to lead the clan during the minority of his nephew. The new chieftain immediately demanded that the infant should be delivered up to him (for no good purpose it was believed), and enraged at Moray's refusal he mercilessly ravaged his lands, especially the parish of Dyke, in which the castle of Tarnaway, the chief seat of the earl, was situated, sparing neither men, women, nor children in his indiscriminate fury. The ferocious savage then proceeded to the castle of Pettie, belonging to Ogilvie of Durness, the kinsman of Moray, who had been entrusted by him with the keeping of the young heir of Macintosh, and carrying the fortalice by assault, he put to death twenty-four of its inmates. Vengeance, however, speedily overtook him; for Moray, who had procured a royal commission authorizing him to suppress these disorders, rapidly collected an army, and making a sudden onslaught upon the Macintoshes, defeated them with great slaughter. Three hundred of the principal depredators were captured and instantly hanged, but Hector himself made his escape, and neither tortures nor rewards could induce his clansmen to disclose the place of his concealment. His brother William, however, was taken prisoner and beheaded, while the chief, in despair, resolved at length to throw himself on the royal mercy; and, by the assistance of Alexander, Dean of Moray, succeeded in reaching the capital, where he was pardoned and restored to favour. But he was soon after slain in St. Andrew's by a priest named John Spence, who was executed for the crime, the motive of which is unknown.*

These scenes of violence and bloodshed, though they disturbed the tranquillity of the country, did not shake the government of Angus. He sedulously cultivated the friendship of the English court, and strengthened his party by an apparent reconciliation with Archbishop Beaton, whose great wealth and political experience rendered him a most valuable ally. Sir George Douglas in vain opposed this step, and warned his brother to be on his guard against the intrigues of the crafty prelate. The shrewd and sagacious Dr. Magnus, in a letter to Wolsey, expressed his conviction that the fatal effects of this course of policy would soon be perceived, and predicted the speedy overthrow of Angus, whom he characterizes as 'gentle and hardy, but wanting wit in the conveyance of great causes.'† Beaton was not slow to avail himself of the power which he had regained to promote the aggrandizement of the church, and the celebrated Patrick Hamilton, the proto-martyr of the Reformed Church of Scotland, fell a victim to the reconciliation which now took place between Angus and the primate. The condition of the people under the combined yoke of political and ecclesiastical despotism, seemed more hopeless than ever. The only safety lay in prompt submission. The queen-mother, alarmed, it is supposed, by an attempt on the part of Angus to deprive her of her dowry-lands, fled for refuge, along with her husband and his brother, into the castle of Edinburgh. But Douglas collected a large force, and, taking the young king with him, laid siege to the fortress, and summoned Margaret and her husband to surrender. As soon as the queen saw that her son was present with the besieging army, although she knew that he was hostile to their proceedings, she caused the gates of the castle to be thrown open, and, falling upon her knees before the king, she implored pardon for her husband and his brother, and refused to rise till the boon had been granted. But, in spite of her humble submission, they were

Tyranny of Angus and Beaton.

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xxxi. Lesley, p. 139.
† Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 136.

* Lesley, pp. 137, 138.
† Magnus to Wolsey, 10th January, 1528. Pinkerton vol. ii. p. 288.

committed to prison for a short time in the castle which she had just yielded.*

James had now entered his seventeenth year, and began to develop an energy of character, and a strength of natural talent, which rendered it highly improbable that he would submit much longer to be used as a puppet in the hands of a grasping and imperious faction. The thraldom of the Douglases grew every day more hateful to him, and his mind became intently occupied with projects for his escape. With this view, he prevailed on his mother to exchange with him her castle of Stirling for the royal demesne of Methven, to be conferred, along with a peerage, on her husband. Having thus secured a safe retreat, he committed this important fortress to the charge of a trusty governor, and probably with the assistance of Beaton, caused it to be garrisoned, and furnished with military stores and provisions. The king was now residing at Falkland, within a moderate distance of St. Andrews, so that it was easy for him to communicate with the crafty primate, of whose intrigues the Douglases appeared to entertain no suspicion. James was apparently absorbed in the pleasures of the chace; and a long course of success, and the complete discomfiture of their enemies, had lulled his keepers into security, and thrown them off their guard. Angus had gone to Lothian on his private affairs; Archibald Douglas, his uncle, to Dundee; and Sir George Douglas, his brother, had paid a visit to St. Andrews, for the purpose of concluding some transactions with Beaton; so that only Douglas, of Parkhead, captain of the royal guard, remained with the king. The youthful monarch instantly resolved to avail himself of this favourable opportunity to escape; and to lay all suspicion asleep, he called for Balfour of Ferny, the keeper of Falkland forest, and chamberlain of Fife, and issued orders for a hunting party next morning. According to the graphic description of old Pitscottie† he "caused him to warn all the whole tenants and gentlemen thereabouts who had the speediest dogs, that they should come to Falkland wood on the morn, to meet him at seven hours; for he was determined he would slay a fat buck or two for his pleasure; and to that effect caused warn the cooks and stewards to make his supper ready, that he might go to his bed the sooner, and to have his dejune (breakfast) ready by four o'clock, and commanded James Douglas, of Pathhead, to pass the sooner to his bed, and caused bring his collation, and drank to James Douglas, saying to him, that he should have good hunting on the morrow, bidding him be early astir. Then the king went to his bed, and James Douglas thought that all things had been sure enough, and passed in like manner to his own bed. When the watch was set," continues the historian, "and all things in quietness, the king called on a yeoman of the stable, and desired him to bring one of his suits of apparel, hose, cloak, coat, and bonnet, and putting them on, stept forth as a yeoman of the stable, and was unperceived of the watches, till he had passed to the stables, and caused saddle a horse for himself, and one led, and took two servants with him, namely, Jocky Hart, a yeoman of the stable, and another secret-chamber boy, and leapt on a horse, and spurred hastily his journey to Stirling, and came there by the breaking of the day, over the bridge, which he caused to be closed behind him, that none without license might win that passage. After this, he passed the castle, and was received there by the captain, who was very glad of his coming, and prepared the castle with all things needful. Then he caused shut the gates, and let down the portcullis, and put the king in his bed to sleep, because he had ridden all that night." Having thus regained his liberty, James proceeded to act with great promptitude and vigour against those who had so long held him in bondage. He immediately summoned a council, which was attended by the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Moray, and Eglinton, with the Lords Evandale, Maxwell, Montgomery, and Sinclair, and issued a proclamation forbidding Angus or any of his adherents to approach within six miles of the court, under pain of treason.

Plot for the escape of the king.

Meanwhile, the flight of the king was still unknown to the Douglases, who believed him secure in the palace of Falkland. Sir George Douglas, the master of the household, returned from St. Andrews at eleven o'clock on the preceding evening, and hearing from the guards that James was asleep, made no farther inquiries, but retired to his own chamber. Early next morning, a loud knocking awoke him, and Peter Carmichael, the Bailie of Abernethy, rushing in, asked him if he knew what the king was doing. 'He is still asleep in his own chamber,' replied Sir George. 'You are deceived,' exclaimed Carmichael; 'he passed the bridge of Stirling last night.' On hearing this, Douglas started up in haste, and ran to the king's chamber; and having in vain knocked for admittance, he burst open the door, and, to his consternation, discovered that the apartment was empty. Overwhelmed with apprehension and rage, he cried, 'Treason! the king is gone, and no man knows whither.' After a brief consultation, a messenger was despatched in haste to Tantallon, to convey to Angus the news of the king's escape. By this time Archibald Douglas had returned from Dundee, and within a few hours Angus himself arrived, in breathless haste, and without loss of time set out for Stirling, along with his brother and uncle, and attended by a slender retinue. But on their journey they were met by a herald bearing the royal proclamation, which interdicted their approach to court under pain of treason. Some of the Douglases declared their determination to proceed in defiance of the royal mandate; but the earl and his brother were well aware that a single step forward would render them liable to the fearful penalties of treason, and place their lives and property at the mercy of the

* Lesley, p. 140.
† Vol. ii. p. 331.

crown. Feeling that, at such a moment, resistance to the royal authority would entail upon them certain ruin, they resolved to obey the proclamation, and accordingly retreated to Linlithgow.*

James, thus freed from a degrading restraint to which he had long submitted with ill-concealed impatience, was at liberty to follow the natural bent of his character; and though at this period little more than sixteen years of age, he speedily displayed all the qualities of an able and popular sovereign. His personal appearance was dignified and prepossessing. Though not above the middle height, he was graceful, but robust in form, remarkable for agility, and capable of severe and continued exertion; while his handsome and expressive countenance conveyed the impression of high intelligence, combined with sweetness and generosity. His mind, naturally acute and vigorous, had early excited the fears and redoubled the watchfulness of the faction who sought to enslave him; and the foreign ambassadors who visited the kingdom reported favourably of his dawning sagacity and prudence. In spite of the unfavourable circumstances under which his education had been conducted, and the efforts of the Douglases to enervate his intellect by low and vicious pursuits, he had profited largely by the means of improvement within his reach. His acquaintance with the laws and institutions of his kingdom was profound and comprehensive, considering his years; and the decisions which he pronounced were in general characterized by a strict regard to justice, and an anxiety to promote the true interests of his subjects. Like his ancestor, James I., he cultivated the art of poetry; and though scarcely any of his pieces survive, contemporary authors speak of them in terms which, after all the allowance necessary in the circumstances, indicate their high excellence. In his own dress, the decorations of his palaces, and the public buildings which were reared by him, he displayed rather correctness of taste than profusion and splendour; and the beauty of the gold coins struck during his reign, together with the attention bestowed by him on the construction of the naval armament of the kingdom, which, during his minority, had become miserably inefficient, amply attest his appreciation of the elegant and useful arts. The character of James is said to have been sullied by two vices: a propensity to indulge in low amours, and a parsimony in his expenditure which bordered on avarice. The first is accounted for, and may be partly excused, by the vicious training of which he became in some degree the victim; and the second wears the aspect even of virtue, if it be regarded as an honest attempt to replenish his exchequer, which, in consequence of the profligacy of Angus, had become nearly exhausted; while the expenditure of the wealth which his prudence speedily amassed in the construction of princely edifices, and of an efficient navy, seems to exonerate him from the charge of a sordid love of money.

Personal appearance and character of James.

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp. 331—335. Lesley, p. 140.

The sterling qualities of the young monarch more than counterbalanced his vices in popular estimation. Brave, even to rashness, and indifferent to personal fatigue, he exposed his life and health without scruple in promoting the welfare of his kingdom; while his affable manners, the ease with which he could be approached by the humblest of his people, the patience with which he listened to their complaints, and the promptitude with which he redressed their grievances, the sympathy which he manifested for the poor and the oppressed, around whom the shield of his protection was instantly thrown, and the delight which he took in visiting the houses of the peasantry in disguise, that he might learn their habits and wrongs, acquired for him the name of 'The King of the Commons,' a title of which he was justly proud.*

The measures already taken by James to secure his liberty and vindicate his authority, were followed by others equally prompt and vigorous. He left Stirling, and proceeded to Edinburgh, accompanied by the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Galloway, and Brechin, the Earls of Argyle, Arran, Rothes, and Bothwell, the Lords Maxwell, Evandale, Forbes, Seton, Home, and Yester, together with three hundred spearmen, the retainers of these dignitaries and nobles. Three days after his arrival in the capital, a proclamation was issued, declaring it treason for any subject to hold intercourse with Angus, his two brothers, and uncle, and requiring the departure from the city of any of their vassals before four o'clock on that day, on pain of instant death. At a subsequent meeting of council it was agreed that parliament should assemble on the second of September following, and meanwhile Gawin Dunbar, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and former preceptor of James, was appointed chancellor of the kingdom, in the place of Beaton, from whom Angus had wrested the seals, and who now, from age, was unfitted for the fatigues of office. Cairncross, Abbot of Holyrood, was made treasurer, the privy seal was intrusted to the Bishop of Dunkeld, Lord Maxwell became Provost of Edinburgh, and commander of the city, and Patrick Sinclair was despatched to the English court, for the purpose of acquainting Henry with the recent proceedings, and the assumption of the supreme power by his nephew, and of removing any misunderstandings which might arise from the misrepresentations and plots of Angus.† James, though naturally indignant at the conduct of his uncle, who had scrupled at no means, however unworthy, to destroy the independence of Scotland, adopted the wise policy of disarming hostility for which he was ill-prepared, by a candid statement of the treasons of Angus, and by making overtures for a lasting peace between the two kingdoms.

Procedure against the Douglases.

Parliament summoned, and an administration appointed.

* Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 167. Buchanan, book xiv. chap. lxii.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 295.

The young monarch was now surrounded by those from whom he had been estranged by the jealousy and selfish ambition of the Douglases. His mother, and her husband, Henry Stewart, now created Lord Methven, along with Maxwell and Buccleuch, enjoyed a large portion of his friendship; and the valour of Hamilton, the bastard son of Arran, in spite of his great crimes, gained him the royal favour and confidence. Though Angus was now stripped of his authority, his daring courage and extensive resources rendered him still an object of dread to the court; and so great were the apprehensions entertained of some sudden attempt on the king's person, that the nobles and their armed retainers mounted guard over the palace by day and night; and even the king himself, dressed in complete armour, became for one night captain of the watch.* After a few days, James returned to Stirling, and the nobles retired to their estates till the meeting of parliament, where measures for the public safety were to be formally arranged. On receiving intelligence of the decisive steps which had been taken by the king, Angus retired to the strong castle of Tantallon, while he provided for flight into England, if necessary, by requesting the shelter of Norham castle, from the governor, Sir Roger Lassels. His brothers, Archibald and Sir George Douglas, entered Edinburgh, and sought to create a diversion in his favour; but the terror of the royal vengeance was sufficient to prevent any manifestation of sympathy for the fallen chiefs, and they were attacked by Lord Maxwell, and compelled to seek safety in flight. There is reason to believe that the intentions of James towards the Douglases were upon the whole lenient, and that the compliance of Angus with the injunction to retire beyond the Spey, and to surrender his brothers as hostages for his appearance at the approaching parliament,† would have been followed by the adoption of conciliatory measures; but the haughty tone which the earl assumed, and his treasonable attempts to regain the power he had lost, roused the indignation of the young monarch, and justified the most rigorous exercise of his authority.

Angus retires to Tantallon castle.

Accordingly, in the meeting of parliament, which was held on the 2nd of September, Angus and his brothers were formally accused of high treason, before a jury consisting of six clerical dignitaries and five peers, and an act of attainder was passed against them, mainly on the ground of the illegal restraint in which Angus had held the person of the king.‡ The forfeited estates of the Douglases were divided amongst the supporters of the royal authority, Argyle, Arran, Buccleuch, Maxwell, and Hamilton of Draphane, James retaining only the castle of Tantallon, and the superiority of the shire of Angus.§ The more difficult task of carrying the sentence into execution still remained, and the obstinacy and power of Angus enabled him for some time to baffle the efforts of his enemies, and seriously endanger the newly-acquired supremacy of the king. On the news of his attainder, the Earl left Tantallon for Coldingham abbey, a benefice held by his brother William, from which he could more readily cross the English border, if he should find himself unable to maintain his ground. After an abortive attempt at negotiation, James despatched a detachment of troops into Douglasdale, to besiege the castle of Douglas, while he followed in person with the main body of the army, consisting in all of eight thousand men. By the advice, however, of the peers who accompanied him, he was induced to delay his operations until the harvest was reaped; and he accordingly disbanded his forces, and returned to the capital. Scarcely had he retired, when Angus swept the country with his horsemen, and a party of the Douglases daringly set fire to two villages on the road to Stirling, remarking with savage pleasantry, in allusion to the late escape of the king, that the light might serve him in his journey, if he set out before dawn. Irritated by these insults, James collected his troops, and proceeded to Coldingham, from which Angus retired on his approach. The custody of the abbey was committed to Lord Home, but on the same night Angus returned and drove out the royal troops from their newly-acquired possession, while the king himself fled in haste to Dunbar. Enraged at these failures, James now determined to reduce Tantallon, the chief stronghold of his enemy, and having collected an army of twelve thousand men, and a powerful train of artillery, brought from Dunbar and other fortresses, he sat down before the castle. After a siege of nearly twenty days, during which, in spite of all his efforts, he failed to make any impression on the sea-girt hold, he was compelled reluctantly to abandon the attempt; and, to add to his mortification, the detachment left to protect and bring off the artillery was suddenly attacked and routed by Angus, and David Falconer, captain of the royal guard, and esteemed one of the best naval officers in Scotland, was slain. The indignation of James was increased by the destruction of a richly-freighted vessel, which, having been stranded near Innerwick, was plundered by the Douglases, and then abandoned to the peasantry, who, with ignorant wastefulness, used as fire-wood the cinnamon which formed part of the cargo.* On receiving intelligence of these disasters, the young monarch is said to have declared with an oath that, while he lived, the Douglases should never find a resting-place in Scotland.† The task of driving the recusant faction from the kingdom having been declined by Bothwell, was ultimately assigned to the Earl

The Douglases convicted of treason, and their estates confiscated.

Angus resists the enforcement of the sentence.

Siege of Tantallon castle, and defeat of the royal troops.

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 296.
† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 322—323.
‡ Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 322—323.
§ Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 298.

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xxxviii.
† Lesley's History, pp. 140, 141. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 301.

of Argyle, who, with the assistance of the Homes, prosecuted the enterprise so vigorously, that Angus was compelled to fly into England.

Angus is compelled to flee to England.

During the whole of his treasonable proceedings, Douglas had maintained a close correspondence with Henry, urging the English monarch to send a strong body of troops to his assistance, or, in the event of failure, requesting an asylum in his kingdom. The conduct of the earl, however, had been so flagitious, that it was condemned even by the English envoys, and the amity of Scotland was so necessary to the safety of his own kingdom, now menaced by the ambitious designs of the Emperor Charles V., that Henry wisely declined any active interference in behalf of the banished faction; but he graciously received Angus at his court, admitted him into his privy council, and awaited the chances of diplomacy to secure his restoration to his honours and estates. Accordingly, when negotiations were commenced for a renewal of the treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, the English commissioners, Dr. Magnus and Sir Thomas Tempest, received instructions to make the amnesty of Angus an indispensable article in the agreement; and with the view of securing the compliance of the Scottish council, Magnus advanced to Berwick, where he entered into correspondence not only with the young king, but with the queen-mother, the Bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, and Adam Otterburn, the king's advocate. These attempts, however, to procure the recal of the Douglases, were fruitless. James, in reply, professed his deep obligations to Henry for protection during the perils of his minority, intimated his willingness to become the ally of his uncle, in preference to Charles V., and, to prove his sincerity, offered a pacification for five years, instead of three, as was proposed; but he firmly declined any mediation in favour of Angus, whose life, however, though forfeited by numerous acts of treason, he promised to spare.* The answers transmitted by the Scottish council, and by the Bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, were couched in similar terms; and though Wolsey is said to have shed tears of rage, and the English council were filled with indignation at these refusals, they were compelled to abandon the cause of Angus as hopeless. The banished earl was forced to remain for fifteen years an exile in England; nor was he permitted to return to his native country till after the death of James, when his diminished power and the altered state of parties, rendered his presence less formidable to the public tranquillity. A treaty of peace for five years was shortly after concluded between the two countries, and ratified on the fourteenth of December, 1528.

Abortive attempts by Henry to procure his recal.

James was now at liberty to turn his attention to the internal condition of his kingdom, many districts of which had become completely disorganized during his minority. The border clans had resumed those habits of plunder and lawless violence which the vigorous measures of James IV. had to a great extent repressed; and their excesses were connived at by Angus, who overlooked their delinquencies in order that he might strengthen his own interests, by securing the support of the Border chiefs of England.* The scene of their forays was principally the opposite border, but not unfrequently the inland Scots were also heavy sufferers by the midnight incursions of these marauders. They affected to despise the treaties of peace which were formed between Scotland and England, declaring their independence of both James and Henry; and by their devastating inroads they perpetually endangered the pacific relations between the two kingdoms. To punish these turbulent chiefs was no easy task, as besides the number of their followers and the natural strength of their fastnesses, they were each protected by some one of the great Border barons, who profited largely by the fruits of their plunder. James, however, with characteristic promptitude and resolution, undertook the difficult task of repressing and punishing the depredations of these banditti. Having convened his council at Edinburgh, and represented the impossibility of preserving the tranquillity of the country, while the Borders remained in this disorganized state, he avowed his intention to reduce them to order, and then commanded the imprisonment of the Earl of Bothwell, Lord Home, Lord Maxwell, Scott of Buccleuch, Ker of Ferniehirst, and other powerful chiefs, whose interested opposition might have defeated his plans.† Having thus secured the principal abettors of the Border freebooters, he passed rapidly into the recesses of Eskdale and Teviotdale, with a force of eight thousand men, doing justice on various marauders as he proceeded. Cockburn of Henderson, and Scott of Tushylaw, two notorious offenders, were arrested, and hanged before the gates of their own castles.‡ But the fate of Johnnie Armstrong, of Gilnockie, near Langholm, produced a deeper impression of terror, not unmingled with commiseration. This noted freebooter,

State of the Borders.

Imprisonment of the Border barons.

Execution of the Border freebooters.

* Calig. B. vii. 107; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 303.

* Calig. B. ii. 224; Tytler, vol. v. p. 192.

† Lesley, pp. 141, 142.

‡ Scott was so distinguished a freebooter that he was usually called the King of the Border. He was hanged upon an elm tree, which still exists among the ruins of his castle. It is called the 'gallows-tree,' and it is curious to observe, that along its principal branches there are yet visible a number of nicks or hollows, over which the ropes had been drawn wherewith Scott performed his numerous executions.—See Chambers' Picture of Scotland, vol. i. p. 166.

According to tradition, Cockburn was sitting at dinner when he was surprised by the king, and without ceremony led out and hanged over the gate of his own castle. While the execution was going forward his unhappy wife is said to have taken refuge in the recesses of the Dow-glen, a dell formed by a mountain torrent called the Henderland Burn, which passes near the site of the tower. A place termed the Lady's Seat is still shown, where she is said to have striven to drown, amid the noise of a water-fall, the shouts which announced the close of her husband's existence. This touching incident gave occasion to the simple and affecting ballad, entitled 'The Lament of the Border Widow.'—Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. iii. p. 94.

who levied black-mail from the inhabitants of an extensive district, comprehending even a portion of England, and is said to have spread the terror of his name almost as far as Newcastle, was generally popular throughout the western marches, both on account of the high courage and generous qualities which he exhibited, and of the exemption which his tributaries enjoyed from the exactions of other and less powerful thieves. On learning the approach of the royal cavalcade, the private advice of some courtiers, or, as others allege, a determination to brave it out before the king, induced Johnnie to present himself before James; and accompanied by forty-eight of his followers, richly arrayed in all the pomp of Border chivalry, the dauntless freebooter proffered his submission and entreated the royal grace for himself and his men. But Johnnie had entirely miscalculated the effect likely to be produced by the imposing appearance of his train, for James sternly refused to listen either to his excuses or offers of service. "When the king saw him," says Pitscottie,* "and his men so gorgeous in their apparel, and so many braw men under ane tyrant's command, he turned about his face, and said, 'What wants yon knave that a king should have?' and ordered him and his followers to instant execution." "But John Armstrong," continues this minute chronicler, "perceiving that the king kindled in fury against him, made great offers to the king: that he should sustain himself with forty gentlemen, ever ready at his service, on their own cost, without wronging any Scottishman: as, indeed, had never been his practice. Secondly, that there was not a subject in England, duke, earl, or baron, but within a certain day he should bring him to his majesty, either alive or dead." All was unavailing: James would listen to no offer, however great. At length, seeing no hope of favour, Johnnie said, very proudly, "It is folly to seek grace at a graceless face; but had I known this, I should have lived upon the Borders, in despite of King Harry and you both; for I know King Harry would down weigh my best horse with gold, to know that I was condemned to die this day." Johnnie and all his retinue were accordingly hanged on the trees of a little grove,† at a place called Carlinrig Chapel, about ten miles above Hawick, and were buried in a deserted church-yard, where their graves are still shown. The extent to which James carried his severity was, without doubt, excessive and cruel. But such was the terror which he thus struck into the Border marauders, that for a season he made 'the rush-bush keep the cow;' and, according to an old chronicler, "thereafter there was great peace and rest a long time, where through the king had great profit, for he had ten thousand sheep going in the Ettrick Forest, in keeping by Andrew Bell, who made the king as good count of them, as they had gone in the lands of Fife."

Having thus vindicated his authority, and repressed for a time the insubordination of the Border chiefs, James returned to Edinburgh; and on his arrival restored the imprisoned barons to freedom, with the exception of Bothwell, whose turbulent spirit and great influence rendered him peculiarly dangerous. Meanwhile in other parts of his dominions the fierce factions of the nobility, strengthened by the long minority, were producing continual broils. The Earl of Caithness sought to detach the Orkneys from Scotland, and erect them into an independent kingdom under his own sovereignty. With the assistance of Lord Sinclair, he led an army to these islands; but the inhabitants, during their fifty years' connection with Scotland, had become warmly attached to the Scottish cause, and under the leadership of James Sinclair, the governor, offered such a strenuous resistance, that the invaders were ultimately defeated, though not without great loss on both sides. The Earl of Caithness himself was slain, along with five hundred of his men, and the rest, including Lord Sinclair, were taken prisoners.* The western islands also continued to be the scenes of sanguinary contests between the Earl of Argyle and the M'Leans of Dowart. The chief of that powerful clan had married a sister of Argyle, and either from the circumstance of their union proving unfruitful, or more probably, from some domestic quarrels, he caused his lady to be exposed on a lonely rock, near Lismore, which at high water was covered by the sea. From this perilous situation she was rescued and conveyed to her brother by the crew of a fishing boat, which happened to pass by the spot. Her wrongs were speedily avenged by her brother, Sir John Campbell, of Calder, who surprised M'Lean in his bed, during a visit to Edinburgh, and put him to death, though the chief had procured letters of protection, guaranteeing his safety.† This gross breach of faith roused the M'Leans to immediate revenge, and the conduct of Argyle having excited the animosity of some of the other islesmen, they combined their forces with those of the clan Ian Mhor, and led by Alexander, of Isla, wasted the possessions of the Campbells with fire and sword. Reprisals were immediately made by the vassals of Argyle, who laid waste great part of the Isles of Mull and Tyree, and the district of Morvern, so that the western highlands became in a short time almost completely disorganized. The measures adopted by the young monarch for the purpose of quieting these disaffected districts were characterized by great wisdom and moderation. He caused extensive preparations to be made for the purpose of reducing the rebellious chiefs to obedience; but he

Rebellion in the Orkneys.

State of the Isles.

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp. 342, 343.

† The country people in the higher parts of Teviotdale and Liddesdale, and the adjacent districts, who hold the memory of Johnnie Armstrong and his followers in very high respect, believe that to manifest the injustice of their execution the trees immediately withered away.—See Leyden's Scenes of Infancy, and the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. 402; Lesley, pp. 142, 143.

* Lesley, p. 141.

† Gregory's Highlands, &c. p. 121.

sought at the same time, by offers of forgiveness and promises of redress, to avert hostilities, and to win them back to their allegiance. The generosity and justice of the monarch completely disarmed the insurgents. Nine of the principal chiefs, with Hector M'Lean, of Dowart, hastened to tender their submission to the king, who immediately granted them letters of protection; and soon after John of Isla visited James at the palace of Stirling, and on expressing contrition for his offences, and promising to support the royal authority, to assist the king's chamberlain in collecting the crown rents, and to maintain the church in all her privileges,* was confirmed in his possessions, and restored to favour.

That the clemency of the king did not originate in weakness, and that relentless animosity might be engrafted on a character naturally generous, was sufficiently evinced by his conduct in one memorable instance, which occurred about the same period. Archibald Douglas, of Kilspindie, uncle to the banished Earl of Angus, had been driven into exile along with the rest of his family. Remarkable for his great strength and skill in martial exercises, he had early attracted the notice, and won the affection of James, who called him his 'Graystiel,' after a renowned champion, in the romance of 'Sir Egar and Sir Grime.' Weary at length of exile, and seized with irrepressible longings for home, the aged warrior recollecting the king's personal attachment to him, determined to return to his native land, and to cast himself on the royal clemency. As James was returning from hunting in the park of Stirling, the banished baron threw himself in his way; but the monarch, mindful of his oath, that while he lived no Douglas should find a refuge in Scotland, passed hurriedly on without any sign of recognition, and though Kilspindie, in spite of the heavy armour which he wore under his clothes for fear of assassination, ran by the side of the king's horse to the castle gate, he failed to move the purpose of his implacable master. He sat down at the gate weary and exhausted, and asked for a draught of water; but even this was refused by the royal attendants. The king afterwards blamed their discourtesy, but Kilspindie was obliged to return to France, where he shortly after died of a broken heart. This pitiless display of rigour to a man who had never personally injured him is a serious blot on the character of the monarch, and called forth the condemnation even of his vindictive uncle, Henry VIII., who quoted the saying, 'a king's face should give grace.'†

Implacable conduct of James towards the Douglases.

At this period a league with Scotland became a matter of importance alike to the Emperor Charles V. and the kings of France and England, who had combined to resist his ambitious views. Both parties were cager to form a matrimonial alliance with the Scottish monarch, with the view of securing his co-operation in the event of a struggle; and Henry, by his ambassadors, had already offered his daughter, the Princess Mary, as the bride of James. Charles, on the other hand, jealous of the power which so near a connexion with the Scottish king might give to his enemies, proposed his sister, the Queen of Hungary. James, who was not indifferent to the advantages of this alliance, sent letters to Albany, then residing at the court of Francis I., urging him to secure the consent of that monarch to the completion of the match. But Albany ungenerously betrayed the plan to the English council,* who resolutely opposed the union, as dangerous to the league between France and England; and as the lady herself preferred the opulent and independent government of the Netherlands, to which, on the death of her aunt, she was likely to succeed, the proposal was speedily abandoned. Charles showed his anxiety for an alliance with the Scottish monarch by offering next his niece, a daughter of Christiern II., the deposed king of Denmark, with a dowry of the whole of Norway. But as James was already the ally of Frederick, the reigning monarch of Denmark, and would, moreover, have required to win by the sword the distant and barren portion of his proposed bride, he prudently declined the connexion. Foiled in his attempts to secure a matrimonial alliance, Charles, who, notwithstanding the recent peace of Cambray, anticipated war with Francis and Henry, sought to form a league, offensive and defensive, with Scotland; but as there was no advantage to be gained by the friendship of so remote a power as Austria, which could compensate for the sacrifice of the ancient amity of France, and the risk of war with England, James firmly declined the proposals of the emperor, who was reluctantly compelled to abandon in the meantime all attempts to secure the co-operation of Scotland in his plans.

Matrimonial negotiation.

James now proceeded to correct those evils in his kingdom which the long minority had fostered, as well as to provide for its future prosperity. In a parliament which assembled at Edinburgh on the 26th of April, some severe laws were passed against the crimes of assassination and robbery, which the annals of his times exhibit as of fearful frequency. Sir James Inglis, Abbot of Culross, had been murdered in the preceding month by the Baron of Tulliallan and his followers, among whom was a priest named Lothian. The chief criminals managed for a time to escape, but were ultimately captured by the vigour of the government, and the priest, after being solemnly degraded from his office, was, along with his lay accomplice, publicly beheaded.† An important commercial treaty between Scotland and the Netherlands, which had been concluded by James I. for one hundred years,

Renewal of the league with the Netherlands.

* Gregory's Highlands, &c. pp. 132—138.
† Godscroft, vol. ii. p. 107; Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. 118, note.

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 308.
† Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 13.

was about to expire; and as the alliance had been productive of great benefit to the kingdom, James despatched Sir John Campbell of Lundie, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lion King-at-arms, with David Panter as Secretary of legation, to Brussels, with proposals for the renewal of the league. The Scottish envoys were received with distinguished respect, both by the Queen of Hungary, who had now assumed the prefecture of the Netherlands, and by the Emperor Charles V., who was at that time resident at her court, and returned, after having renewed the treaty between the two countries for another century.*

Policy of the king.

As his experience increased, James was naturally led to seek aid in the internal administration of his kingdom, from those whose wisdom and long-tried fidelity justified his confidence. The breach between him and his nobles had been gradually widening. Their ignorance, ferocity, and open combinations to control or resist the authority of the crown, not only incapacitated them for any share in the government, but rendered them its worst and most powerful foes. James therefore not only relinquished those friendships, which the necessities of his position or the inexperience of his character had led him at the outset of his reign to form with some of the greater barons, but proceeded firmly to punish, without respect of persons, all who presumed to infringe the laws. Angus had been banished, Crawford was stripped of the greater portion of his estates, Argyle was imprisoned, Moray and Maxwell remained unnoticed, and Sir James Hamilton, who, in spite of his flagitious crimes, had hitherto enjoyed the royal confidence, was now treated with coldness and distrust. As the influence of the feudal aristocracy declined, that of the clergy steadily increased, and the principal counsellors of the crown were chosen from among the dignitaries of the church. Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow; the Chancellor, James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews; and his nephew, David Beaton, Lord Privy Seal—enjoyed the chief share of the royal confidence and favour; and though the influence of this intimacy was afterwards prejudicial to the spread of the Protestant faith, it was justified by the position of the youthful monarch, and proved meanwhile most beneficial to the kingdom. The nobles viewed their waning influence with alarm, and sought to recover their ascendancy by measures which it required all the wisdom and vigour of James to defeat. Bothwell, whose turbulent conduct had been punished by temporary imprisonment, passed at this time into the north of England; and having obtained an interview with the Earl of Northumberland, he endeavoured to enlist that nobleman, and through him the English monarch, in treasonable designs against the authority of his sovereign. After enumerating his own grievances, and representing James as in league with the worst foes of Henry, he intimated that the time was favourable for an invasion of Scotland, where the nobles, exasperated by the tyranny of the king, were, he alleged, ripe for rebellion; and offered his own allegiance and services, with those of one thousand gentlemen and six thousand commoners, to aid any English force which, in conjunction with the Douglases, might attempt the conquest of the northern kingdom. He had no doubt, he said, that with his own power and that of the Earl of Angus, he would, if properly supported, be able to crown the English monarch within the town of Edinburgh in a short time.* These base and treasonable negotiations were happily discovered by James, who, on the return of Bothwell to Scotland, ordered his immediate arrest and imprisonment; but though his traitorous journey failed in its main object, it was not without influence in renewing the Border wars, which broke out shortly afterwards with a ferocity that threatened the general peace of the two kingdoms.

Intrigues of Bothwell.

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 310.

Institution of the College of Justice.

In the early part of the following year an important change was introduced in the settlement of civil causes, by the institution of the College of Justice, which is generally said to have been framed after the model of the parliament of Paris. Before the establishment of this new court, civil causes were determined by standing committees, consisting of the chancellor and certain members chosen by the king from each of the three Estates, who sat thrice in the year, at such places as the king should appoint. "The plan," as Pinkerton remarks, "was attended with many inconveniences: the expense to which the members were exposed rendered them reluctant in performing this duty, and precipitant in its accomplishment. And the deputies of the commons being annually changed, if a suit were prolonged, the change of judges, who were again to be instructed in the whole of the procedure, rendered the embarrassment and protraction extreme; not to mention that perhaps none of the members except the clergy were conversant in the laws."† Many serious evils also resulted from the heritable jurisdiction of the barons who held courts of their own, the decisions of which were often grossly partial; while relief could only be obtained by the tedious and expensive process of an appeal to the king and the privy council. To remedy these evils, the parliament which met at Edinburgh on the 17th of May, 1532, instituted a new court, consisting of fourteen members, one-half selected from the clergy, the other from the laity, with a president, who was always to be a clergyman. Its jurisdiction embraced all causes except those which belonged to the privy council and high court of justiciary, and its annual expenses were ordered to be defrayed from the revenues of the clergy. The avowed object of the new court was to simplify

* Communications between Northumberland and Bothwell, 21st December, 1531, B. v. 216; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 312.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 313

the administration of justice, and to protect the humbler classes from the oppression of the nobles; nor can it be doubted that it was in many respects an improvement on the cumbrous legal machinery of former times; but its benefits were exposed to constant hazard by one unfortunate regulation, which provided that the chancellor might preside when he pleased, and that in the settlement of any question of importance or difficulty, the king might send three or four members of his privy council to influence the deliberations. It was thus a ready-made and formidable weapon in the hands of a despotic monarch; nor are the strictures of Buchanan on its servility,—even making allowance for his Protestant leanings,—to be regarded as partial or unjust, supported as they are by many oppressive acts in this and the following reign.*

In spite of his pacific policy, James speedily found himself engaged in a harassing and pitiless contest with England. The charge of aggression seems clearly brought home to his enemies. The representations of Bothwell as to the state of feeling in Scotland, and his promises of aid to an invading force, excited among the banished Douglases the hope of regaining their ascendancy; and though Henry made no formal declaration of war, and even affected to regard the renewal of hostilities between the two countries as an untoward event, there is reason to conclude from the correspondence of Northumberland, that he secretly encouraged the inroad in the expectation of forcing James to renounce his connexion with the pope and the emperor.† A large English force, led by Sir Anthony Darcy and Sir George Douglas, marched from Berwick, and after burning Coldingham, Dunglas, and other towns and villages in the neighbourhood, returned loaded with plunder. On the other hand, the Scots broke across the Border, and set fire to a village near Warkworth, the seat of Northumberland, who dressed himself at midnight by the blaze of burning houses.‡ The earl threatened Kelso with a similar fate, that no place near the Border might remain to hold a Scottish garrison; but though this design failed, he detached sixteen hundred men, who burned Branxholm, the seat of Buccleuch, and, amid the light of flaming villages, carried off a number of prisoners, and a large booty of horses and cattle. James prepared to resist this sudden inroad, though the condition of his kingdom was far from satisfactory. Argyle and Crawford, two potent nobles, had been deprived of their command in the Isles, and were ready to aid the treasonable proceedings of Bothwell and the Douglases;§ while a great portion of the clergy had become discontented in consequence of an attempt to raise from their dioceses a tax of ten thousand crowns within the period of one year. The refusal of parliament to sanction an impost for the maintenance of three thousand men in the Border garrisons, increased the king's embarrassment; but his measures, notwithstanding these difficulties, were prompt and vigorous. The Earl of Moray was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and the military array of the country was divided into four parts, to each of which in turn the defence of the marches was entrusted for forty days;* while, to secure the hearty co-operation of the Border chiefs, an amnesty was proclaimed for all previous offences. McIan, who had gained the confidence of the king by his valour and fidelity, was despatched with seven thousand Highlanders to Ireland, that he might assist O'Donnel, the Irish chief, in his efforts to free that country from the yoke of England. The Scots now poured across the Border, and retaliated on their foes by devastation and plunder. Buccleuch, Ferniehirst, and Cessford compelled the English forces to retire, and after an inroad of unexampled ferocity returned loaded with booty. As the war advanced, the passions of the combatants became more exasperated, and their inroads more frequent and destructive. Nor did the rigours of winter produce any abatement in the savage strife. The contest had now raged for nearly a year, and Henry, at length convinced that neither honour nor profit was to be gained by its continuance, became anxious that it should cease. In an embassy to Francis, his ally, he detailed the inroads of the Scots, whom he stigmatized as the aggressors, and threatened to chastise them by an immediate declaration of war. Francis despatched an envoy to Scotland, with the view of mediating between the two sovereigns; but his interference was rejected by James, who was justly displeased at the preference which the French king had of late given to the interests of England over those of Scotland, the ancient ally of his kingdom. Beauvois, a second envoy from Francis, found the Scottish monarch more accommodating. He consented to a truce with England, and shortly after appointed Sir James Colville and Adam Otterburn to meet with Magnus and the other English commissioners at Newcastle, with the view of arranging the conditions of a satisfactory peace. Negotiations accordingly commenced; but, in consequence of unforeseen difficulties, they were protracted till the month of October.†

Border war.

Truce with England.

The war still continued to rage on the Borders, where, properly speaking, peace scarcely ever prevailed; but although the conduct of the English monarch towards his nephew was calculated to provoke his warmest resentment, James was well aware that it was for the interest of his kingdom to put a stop to hostilities with England, even at some sacrifice of personal feeling; and accordingly despatched the Bishop of Aberdeen and Sir Adam Otterburn to the English court, with full powers

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xliii.

† Ibid. book xiv. chap. xliv.

‡ Northumberland to Fox; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 318. When the Maxwells, in 1615, burnt the castle of Lochwood, they said they did so to give the Lady Johnston 'light to set her hood.'

§ Calig. B. i. 129.

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xliv.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 321.

to conclude a lasting pacification. After some negotiations at London with the English commissioners, Secretary Cromwell and Dr. Fox, a treaty of peace was concluded, which was to continue during the lives of the two monarchs, and for a year after the death of him who first deceased. It was agreed that the Border fortalice of Edrington, which had fallen into the hands of the Douglases since their banishment, should be restored to the Scots; while on the other hand, James consented that Angus, with his brother and uncle, should be permitted to reside in England, as the subjects of Henry. The treaty was concluded on the twelfth of May, 1534, and speedily ratified by both monarchs, with more than usual solemnity.* The Order of the Garter was soon after transmitted to James, by the hands of Lord William Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk; while the Emperor Charles the Fifth bestowed upon him the order of the Golden Fleece,† and Francis the First requested his acceptance of that of St. Michael.

Conclusion of peace with England.

James being thus freed, by the conclusion of peace with England, from the apprehension of external hostilities, turned his attention to the negotiation of a matrimonial alliance. His marriage was earnestly desired, both by his councillors and the great body of his subjects. He was the last of his line, and frequently exposed himself to imminent danger in the suppression of disturbances, and the apprehension of the lawless banditti who infested the remote districts of the country;‡ and at other times he hazarded his person less justifiably in private and nocturnal adventures, which he undertook from the love of enterprise and intrigue. The dagger of an assassin, or an accidental blow in a midnight brawl, might have exposed the kingdom to all the perils of a vacant throne and a disputed succession. Some overtures had already been made to the French king, for a matrimonial alliance between James and his daughter Magdalene; but the tender years and delicate health of that princess prevented the completion of the union at this time. The Emperor Charles V. having heard of this negotiation, endeavoured to induce the Scottish monarch to abandon the French alliance, by offering him in marriage his own niece, the Princess Mary of Portugal; but the proposal was courteously declined.

Matrimonial negotiations.

In the meantime the principles of the Reformation had been steadily making progress among the people of Scotland, and now began to excite great alarm among the Roman Catholic clergy. But although the king was fully aware of the idleness, ignorance, and dissolute lives of a large portion of the clergy, and had become convinced of the necessity for a reform in the general morals of this body, he was not prepared to imitate the conduct of his uncle in shaking off the yoke of Rome. Unhappily for himself, in spite of his hatred to the Douglases, he adopted the policy of Angus towards the reformers, and commenced a fierce persecution against those whom he doubtless esteemed the enemies of the truth. Several of the disciples of the Reformation were condemned for heresy, and brought to the stake. Some, terrified by the threats of tortures and death, submitted to make a public recantation of their opinions; and a number more were compelled, by the intolerant and cruel conduct of the king, to flee for safety to England.* They received a cordial welcome from Henry VIII., who had now entirely renounced the authority of the papal see, and used every effort to induce his nephew to follow his example. In order to open his eyes to the tyranny of the papal usurpations, he sent to James a work entitled, 'The Doctrine of a Christian Man,' in which the superstitions of the Romish church were exposed; and despatched successively Dr. Barlow, his chaplain, and Lord William Howard, to request a conference with his royal nephew at York, for the purpose of discussing matters of the greatest importance to the welfare of both countries. According to the Scottish historians, the English envoys were instructed to make the most splendid offers to induce him to comply with his uncle's wishes.† But James, though anxious to maintain amicable relations with his powerful and imperious relative, did not wish, in present circumstances, to draw these ties closer. He therefore declined to accept of the treatise which Henry had sent him, acting, it was supposed, by the advice of his clerical counsellors, whom Barlow describes as 'the pope's pestilent creatures, and very limbs of the devil.'‡ James himself, he says, was of an excellent and generous disposition, but his ecclesiastical council was decidedly hostile to England. The royal chaplain, who was a persuasive preacher, was instructed by his master to display his eloquence before the Scottish king, if he could obtain permission; but the clergy shut up all the pulpits against him. James had at first consented to the proposal of a conference, through the importunity of the queen dowager;§ but this

Persecution of the Reformers.

Embassy from England.

* Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 480—537.

† Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 19.

‡ Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xlvi.

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. l.

† Ibid.

‡ Calig. B. ii. 194; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 328.

§ The reappearance of Margaret on the political stage on this occasion shows that she still retained her old habits of treachery and intrigue. She had contrived to elicit from the king some information respecting the secret orders which he had given to his ambassador, Sir Adam Otterburn, then resident at Hampton Court, how he was not to agree to Henry's 'new constitution of religion,' and that he meant to change the place of the proposed conference from York to Newcastle, 'on account of the free sea adjacent.' She immediately wrote down an account of all that James had told her in confidence, and transmitted it by express to her brother. Her base treachery was speedily discovered, and naturally excited the king's severe displeasure. Dr. Barlow, in a letter to his master, states that the queen 'was then in high displeasure with King James, he bearing her in hand, or accusing her of receiving gifts from her brother to betray him, with many other unkind suspicious words.' (State Papers, vol. v. p. 47.) Shortly after, when Margaret was renewing her importunities, that James should accede

step was strenuously opposed by the Hamiltons, who, after the Duke of Albany (now advanced in years and childless), were the next heirs to the throne, and were therefore unwilling that the king should marry at all; and by the clergy, who dreaded that the influence of Henry might induce their sovereign to throw off the dominion of the Romish Church. They represented to him the danger of placing himself in the power of a monarch whose ancestors had frequently acted with bad faith towards the kings of Scotland. Two aged prelates, James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, implored the king with tears not to abandon the religion of his fathers, and solemnly warned him that the overthrow of the church was certain to be followed by the ruin of the kingdom; and as a last resource, the clergy bestowed lavish bribes on those courtiers who possessed the greatest influence over the king, that they might dissuade him from the dreaded interview.*

The proposals of Henry declined by James.

The king himself appears to have lent a willing ear to these interested representations. It was impossible but that he must have been displeased with the violent and dictatorial manner of the English monarch, the countenance he had given to the banished house of Douglas, and the intrigues which he had carried on with the discontented portion of the Scottish nobles. James must also have been well aware, that by renouncing the authority of the Pope, and confiscating the property of the church, he would inevitably forfeit the friendship of France and the other continental powers, and place himself wholly in the hands of a monarch whose haughty and imperious disposition rendered the maintenance of amicable relations with him an exceedingly difficult task. The proposed conference was therefore indefinitely postponed, and the matrimonial negotiation fell to the ground. Soon after, an embassy consisting of David Beaton, the Laird of Erskine, and Sir David Lindsay, was despatched to the French court, for the purpose of forming a treaty of marriage between the Scottish king and Marie de Bourbon, the eldest daughter of the Duke of Vendôme, the first prince of the blood royal of France. Francis was eager to promote the match, and offered to declare the lady his adopted daughter, and to endow her with a portion of a hundred thousand crowns; and in spite of the opposition of England and Spain, and the intrigues of the Hamiltons, the negotiations proceeded so far, that not only was the assent of the French monarch signified by letters under the great seal,* but a portion of the lady's dowry was paid down beforehand.

Matrimonial embassy to France.

In the autumn of this year, Clement VII. died, and was succeeded in the papal chair by Paul III. The new pontiff feeling satisfied that the breach between Henry and the court of Rome was now irreparable, prepared a bull excommunicating the English monarch and his abettors, declaring him to have forfeited his crown, absolving his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and commanding them to take up arms against him. He at the same time declared, that all the treaties and alliances of Henry with Christian princes were dissolved, and laboured earnestly to form a coalition against him, as the common enemy of Christendom. With the view of confirming James in his allegiance to the papal see, and inducing him to join the alliance against his imperious neighbour, the pontiff despatched his legate, Antonio Campeggio, into Scotland, with instructions to depict, in the darkest colours, the conduct of the English king, his divorce, his scandalous marriage with Anne Boleyn, his separation from the church of Rome, and his cruel execution of Fisher and Sir Thomas More, for their refusal to acknowledge his supremacy in spiritual matters. At the same time the papal legate addressed the Scottish king by the title of Defender of the Faith, of which Henry had proved himself unworthy, and presented to him a cap and a sword, which had been consecrated by the Pope at the Feast of the Nativity, with an intimation that the weapon might be most appropriately wielded against the English heresiarch. Permission was also granted to James to levy an additional contribution upon his clergy, which was probably not one of the least powerful of the inducements held out by the legate to confirm the Scottish monarch in his attachment to the papal court.†

Visit of the papal legate to Scotland.

Meanwhile the Scottish king became impatient at the obstacles which were interposed to his marriage, principally from an unwillingness on the part of Francis to give offence to Henry VIII., who, he was aware, was intent upon accomplishing an alliance with Scotland, and adopted the romantic resolution to pay a visit in disguise to the court of his intended father-in-law, in order to obtain a view of the lady for whom he was in treaty, and to obviate the difficulties which had delayed the match. Having made the necessary preparations with the utmost secresy, he embarked at Leith, on the 26th of July, with a slender retinue of nobles and knights, without informing any person either of the object or the destination of his voyage. It was supposed by some that he intended to proceed to the English court; but this illusion was speedily dissipated; for when the vessel in which he had

James resolves to visit the court of France.

to his uncle's request for an interview, he sternly answered, 'If your brother means, by your aid, to betray me, I had liever (rather) it were done while I am in mine own realm than in England.' The fidelity of Otterburn himself was not proof against the bribes of Henry. He had long been in the habit of furnishing secret information to the English court, and was afterwards imprisoned for a secret negotiation with the Douglases.

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. li.

* This document, which is dated 29th March, 1535, is preserved in the Archives of the kingdom of France.—Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i. p. 285.

† Lesley, p. 150; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 335.

embarked got out to sea, it encountered a severe gale, and the pilot inquiring what course they should steer, the reply of the king was, 'Land me on any coast except England.' When the royal purpose was understood, it proved so unsatisfactory to the nobles, that after the king fell asleep, they resolved to alter the course of the vessel, and to carry him back to Scotland; and Sir James Hamilton taking upon himself the responsibility of the deed, seized the helm, and put about the ship. When the king awoke and found himself once more close to the Scottish coast, he was so much displeased, that he threatened to hang the captain; and according to Buchanan, he was never completely reconciled to the nobles who had thus sought to frustrate his plans, vowing that 'if he lived he should remember and reward them for their good-will.'*

—he is driven back—

But James, with characteristic tenacity of purpose, adhered to his design in spite of the interested opposition of a portion of his nobility; and as his intention had now become known, he resolved to make suitable preparations for his romantic expedition. A regency was appointed, consisting of the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, with the Earls of Eglinton, Huntley, and Montrose, and Lord Maxwell, who were empowered to conduct the affairs of the kingdom during the absence of their sovereign; and James, after performing a pilgrimage on foot from Stirling to the Chapel of our Lady of Loretto, near Musselburgh, and offering up prayers for a prosperous voyage, sailed a second time from Leith, with a fleet of seven vessels, accompanied by the Earls of Argyle, Arran, Rothes, the Lords Fleming and Maxwell, the Abbot of Arbroath, the Prior of Pittenweem, and other nobles and dignitaries, with about three or four hundred attendants. On the tenth day they landed at Dieppe; and the king having resolved, before proceeding to Paris, to obtain a view of his affianced bride, repaired in disguise to the ducal chateau of Vendôme, and mingled with the crowd of attendants and spectators who filled the lower end of the hall during a public fête. He was speedily recognised, however, by his resemblance to a miniature portrait which the princess had procured from Scotland. "Wherefore," says Pitscottie, "she past to her coffer, and took out his picture which she had gotten out of Scotland by some secret means; and as soon as she looked upon the picture it made her know the king incontinent, where he stood among the rest of the company, and she past pertly to him, and took him by the hand, and said, 'Sir, you stand over far aside, therefore, if it please your Grace to talk with my father or me, as you think for the present, a while for your pleasure, you may if you will.'" James being thus discovered, was forthwith introduced to the Duke and his court, by whom he was received with great cordiality. "Then," continues the chronicler, "there was nothing but merriness, banqueting, and great cheer, with music and playing on instruments, and all other kind of pastime for the fields, with lutes, shawlms, trumpets, and organs; jousting and running of great horses, whilk pastimes were all to delight the King of Scotland. For the duke prepared ane fair palace to the king, decored with all costlie ornaments. The walls thereof were hung with tapestry of gold, and wrought with silk; the floor laid over with green frieze; a pall (a state canopy) of gold set with precious stones was placed over the king's head when he sat at meat, and the halls and chambers were perfumed with sweet odours, very delectable to the senses of men."* In spite, however, of all these honours which the duke paid to his royal guest, and the love tokens which passed between the king and the young lady, who is said to have been deeply captivated by his handsome appearance and gallant accomplishments,† the marriage treaty was ultimately broken off; and James transferred his addresses to the Princess Magdalene, the beautiful daughter of Francis, for whose hand he had already made repeated overtures to her father. Magdalene is said, by the French historians, to have fallen in love with the Scottish monarch at first sight; and although Francis earnestly dissuaded the match, on account of the extreme delicacy of his daughter's constitution, her physicians having assured him 'that she was not strong enough to travel to a colder climate than her own, and that if she did, her days would not be long'—the youthful lovers turned a deaf ear to his remonstrances, and their nuptials were solemnized with unusual splendour, on the first of January, 1537, in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The president and members of the parliament of Paris, clad in scarlet robes, went in state to offer a congratulatory address to the Scottish king, and then headed the procession which preceded that monarch in his state entrance into the capital, as the affianced husband of the Princess Magdalene—an honour which had never before been paid to any foreign prince or potentate.‡ At the celebration of the marriage the Kings and Queens of France and Navarre, the Dauphin of France, the Duke of Orleans, and other French nobles, with a deputation from the Scottish nobility, and many illustrious foreigners,

—he renews his voyage.

Marriage of James to the Princess Magdalene.

* Lesley, p. 150; Buchanan, book xiv. chap. lii.; Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 360.

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp. 364, 365.

† Francis attempted to compensate the Lady of Vendôme for her disappointment, by offering her another consort of suitable rank, but she declined all matrimonial overtures and retired into a convent.

‡ The parliament strongly objected to this unusual proceeding, and entreated Francis to consider well the bad consequences that might result from such an innovation upon their ancient customs. They also protested against any alteration in the costume of the parliament, and spent nearly a week in debating on this matter before they would submit to the royal pleasure.—See Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 303, 304. It is mentioned in the ancient account of the proceedings that James did not make any speech in reply to the complimentary address of the president, 'because he knew so little of the French language.'

surrounded the altar, and seven cardinals assisted at the ceremonial.* "There was never sic (such) solemnitie," says Pitscottie, "nor sic nobilitie seen in France in one day, as was at that time there. For through all France that day there was jousting and tournaments, with all other manly exercises, as also skirmishing of ships through all the coasts and firths; so that in towns, lands, seas, villages, castles and towers, there was no man that might have heard for the reard (roaring) and noise of cannons and other munitions, nor scarcely have seen for the vapours thereof. There was also within the town of Paris cunning carvers and profound negromancers, who by their art caused things appear which were not; dragons flying in the air, spouting fire on others; rivers of water running through the town, and ships fighting thereupon, as it had been in bullering streams of the sea, shooting of guns like cracks of thunder; and these wonders were seen both by the nobility and common people."† The Scottish king and his youthful queen remained at her father's court until the spring; and such was the influence which James possessed with his father-in-law, that he is said to have disposed of civil and ecclesiastical preferments, and to have dispensed pardons to prisoners as freely as if he had been in his own kingdom; for Francis could refuse him nothing, and was entirely guided by his wishes.

Meanwhile his own subjects having become impatient under the protracted absence of their sovereign, which had now extended to nearly nine months, preparations were made for the departure of the royal couple. An application to the English monarch for permission to pass through his dominions was discourteously refused, partly, it appears, from the dissatisfaction felt by Henry at the refusal of his request for the pardon of the Douglases, and partly from unwillingness to incur the expense of entertaining his nephew in a manner suitable to his rank.‡ James was therefore compelled to return by sea; and having embarked at Dieppe, after a stormy passage§ he arrived with his bride at Leith, on the nineteenth of May. They were received with great rejoicings by an immense concourse of all classes of the community, who came to welcome their sovereign home, and to see their new queen. As soon as she landed, Magdalene knelt down upon the ground, and 'kissed the moulds thereof,' whilst she returned thanks to God for having brought the king and her safely through the seas, and prayed for the happiness of her new country: an incident which seems to have greatly endeared her to the affections of the Scottish people.* Preparations were commenced on a scale of great magnificence for the coronation of the young queen, which was intended to be a day of gladness and festivity throughout the whole realm.† But scarcely had the rejoicings for her arrival ceased, when it became apparent that Magdalene was sinking under that insidious malady the seeds of which she had long carried in her constitution; and to the inexpressible grief of her husband and the whole nation, she expired on the tenth of July, before she had completed her seventeenth year. Brantome states that "she was very deeply regretted, not only by James V., but by all his people, for she was very good, and knew how to make herself truly beloved. She had a great mind, and was most wise and virtuous." "All the great triumph and joy of her coming," says Pitscottie, "was turned to dolor and lamentation, and all the play that should have been made, was turned into soul masses and dirges; and such mourning throughout the country, and lamentation, that it was great pity for to see; and also the king's heavy moan that he made for her was greater than all the rest." She was interred with great pomp in the royal vault, in the Abbey of Holyrood, near the coffin of James II., and her epitaph was composed in elegant Latin verse, by the celebrated George Buchanan,‡ and her untimely death occasioned the first general mourning ever worn in Scotland.§

Their return to Scotland.

Death of the young queen.

The conduct of Henry during James's absence in France, had not been calculated to allay those resentful feelings which must have been excited by the open maintenance of Angus and his brothers at the English court, and his ungenerous refusal to allow the Scottish king and his bride to pass through England on their return to their own country. Carrying out the base policy invented by Lord Dacre, of sowing disunion and treachery amongst the Scottish nobles, by means of an organized system of corruption and bribery, Henry had sent into Scotland Sir Ralph Sadler, an able and crafty diplomatist, who continued for the long period of half a century to exert an injurious influence on the affairs of the northern kingdom. Sadler was

Conduct of Henry during James's absence.

* An interesting view of the ceremony is given in a curious contemporary painting which formerly decorated the gallery of the Luxembourg palace, and is now in the collection of Lord Elgin, at Broom-hall, in Fife.

† Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 370.

‡ Tytler, vol. v. p. 214.

§ The vessel which carried the royal couple was compelled to anchor for some time off Scarborough, in consequence of the violence of the wind, and many of the inhabitants of the Yorkshire coast came out in boats to see the Scottish king, some of whom, it appears, went down on their knees to James, entreating him to enter England with an army to deliver them from the tyranny of Henry. The Duke of Norfolk, who had come to Scarborough, apparently with the hope that the stormy weather would compel the royal voyagers to land on the English coast, where there can be no doubt they would have been made prisoners, says in a letter to Cromwell, "If God had sent such good fortune that the King of Scots had landed in these parts, I would so honestly have handled him, that he and his bride should have drunk my wine at Sheriffe-Hutton before he had returned to Scotland. I was in some hope of this, for the wind was very strainable on Wednesday morning."—Norfolk to Cromwell, dated Bridlington, May 18th, 1537; Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i. p. 317.

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 373; Lesley, p. 153.

† Sir David Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. p. 135.

‡ It appears from an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts, 21st August, 1537, that the learned poet was rewarded by the gift of twenty pounds.

§ Buchanan, book xiv. chap. lii.

instructed to communicate with the queen-mother, to gain over the nobility to the English interest, to sound the inclinations of the body of the people on the subject of peace and war, and to ascertain the sentiments generally entertained respecting the secession of Henry from the Papal see.* He found Margaret eagerly prosecuting a suit of divorce against Lord Methven, her third husband, whom she accused of wasting her estates, and burdening them with debts. She was as ready as ever to betray the counsels of the government, and to lend herself to the treacherous intrigues of her brother's agents; but her venality and falsehood, together with her unblushing profligacy, had completely destroyed her influence. The council of regency, according to Sadler, was entirely devoted to the interests of the Romish see, and had artfully fomented hostile feelings towards England in the minds of the people, as the most effectual means of arresting the progress of the reformed opinions. The knowledge of these intrigues doubtless helped to alienate the feelings of the Scottish king from his selfish and unprincipled relative, and to dispose him to join in the league which the Pope was labouring to form against Henry as the common enemy of the faith. His close alliance with Francis, whom the violence and haughtiness of the English monarch had once more estranged—the influence of his clerical councillors, who dreaded the extension of the Reformation into Scotland, and his displeasure at the favour shown to the banished Douglases, all combined to render an open rupture with England by no means improbable. An order was issued for supplying the people with arms and defensive armour, and the king laid out the greater part of his revenue in military preparations, and especially in strengthening the fortresses of Tantallon and Dunbar, and providing them with an adequate train of artillery. It is stated by Sir Thomas Clifford, in a letter to Henry, dated 26th July, 1537, that for a month past James had, at least twice in the week, secretly repaired to Dunbar at midnight, with a train of only six persons, and after remaining there a day or two, returned also by night. He adds, that the Scottish artillery was in a high state of efficiency, as the king devoted to it his whole attention; and that Berwick, from the ruinous condition of its fortifications, was exposed to imminent danger.† The insurrection which had recently broken out in the northern districts of England, in consequence of the suppression of the monasteries, as well as the hostile league now forming against Henry on the Continent, gave greater significance to these warlike preparations on the part of the Scottish king, and it was generally believed that he was revolving some important change in his policy.

State of parties in Scotland.

Policy of James.

At this period the life of the monarch was twice menaced by secret conspiracy, and although the ramifications of the plots are involved in much obscurity, there is every probability that they were both connected with the intrigues of the faction of the Douglases. At the head of the first was the Master of Forbes, a turbulent and bloodthirsty baron, who, under the regency of Albany, treacherously slew the Laird of Meldrum in the town of Aberdeen. Having married a sister of the Earl of Angus, he had taken a prominent part in all the treasonable intrigues and lawless deeds by which the Douglases had sought to regain their forfeited power and possessions. In June, 1536, Forbes was accused, by the Earl of Huntley, of a design to assassinate the king as he passed through Aberdeen, and of instigating a mutiny against the governor when the Scottish army was on its march to repel an invasion of the English. He and his father, Lord Forbes, were imprisoned upon these charges, but their trial did not take place till fourteen months after. The latter was acquitted, but the son was found guilty, condemned, and executed on the same day (14th July, 1537), at Edinburgh.* Some of the Scottish historians, while they admit that Forbes deserved his fate, yet affirm that he was innocent of the crime for which he suffered, and insinuate that the jury by whom he was tried were corrupted by Huntley.† But of this there is no evidence, and the conduct of James in liberating Lord Forbes, and not only abstaining from the forfeiture of his estates, but admitting the brothers of the criminal to his favour, and one of them even to an office in his household, proves the absence of all vindictive feeling on the part of the king, together with a consciousness of his own integrity, and a confidence in the acknowledged justice of the sentence, very remarkable in that age, when revenge for any intentional injury or dishonour was deemed a sacred duty.†

Conspiracy of the Master of Forbes—

The principal actor in the second plot, which was, in all probability, a branch of the same conspiracy, was Janet Douglas, a sister of the banished Earl of Angus, and the widow of Lord Glammis, after whose death she had married a gentleman named Campbell, of Skipnish. Within a week after the death of the queen, and while James was overwhelmed with grief, on account of his recent bereavement, the nation was astounded to learn that another plot against the life of their sovereign had been detected; and only two days after the execution of the Master of Forbes, Lady Glammis and her husband, her son the young Lord Glammis, then only sixteen years of age, a priest, and a barber named John Lyon, were accused of conspiring the king's death by poison, and also of having trea-

—and of Lady Glammis.

* Sadler to Cromwell, 28th January, B. ii. 283; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 343.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 350, 351.

* Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 183—187; Lesley, p. 154.

† Buchanan, book xiv. chap. liii.; Calderwood, quoted in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, p. 183.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 346.

sonably assisted the Earl of Angus, and George Douglas, his brother, who were traitors and rebels. Lady Glammis was found guilty, and condemned to be burned at the stake, the common mode of death in that age for all females of rank in cases of treason and murder. She suffered the dreadful sentence on the castle-hill of Edinburgh, (July 17th,) in the presence of a crowd of spectators, who were deeply moved by her noble birth, her matured beauty, and the courage with which she endured her cruel punishment. Her son, Lord Glammis, was found guilty, upon his own confession, of concealing the conspiracy, but out of compassion for his youth his life was spared, and he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, from which he was not released till the death of James, when he was restored to his estates and honours.* Archibald Campbell, the husband of the unfortunate lady, in attempting to escape from the castle of Edinburgh, was dashed to pieces on the rocks. John Lyon, her accomplice, was found guilty, (Aug. 22,) of having been art and part in conspiring the death of the king, and beheaded; whilst on the same day, Alexander Makke, or Mackay, who had sold the poison, knowing from Lyon for what purpose it was bought, had his ears cut off, and was banished from all parts of Scotland, except the county of Aberdeen.†

The horrible punishment inflicted upon Lady Glammis excited great sympathy at the time, and Buchanan, and other writers, have pronounced her innocent of the crimes laid to her charge, and have ascribed her condemnation to the implacable hatred which James entertained to the house of Douglas. But a careful and candid examination of the evidence adduced against her, shows that this opinion is unfounded. There can be no question that Lady Glammis was guilty of treason in assisting her brothers in their attempts to 'invade' the king's person and re-establish their authority in Scotland, and the whole circumstances of the case lead to the conclusion that she was also guilty of the other crime laid to her charge—the compassing the death of the king.‡

James was not long a widower; within a few months after the death of his youthful and delicate queen, he despatched David Beaton, nephew to the primate, to open negotiations for his marriage with Mary, a princess of the house of Guise, and widow of the Duke of Longueville. The preliminary arrangements were speedily concluded, and in June, 1538, Mary landed at Balcomie, in Fife, under the escort of Lord Maxwell and an admiral of France; and the nuptials were celebrated with due pomp at St. Andrews.§ But neither the attraction of this new alliance, nor the anxiety occasioned by the recent conspiracies, diverted the king from the line of policy which he had adopted with a view to the increase of his wealth and the extension of his authority. Several of the lucrative offices connected with the ecclesiastical establishments at St. Andrews, Holyrood, Melrose, Kelso, and Coldingham, were made to minister to his aggrandisement, being conferred upon his illegitimate children, whose minority entitled him to draw, and enabled him to appropriate, the entire revenues.* He exacted large fines from Sir Adam Otterburn and an Edinburgh merchant of the name of Chisholm, who had been lately imprisoned on a charge of treasonable intercourse with the Douglases.† Colville, the comptroller of the royal household, was arrested, and compelled to render an account of the sums which had passed through his hands in the discharge of his official duties.‡ The Earl of Bothwell was deprived of the lordship of Liddesdale, § on the plea that a district of the country so lawless and turbulent required the immediate control of the royal authority; and similar pretexts were employed to justify the king's resumption of certain lands held by Murray, his natural brother, and his cousin, the Earl of Huntley.‖ Such encroachments on the power of an arrogant church and a jealous nobility, required both tact and firmness on the part of the sovereign. But James was by no means destitute of the ability to carry out, with combined prudence and resolution, his purpose of augmenting the influence of the crown. Whatever dissatisfaction may have been awakened in the minds of the individuals immediately interested, these measures seem to have been effected without provoking any general outbreak of discontent and opposition. In the course of the same year, the enmity against the Protestants found vent in fresh and violent persecutions. Jerome Russell, a learned friar, and another still more eminent supporter of the Reformation, the historian Buchanan, were among the persons seized and thrown into confinement. The latter, however, contrived to escape from prison and took refuge in England, whence he subsequently fled to France.

The king's second marriage.

His efforts to extend the royal authority.

Persecution of the Reformers.

The relations with England were at this period in an uncertain and unstable condition. Henry the Eighth professed indeed a desire to maintain a friendly understanding with his nephew, the Scottish king; but James, either distrusting this profession, or disinclined to meet it in a similar spirit, had been strengthening Dunbar and other strongholds on his southern frontier. The principal disturbing element was the conflict of religious opinions in the two kingdoms. Henry had thrown himself into the work of reformation with all the

State of the relations with England.

* Lesley, p. 154.

+ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 199—202, 203.

‡ A very complete and satisfactory investigation of the charges against Lady Glammis, and the evidence by which these charges are supported, will be found in the Appendix to the fifth vol. of Tytler's History. See also Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 347—350. Appendix, No. XVII.

§ Buchanan, book xiv. chap. lv.; Lesley, p. 155.

* Lesley, p. 155.

+ Wharton to Cromwell, 5th September, B. vii. 232; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 353.

‡ Ibid. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

impetuous energy that characterized his disposition. James, on the other hand, though not unwilling to see some restraint placed upon the Catholic Church, was still one of its avowed adherents, and lent his countenance to its oppression of the Protestants. Either country accordingly presented a ready asylum to the persecuted refugees of the other. The victims of Popish bigotry in Scotland sought safety under the shadow of Henry's throne; and English Catholics fled from Protestant intolerance to find shelter within the territories of James. It would appear that in the latter instance, the representations of the fugitives were permitted to affect the temper of the court on whose protection they had cast themselves. The Scottish monarch was not sorry to hear their report of general discontent prevailing in the neighbouring kingdom, and of the currency there of popular rhymes which foretold his speedy accession to his uncle's throne. In a letter to the Council of York, indeed, he repudiated these predictions, and stigmatized them as 'fantastic prophecies,' which he treated with disbelief and contempt.* Nor did he hesitate to issue edicts denouncing death and confiscation against all who should be found circulating them in his dominions. At the same time he disliked, and perhaps feared, the proud impetuous temper of Henry; his recent matrimonial connection, also, tended to bias his mind more decidedly towards France; and it can hardly be doubted that, while he professed a wish to maintain friendship with England, he contemplated with some satisfaction the unsettled state of that country, as favourable to his own independence and advancement. These feelings were strengthened by the return of David Beaton, whom the Pope had recently elevated to the rank of a cardinal, and by the accession of that able but unprincipled prelate to the honours of the primacy, in the room of his relative, James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who died in the autumn of 1539. The new primate was a man of great abilities and towering ambition. Eager and unscrupulous in his devotion to the Papal Church, he signalized his return to his native land by fanning into a fiercer flame the fire of persecution against the Protestants. In company with Chisholme, Bishop of Dumblane, whose character, like his own, was stained with the gross vices which have so often accompanied the ordinance of celibacy, he presided in an ecclesiastical court before which five individuals were tried for heresy—Keillor and Beveridge, two Dominican friars, Dean Forret, Vicar of Dollar, Simpson, a priest at Stirling, and Robert Forrester, a notary of the same town. All the five were, without hesitation, condemned to the stake, and the cruel sentence was executed on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, on the first of March, 1538-9.† And soon after, at Glasgow, Russell, a grey friar, who had been imprisoned during the previous year, and Kennedy, a youth of eighteen, passed through a similar fiery trial to the honours of martyrdom.* The memory of James must bear, in part, the stain of these unjust and cruel proceedings. But he seems to have viewed them with no unalloyed satisfaction. He was selfish, but not bloodthirsty; a stern politician rather than a blind zealot. He had enough of candour to disapprove of the haughty and licentious spirit of the Catholic hierarchy, and sufficient wisdom to perceive that such sanguinary acts tended to injure the cause which they were designed to advance. During the remainder of his reign, the spirit of religious persecution was compelled to content itself with a bloodless sacrifice.

Elevation of David Beaton to the primacy—

—his cruelty towards the Protestants.

In the beginning of the next year, Sir William Eure, on the part of England, met with Bellenden and Balnavis, commissioners from James, for the purpose of negotiating respecting the old interminable question, the lawless and troublesome state of the Borders. It was agreed, for the ends of justice and order, that fugitives from either kingdom should be seized and sent back to answer for their crimes under the jurisdiction of their respective sovereigns. The English envoy had also a private conference with Bellenden, an aged and experienced statesman, respecting the views and feelings prevalent at the Scottish court; on the ground of which he reported to his master, that James and many of his nobles were willing to see some reformation effected in the church. This induced Henry to entrust Sir Ralph Sadler,† in February, with the task of persuading the Scottish monarch to withdraw his confidence from Beaton, to renounce the Papal supremacy, and divert the ample revenues of the monastic establishments into the treasury of the state. The embassy had reference to another matter, which was causing considerable anxiety at the English court. The conference of Francis with the emperor at Paris boded no good to England, and Henry could not avoid fearing that his nephew was a party to some secret alliance which had begun to be formed against him. To inquiries on this point James returned a satisfactory answer, denying solemnly on oath the existence of the rumoured confederacy, in so far as he was concerned; but Henry's proposal for a personal conference he dextrously evaded, on the plea that his nobility were strongly opposed to the step; and that besides, in his existing relations with France, he could not give his consent unless the French monarch should be present on the occasion. Sadler had little success in the other department of his commission. In vain did he accuse Beaton of secret dealings with Rome, and produce in evidence letters said to have been found in a Scottish vessel which had been wrecked on the coast of Northum-

Negotiations with England.

Mission of Sir Ralph Sadler to James—

—its failure.

* Maxwell to Wharton, 30th January; Sir W. Eure to Cromwell Calig. B. i. 295; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 354.
† Spottiswood, 66; Keith, Hist. 9; Buch. xiv. 55.

* Spottiswood, p. 67; Knox, Hist. p. 64.
† Sadler's Letters, 15, 55, &c.; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 359.

berland. James affirmed that the purport of these letters had been previously made known to him, and declared his conviction of the Cardinal's loyalty. In vain did the ambassador enlarge on the indolent and vicious habits of the monks; the king intimated his intention of taking order for their restraint, but refused to entertain the idea of confiscating the monastic property. It has been said that the influence of this embassy was prejudiced by the paltry present which accompanied it; and certainly the gift of a few horses from the sovereign of England to his royal nephew, contrasted unfavourably with the profusion of French gold that found its way into the service of James. But there were other considerations, more honourable and more important, which powerfully influenced the mind of the Scottish king. He was firmly attached to the Catholic Church; he needed the support of the prelates as a counterpoise to the power of the nobles; and the illiterate condition of the latter made it hardly possible to dispense with the employment of the educated ecclesiastics in many of the highest offices of state. Henry, moreover, was still showing favour to the exiled Douglases, and there was too much reason to suspect, that under all his professed zeal for Protestant principles he was actuated mainly, if not exclusively, by ambitious and selfish motives. Few, then, will marvel that the Scottish king shrunk from the course into which the mission of Sadler was designed to urge him; nor will many regret that Henry the Eighth failed to leave the impress of his spirit on the Scottish Reformation.

Birth of a prince.

On the 22nd of May, the royal residence at St. Andrews was filled with rejoicings by the birth of a prince,* who was named after his father: and no sooner was the health of the queen restored, than James proceeded to execute a design which he had been contemplating for some time, with a view to strengthen his authority in the northern provinces of his kingdom. He wisely judged that the insubordination and deadly feuds which still prevailed in these remote districts would be most effectually quelled by a royal progress, undertaken with such a display of pomp and power as might awaken at once admiration and fear among the rude clansmen of the highlands and isles. Accordingly he set sail from the Frith of Forth, with a numerous and imposing retinue, in a fleet of twelve large vessels, which had been carefully fitted out and well armed for the expedition. Six of these carried his personal suite and body guard; three others were laden with provisions and stores which were required on the voyage; and the remaining three were severally assigned to the Cardinal, the Earl of Huntley, and the Earl of Arran. Beaton commanded five hundred men from Fife, and Angus; Huntley conducted a force of five hundred men from the northern shires; while Arran led an equal number from the western districts, besides the royal suite and many gentlemen who followed in their train. About the end of May, after the auspicious birth of the heir to the throne, the royal fleet, thus gallantly equipped and manned, quitted the Frith of Forth, sailed along the coasts of Fife, Angus, Buchan, and Caithness, and crossing the Pentland Frith, reached the Orkney islands, where the king and his attendants were hospitably entertained by Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Orkney. The expedition next proceeded to the coast of Sutherland, for the purpose of seizing Donald Mackay of Strathnaver; and then doubling Cape Wrath it touched at the Lewis, where Roderick Macleod and his kinsmen met the king, and were compelled to accompany him in his progress. The squadron then visited in succession the islands of Harris and Uist, and crossing over to the west coast of Skye, received on board Alexander Macleod, of Dunvegen, lord of that part of the island; and coasting round by the north of Skye, the king reached the district of Trouterness, where he was met by John Moydertach, captain of the Clanranald, Alexander of Glengarry, and other chieftains, claiming their descent from the ancient Lords of the Isles. James next steered for Kintail, where he was joined by the chief of the Mackenzies, and then proceeding southward by the Sound of Sleat, he visited in succession the islands of Coll, Tiree, Mull, and Isla, and sweeping along the coast of Argyle he passed the promontory of Kintire, and after a short stay at Arran sailed up the Frith of Clyde, and landed in safety at Dunbarton.*

James's voyage to the Western Isles.

The beneficial results of this voyage did not fall short of the wisdom that planned it, and the magnificence with which it was executed. Many of the turbulent chiefs, attracted by the splendid pageant, or awed by the strong array, paid ready homage to their sovereign as he passed; others, who ventured to assume an attitude of resistance, were seized and detained in confinement until some time after the king's death. A new train of thought and feeling, favourable to the interests of order and industry, was stirred among the contentious marauding clans; and to James V. belongs the honour of having first effectually undermined and shaken the partition wall of mutual jealousy and aversion which had so long separated the Scottish people into two discordant and hostile races. Other minor advantages resulted from this laudable undertaking. The king had caused Alexander Lindsay, a skilful pilot and hydrographer, to attend him on the voyage; and the charts and nautical observations, which he published on his return, were reckoned of such value, that besides being printed at London, they appeared at Paris in a French translation, under the

* Aglionby to Sir Thomas Wharton, May 4th, 1540, Calig. B. iii. 217.

* Lesley, p. 156; Gregory's Highlands and Isles of Scotland, pp. 147, 148. The date of this expedition has been mistaken by Lesley, Buchanan, and all our early historians, some placing it in 1535, others in 1539. Pinkerton was the first to point out that the true date is 1540.

auspices of the Royal Geographer there. It was also from information acquired in this expedition, that James was led in the close of the same year to adopt measures for checking the intrusion of foreign vessels on the fishing grounds belonging to the Orkney and Shetland isles.

Conspiracy against the king.

Soon after his return from his northern expedition, James received a private communication, which involved a charge of treason against Sir James Hamilton of Evandale and Draphane, an illegitimate son of the Earl of Arran. The knight had been a favourite with the king in former days, and during the royal minority had possessed considerable influence at court. He had subsequently fallen into disgrace, however, in consequence of various acts of cruelty and oppression, into which his fierce and passionate temper had hurried him. He was also a bigoted adherent of the Catholic church, and had taken a prominent part in the persecution of the Protestants; and no hand was more deeply stained than his with the blood of his own relative, Patrick Hamilton, who suffered in 1528. At a more recent period, when the bishops were empowered to elect a Special Justiciary, for the more effectual punishment of heretics, their choice had fallen on the knight of Evandale, in whom they were certain of finding a fierce and unscrupulous agent of their sanguinary designs.* He was now accused of having conspired, with some adherents of Angus, against the authority of the crown, and even, it is said, against the king's life. The crime, however, was of old date, twelve years having elapsed since its occurrence, though it was now revealed for the first time. James was on his way from Edinburgh to Falkland, when a young man hurriedly met him, and requesting a secret audience, gave him notice of the matter. Without interrupting his journey, the king despatched the messenger with his ring to Learmonth, master of his household, authorising him and two other officers of his court to receive the deposition of the informer, and act upon it according to their judgment of its credibility and importance. Sir James was immediately arrested and thrown into prison; and being soon afterwards brought to trial, on the accusation of James Hamilton of Kincavil, sheriff of Linlithgow, and brother to the first Scottish martyr, he was found guilty and beheaded. To the last he affirmed his innocence; and at this day it is difficult to penetrate the obscurity which time has thrown over the facts of the case. But he seems to have had a fair assize, and his general character was not such as to affix any improbability to the question of his guilt. His death was viewed by some of the Protestants as a divine judgment against the persecutor of God's people. An old chronicler, after narrating the circumstances in detail, makes allusion to the Scripture history of Haman, and adds,

Trial and execution of Sir James Hamilton, the conspirator.

"Richt so the furie of Sir James Hamiltoun, quhilk he thought to have exerced upon Godis servantis, be the counsel of evill and seditious bischopis, was in the end suddenlie turned upon himselff."*

Effects of these conspiracies on the mind of the king.

This incident exerted an unfortunate influence on the mind of the king. Whether the memory of his former friendship for Hamilton awakened some train of gloomy reflection in his breast, or whether, as is more probable, a painful impression of his insecurity was forced upon him by the thought of the long concealment of the baron's crime, he became depressed and melancholy, forsaking his wonted amusements to spend the day in solitude and heaviness. Images of terror haunted his fancy, and night brought to his pillow fearful dreams, which frequently startled him from his sleep, to see in the creatures of his disordered brain vengeful and threatening apparitions of the dead.† Such is the picture presented by some historians of the period; and though its dark features are probably exaggerated, it seems to contain a basis of truth. It is not unlikely that the king's mind began to display at this time something of that morbid sensibility which, under the influence of coming misfortunes, unnerved his frame, and operated as a principal cause of his early death. These gloomy forebodings, however, if they did exist, were not of long continuance. By the close of the year, when the parliament met, James was prepared to carry on with renewed energy his schemes for the reduction of the overgrown power of the nobility, and the extension of the royal prerogatives. An act was passed, confirming an edict which he had issued three years before at Rouen, for the revocation of all the crown-rights which had been alienated during his minority. This was followed by another act, annexing to the throne the Hebrides, the Orkney, and the Shetland isles, the superiority of the earldom of Angus, and the Evandale estates, with a number of other lordships, among which were Liddesdale, Glammis, Douglas, Crawford-Lindsay, Crawford-John, Preston, Tantallon, and Bothwell; the declared grounds of forfeiture being the disaffected condition of the districts, and the treasonable practices of the feudatories. At the same time the dissatisfaction which these sweeping measures tended to awaken among the aristocracy, was sought to be allayed by a general amnesty, from which, however, the banished Earl of Angus, his brother, Sir George Douglas, and their adherents, were specially exempted. Orders were also

Annexation of the forfeited estates to the crown.

* Buch xiv. 57; Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 385; Cook's Hist. of the Reform. vol. i. p. 206.

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 389. Hamilton was Master of the Works to James V., and superintended the building or additions to the Palace of Linlithgow, Blackness Castle, and other royal edifices.

† Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 390; Buch. book xiv. chap. lviii.; Drummond, 336. All these historians mention the report that Sir James Hamilton appeared to the king in a dream, brandishing a naked sword, with which he cut off both his arms, and then threatened to return after a short time and take away his life. The superstitious connected this dream with the death of the king's two sons which took place almost immediately after.

issued for the regular holding of the 'weapon-shaws' twice a year throughout the country; and there was added a careful specification of the arms with which the various classes composing the military array of the kingdom were to provide themselves. The next meeting of parliament, held in March, 1541, was chiefly distinguished by the statutes which it enacted with reference to ecclesiastical affairs. The denial of the Pope's supremacy was made a capital crime; conventicles were strictly prohibited; suspicion of heresy was declared a disqualification even for municipal office; all correspondence with protestants was forbidden, and a reward offered for the discovery of those who favoured the obnoxious faith: while over against these oppressive acts was placed a meagre general ordinance, enjoining the clergy to greater purity of life, and a more faithful discharge of their religious functions. In the matter of trade, the manufactures of the country and its commerce with foreign lands were made the subject of several regulations; in the judicial department, the recent institution of the college of justice was confirmed; notaries and other legal functionaries were required to pass through a certain course of preparatory training; and it was ordered that the acts of parliament should be printed and circulated among the people, from a copy authenticated by the signature of the clerk. Some additions were also made to the rules for the arming and training of the persons liable to military service.

Wise provisions of the parliament.

The prospect of continued peace with England was becoming more and more insecure. Beaton and the clergy contemplated a rupture between the two kingdoms as the most effectual means of closing the ear of James against the arguments with which his uncle still urged him to embrace the cause of the Reformation. Their influence in the councils of their sovereign may be traced in a proclamation which appeared soon after the dissolution of parliament, ordering the preparation of sixteen large and sixty small pieces of ordnance; and enjoining the whole military array of the country to be in readiness for taking the field on a day's notice. The middle of the year, however, brought a series of events which concentrated the thoughts of the Scottish king with painful interest on his domestic affairs.

In the month of April, 1541, Mary of Guise gave birth to another son; but the joy which this event occasioned was immediately clouded by the death of the infant; and nearly at the same moment his elder brother, the heir to the crown, was attacked with a mortal malady, and died at St. Andrews before his afflicted father could reach that town.* "The death of the two infant princes," says Pitscottie, "caused great lamentation to be made in Scotland, but especially by the queen, their mother. Yet," continues he, "the queen comforted the king, saying, they were young enough, and God would raise them more succession." The princely infants were buried on the same day in the royal vault at Holyrood, "and there was more dolour in all the land for their death, than there had been joy for their birth."

Death of the king's two sons—

Shortly after the death of the infant princes, Margaret the queen dowager closed her varied and turbulent life at Methven Castle, in the fifty-second year of her age. In spite of excellent talents and great energy of character, her treacherous intrigues, violent temper, and licentious life, had lost her the confidence of all parties in the kingdom, and entirely ruined her influence. Shortly before her death, she was eagerly engaged in seeking to obtain a divorce from Lord Methven, her third husband; but, to her grievous discontent, her son peremptorily quashed the scandalous procedure. She was interred with great magnificence in the church of the Carthusians, at Perth, in the tomb of James the First and his queen, the founders of the monastery.*

—and of the queen dowager.

James, thus suddenly rendered childless, felt keenly the severity of the blow; but did not long yield to the enervating influence of sorrow. He sought relief in that which, next to religion, is the best comforter—active exertion in useful enterprises. For the improvement of the breed of horses in his dominions, he began to import a superior stock from Sweden and Denmark.† The skill of the French and Flemish armourers was tasked to increase the efficiency of his military resources. A number of mechanics skilled in the ornamental and industrial arts were attracted from the continent by the promise of royal patronage and liberal remuneration. The University of Aberdeen was honoured with a visit; and for fifteen days the king and his consort were entertained with literary disputations and classic dramas enacted by the students.‡ On their return, Sir John Campbell of Lundie was despatched to the Netherlands, with instructions to procure redress for some encroachments on the Scottish fisheries. These laudable attempts to promote national interests, which were then so generally undervalued and neglected, will be viewed as interesting features in the reign of a monarch, who, with all his defects and errors, deserves to be remembered in Scotland with affection and esteem.

Prudent and energetic conduct of James.

The Cardinal, with Panter the Secretary, proceeded, in July, through France to Rome, ostensibly for the purpose of obtaining his appointment as legate in Scotland, but probably also with secret powers to communicate with the Pope, the Emperor of

Visit of Beaton to the papal court.

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 371.

* Lesley, p. 157. It is said that, on the demolition of the monastery by a mob at the Reformation, these royal remains were transferred to the east end of St. John's church. The spot is supposed to be marked by a large blue marble slab, carved in two compartments, with the royal crown of Scotland over each, adorned with *fleur-de-lis*.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 372.

‡ Lesley, p. 159.

Germany, and the French king, respecting a scheme which was understood to be under consideration, for a powerful confederacy against the haughty champion of the Reformation in England. Henry had not yet abandoned the hope of inducing James to adopt his policy; and as the absence of Beaton seemed to afford a favourable opportunity for a new effort in that direction, Sadler was once more despatched on an embassy to Scotland. But Henry altogether miscalculated the spirit of his nephew when he dictated the terms of the message which his envoy was commissioned to deliver to James. The exhortation not to be 'a brute or a stock' in the hands of the clergy; the offer of a wise man to instruct him; the reference to crafty juggling priests leading the blind by the nose,*—must have deeply offended the Scottish king; and it was only by repeated importunity that he was at length persuaded to give a reluctant consent to the proposal for an interview with Henry at York.† Ere the time fixed for this meeting arrived, the English Borderers, headed by their wardens, broke into the south of Scotland, committing the savage excesses by which such forays were usually characterized; and James reckoned this a sufficient reason for absenting himself from the projected conference.‡ Henry proceeded to York in the autumn of the year 1541, and remained there six days, in expectation of the arrival of his nephew, who, however, failed to appear. The proud temper of the English monarch at once fired at the supposed insult. Hurrying back in deep indignation to London, he ordered immediate preparations to be made for commencing hostilities, and took steps for the revival of the old ridiculous claim of feudal superiority over the Scottish kingdom. At this crisis the Scottish king was evidently desirous to remain at peace. The security of his throne had been affected by the loss of his children; he was in debt; and he had reason to suspect that the fidelity of his nobles could not be relied on. Under these circumstances, public policy and private feeling alike made him dread hostilities with England; and he endeavoured to avert a rupture by sending an embassy to excuse his failure to appear at York, and to express a desire for reconciliation. The outbreak of hostilities was thus delayed for a time, and the risk of an open rupture might probably have passed by, had not disputes respecting the crown of Ireland, and the incessant complaints from the Borders, renewed and strengthened the feelings of jealousy and suspicion on both sides.

Second embassy of Sadler.

James fails to meet Henry at York.

The English monarchs had long borne the title of Lords of Ireland; for which Henry had recently substituted the more august designation of King of that country. But his actual possessions there were of trifling extent, and his authority in other districts was little more than nominal. Many of the insular chiefs resented his new claim to regal jurisdiction, which was the more offensive to them because his zeal in the cause of the Reformation ran counter to their own religious principles. It was natural for them to turn their eyes towards Scotland, a country with which they were connected by ancient ties of affinity; and towards James, who had lately been styled 'Defender of the Faith,' by the head of the Catholic Church. The embassy, which they sent to the Scottish king at this time, not only requested his aid, but offered him the titular sovereignty of their island. James in all likelihood did not contemplate, for the present at least, any decided movement in the direction to which they pointed; but his reception of their envoys was of such a kind as to aggravate the suspicion and displeasure of his uncle, who was now opportunely freed from the risk of any powerful combination against him on the continent, by a new quarrel between the Emperor and Francis. Henry was resolutely bent on war; and, though commissioners once more met, in July, 1542, to attempt an amicable adjustment of the points in dispute, their negotiations failed to prevent, and indeed scarcely retarded, the outbreak of hostilities. On which party the first acts of aggression were chargeable cannot now be easily determined. The manifesto of the English king asserts, that on the 4th of July the Scots made a hostile inroad on his dominions; while James, on the other hand, maintained that his territories had been twice invaded before he instituted reprisals. The outrages referred to were, probably, Border forays, such as had often occurred, and been redressed without provoking a national contest. But the state of feeling on both sides placed insuperable obstacles in the way of a reconciliation, and the hope of avoiding a rupture was finally extinguished by the battle of Hadden-Rig, in which the English were defeated by Huntley and Home. It was in the month of August, when Sir Robert Bowes, who held the command of Norham and the wardenship of the Eastern Marches, assembled a band of three thousand horsemen, and swept across the frontier into Scotland. Accompanied by Sir John Widdrington, his brother, and several other knights, along with the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas, he ravaged Teviotdale, and was preparing to advance towards Jedburgh, when he was met at Hadden-Rig, a few miles to the east of Kelso, by the Earl of Huntley, to whom James had committed the defence of the Borders. A fierce encounter took place, which was decided in

Irish embassy to the Scottish court.

War with England.

* Calig. B. i. 52—70; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 374.

† Copy of Articles, &c., in the State Paper Office, December, 1541; Tytler, vol. v. p. 242.

‡ Tytler, vol. v. p. 242; Articles delivered by the King of Scots to the Bishops of Orkney and Aberdeen relative to the depredations by the English Borderers. Pitscottie says that the bishops, in apprehension that James might follow his uncle's example in casting down the abbeys, "bribed the king to bide at home, and gave him three thousand pounds by year to sustain his house off their benefices."

favour of the Scots by the timely arrival of Lord Home with four hundred lances. The English were completely defeated, and left six hundred prisoners in the hands of the enemy, among whom were the warden himself, his brother Richard, Sir John Widdrington, Sir William Mowbray, and many other persons of note. Angus would have shared the same fate, but he succeeded in dispatching with his dagger the knight who had seized him, and saved himself by flight.*

Defeat of the English at Hadden-Rig.

Mortified and enraged at this defeat, Henry lost no time in taking measures for inflicting vengeance on the Scots. He ordered a muster of twenty thousand men at York, and instructed the Duke of Norfolk, whom he had styled 'the scourge of the Scots,' to hasten thither for the purpose of directing the formidable array against his northern neighbours. Not fewer than six English earls joined the Duke's standard, besides Angus and his partizans; but the advance of the expedition was delayed for a month by the arrival of another embassy from James, proposing a renewal of the negotiations, and indicating a disposition to grant Henry the long-sought interview. If the Scottish king still really desired a pacification, his hope was disappointed; if he merely wished to temporize, he gained a considerable advantage by the delay which he effected. The winter had begun to set in ere Norfolk took the field; and it was with little more than half the force which had been ordered to assemble under his command at York, that he entered Scotland in the middle of October. His progress at first was unopposed; and he pillaged and burned the towns of Kelso and Roxburgh, with a number of granges and villages. But he found it impossible to carry his ravages far beyond the frontier. The inclemency of the season, and the appearance of Huntley, at the head of a powerful force, compelled him to draw his troops together, and assume a more cautious attitude. The Scottish leader prudently avoided a decisive engagement, and Norfolk was, in little more than a week, under the necessity of retiring to Berwick, and disbanding the greater part of his army, which had begun to suffer severely from the want of provisions.

The Duke of Norfolk invades Scotland—

—he disbands his army.

Meanwhile James had mustered an army of thirty thousand men-at-arms on the Borough-Muir of Edinburgh. But this imposing array contained elements of discord which neutralized its numerical strength. Not a few of the barons had a strong sympathy for the Protestants; others had been hoping to share in the rich spoils of the Catholic Church; and nearly all cherished suspicion and discontent under the remembrance of recent attacks on the power and privileges of their order. Their attachment to their sovereign had less effect than the presence of a hostile army within the Borders,

James musters his host on the Borough-Muir.

* Lesley, p. 162; Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 394.

in drawing them to the field. Accordingly, when they reached Fala, on the verge of the Lammermuir hills, and there heard of Norfolk's retreat, they resolutely refused to proceed further. It was the anxious wish of the king to press forward with energy; but in vain did he urge the favourable opportunity presented, and the abundant means which they possessed, for carrying the war into the heart of England. The sullen leaders, conscious of their power, persisted in their refusal, magnifying the difficulty of procuring supplies at that season, and maintaining that the law of their feudal service did not require them to do duty beyond the boundaries of the kingdom. It has been confidently affirmed by some historians, that the refractory barons manifested a disposition to renew the tragic scenes of Lauder Bridge, and to execute summary vengeance on the confidential advisers of the king, but that a difference of opinion among the leaders of the revolt, respecting the selection of their victims, prevented them from carrying their sanguinary design into execution.* They all but unanimously agreed, however, in obstinately refusing to cross the Border in pursuit of the retreating invaders, alleging as their reason, the scarcity of provisions, and the advanced season of the year. It was to no purpose that James remonstrated, and entreated them, as they valued their own honour and his, not to allow their villages to be burned and their country to be plundered and laid waste with impunity. Their feelings of loyalty and patriotism, at no time very powerful, seemed now to be completely extinguished. Even the desire of revenge against the enemy yielded to a determination to make their sovereign feel the effects of their dissatisfaction with his policy; and the king was ultimately constrained to disband his mutinous troops, and return to the capital, overwhelmed with shame and indignation.

Refusal of the nobles to advance into England.

Immediately after his return, James held a council at Holyrood, on the second or third of November, when, according to Knox, a scroll was presented to him by Cardinal Beaton, containing the names of more than a hundred of the principal nobles and gentry, including the Earl of Arran, next heir to the throne, who were either tainted with heresy, or in the pay of England, and leagued with the Douglases.† Appended to this scroll was

Insidious counsel of the prelates.

* Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. i. p. 80, edited by David Laing, Esq.; Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 400. Sir John Scott of Thirlestane was the only baron who declared himself ready to follow the king wherever he should lead. As a reward for his fidelity, James added the royal tressure to his arms, and assigned for his crest a bundle of spears, with the motto, 'Ready, aye ready.' Lord Napier is the representative of this family. See Appendix to the Lay of the Last Minstrel, note C, 2.

† This remarkable statement is corroborated by a letter of Sir Ralph Sadler to Henry VIII., dated 27th March, 1543, in which he details a conversation he had with Arran, the governor, who told him, "That a number of noblemen and gentlemen the late king had gotten written in a roll, which were all accused of heresy, of the which (he said) he was the first, and the Earl of Cassilis, the Earl of Glen-

a minute account of the possessions of the persons included in this sweeping denunciation. A similar paper had previously been laid before the king by the Cardinal and his party on the return of James (July, 1540) from his voyage round the Isles; and it was hinted to him that the crown might derive great pecuniary advantage from so many rich forfeitures. This base and selfish policy, however, was at that time peremptorily rejected by the prudent counsel of the high treasurer, James Kirkaldy of Grange, and the high-spirited monarch indignantly replied, "Pack, you javells!* get you to your charges, and reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord betwixt my nobility and me; or else I vow to God I shall reform you—not as the King of Denmark does, by imprisonment; neither yet as the King of England does, by hanging and heading; but I shall reform you by sharp whingaris (swords), if ever I hear such motion of you again." James, at the period when he gave this stern rebuff to his intriguing prelates, evidently contemplated a reform in the Scottish church, the abuses of which had grown to an intolerable height; but the circumstances in which he was now placed had completely alienated him from his feudal nobility, and thrown him into the hands of the clergy; and when, after the mortifying affront which he had received at Fala, the Cardinal and his friends ventured to present to him the document which he had previously rejected, and to renew their former recommendation, it was at once accepted by the king, with an expression of great regret that he had so long neglected their advice. He saw plainly, he said, that the nobility were hostile to his person, and rejoiced in his dishonour, for they would not, to please him, ride a mile to follow his enemies.†

In these circumstances the clergy, with a few of the nobles who still remained faithful to the royal cause, in order to revive the king's spirits, resolved to make another effort to re-assemble the army for the invasion of England. A force of ten thousand men was collected with great expedition and secrecy, chiefly by the exertions of Lord Maxwell, and it was determined to make a sudden inroad into England by the western marches, and to plunder and lay waste the country; while, in order to mislead the enemy as to the point of attack, the Cardinal and the Earl of Arran were directed to advance as far as Haddington, and to make a demonstration against the eastern Borders. James rousing himself from his depression, advanced with the army as far as Lochmaben,* where, by agreement with his council, he halted, and Lord Maxwell broke across the Border, and began to ravage and destroy the country with fire and sword, while the inhabitants were taken by surprise, and totally unprepared for resistance. The king's distrust of his nobles, however, was still undiminished, and he had given secret orders that as soon as the expedition entered the English territories, his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, should assume the supreme command. Accordingly, when the Scottish army reached the river Esk, a halt was ordered near Solway Moss, the royal banner was displayed, the trumpets sounded, and the new general was elevated on the bucklers of the soldiers, whilst the royal commission appointing him to the supreme command was produced and read aloud by a herald.† This imprudent step was speedily followed by the most disastrous consequences. Many of the nobles were indignant at the preference thus unwisely given to the royal minion, and declared that they would not serve under such a leader; a spirit of discontent, and almost of open mutiny, spread from rank to rank; discipline and order were at an end; and the whole army fell into a state of hopeless confusion. At this critical moment a party of the English Borderers, consisting of three hundred horse, under Thomas Dacre and John Musgrave, two active leaders, advanced to reconnoitre, and approaching near enough to perceive the disordered condition of the Scottish forces, though ignorant of the cause, they instantly availed themselves of the favourable opportunity, and boldly charged them with levelled spears. The effect of this surprise was instantaneous and fatal. The Scots, panic-stricken at the sudden attack, and taking their assailants for the van of a powerful army, threw away their weapons, and fled without even attempting resistance.

Another expedition resolved on.

Disgraceful rout at Solway Moss.

cairn and his son, the Earl Marishal, and a great many gentlemen, to the number of eighteen score, because they were all well-minded to God's word, which then they durst not avow."—Sadler's Papers, vol. i. p. 94.

* Knaves or jail-birds.

† Knox's History, vol. i. pp. 81—83, and note, Laing's Edition. From an interesting letter of Sir William Eure to Cromwell, dated from Berwick, 26th January, 1539-40, it seems that either this or a similar reprimand was delivered to the prelates by the king at Linlithgow, immediately after he had witnessed the representation of Sir David Lindsay's play, called 'Ane Satire on the Three Estates.' After describing the 'Enterlude,' Eure proceeds, "My lord, the same Maister Bellenden showed me, that after the said 'Enterlude' finished, the King of the Scots did call upon the Bishop of Glasgow (Gawin Dunbar), being chancellor, and divers other bishops, exhorting them to reform their fashions and manner of living, saying, that unless they so did, he would send six of the proudest of them unto his uncle of England, and as they were ordered, so he would order all the rest that would not amend."—State Papers, vol. v. p. 170.

* Knox's History, vol. i. p. 85. Lochmaben was a royal castle, and was in ancient times the property of King Robert Bruce. Lesley, however, states, that 'during the time of this raid, the king remained in Caerlaverock,'—a castle belonging to Lord Maxwell. Pitscottie agrees with Knox that the king 'was in the castle of Lochmaben.' The distance of either place from the Solway Moss was not considerable.

† Drummond mentions a report which has been adopted both by Pinkerton and Sir Walter Scott, that Sinclair was only raised to read the commission appointing Lord Maxwell general. This story, which is in itself extremely improbable, is contradicted by the direct testimony of Buchanan, Pitscottie, and Lesley. Oliver Sinclair was the third son of Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslin. He was not a young favourite, but an old attached servant of the crown, and held the office of a gentleman of the bed-chamber when James V. was an infant. He was entrusted with the charge of Stirling castle, when the king took refuge there on his flight from Falkland. After the expulsion of the Douglases he was appointed governor of Tantallon castle.

In the confusion the greater number made their escape, a few were slain, but a thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy, including the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the Lords Maxwell, Somerville, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming, Oliver Sinclair, the Masters of Rothes and Erskine, Home of Ayton, and almost every person of distinction who was engaged in the expedition. It is alleged that not a few of the nobles, who were in the pay of the English monarch, were taken willing prisoners, and that others chose rather to surrender to the enemy than to escape to their own country, and encounter the displeasure of their offended sovereign. A considerable number, according to Bishop Godwin, entangled themselves in the neighbouring morass, and were captured by the Scottish freebooters, and sold to the English.

Its fatal effects upon the king's mind—

The king had remained at Lochmaben, that he might earlier receive the intelligence, which he eagerly expected, of the success of the expedition. When the news of the shameful discomfiture of his army first reached him he broke out into furious transports of rage against the perfidy of his nobles, under the conviction that they had conspired to betray the independence of their country, in order to gratify their personal revenge. His mind, already overstrained by previous disappointments and anxieties, sunk under the blow, and he fell into a state of the deepest melancholy and despair. After a sleepless night, during which he continued to reiterate at intervals the melancholy exclamation, 'O fled Oliver! Is Oliver ta'en?' he returned next day (November 25th) to Edinburgh, where he remained till the 30th, in strict seclusion. The queen was then at Linlithgow, in hourly expectation of her confinement; but as if desirous to avoid her presence in the hour of despondency and gloom, he secretly quitted the capital, and crossing over to Fife, went to Hallyards, the residence of the High Treasurer, where he was received with respectful sympathy by Lady Grange, a venerable and pious matron. He was accompanied only by William Kirkaldy, afterwards the celebrated Laird of Grange, and a few of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. At supper his hostess observing his depression began to comfort him, entreating him to take the will of God in good part. 'My portion of this world is spent,' he mournfully replied, 'for I shall not be with you fifteen days.' When his servants came to inquire of him where he wished preparation made for his Yule, or Christmas festival, which was near at hand, he answered with 'a disdainful smirk,' as Knox terms it, 'I cannot tell —choose ye the place; but this,' continued he, 'I can tell you, ere Yule day ye will be masterless, and this realm without a king.' From Hallyards he proceeded to Falkland, where he shut himself up brooding over his disgrace, and refusing to listen to any consolation. A slow fever preyed upon his frame, the result of a wounded spirit, a malady for which human physicians can devise no remedy. He would sit for hours in speechless despondency, or would only mutter at intervals the old strain, 'Fy! fled is Oliver! Is Oliver ta'en? All is lost!' This could not last; 'he became,' says Pitscottie, 'so heavy and dolorous, that he neither eat nor drank anything that had good digestion, and became so vehement sick, that no man had hope of his life.' When in this hopeless condition, 'the post come out of Linlithgow, showing the king good tidings that the queen was delivered.' He briefly inquired 'whether it were man or woman that had been born to him.' The messenger replied that it was 'ane fair daughter.' The unhappy monarch, who had lost his two sons, had clung to the hope that his next child might be a boy, and was again met by disappointment. He seemed to have drained the cup of sorrow to the dregs, and his thoughts wandering back to the time when the crown of Scotland was brought into the Stewart family by the daughter of Bruce, he uttered the melancholy remark, 'Fare well, it cam wi' a lass, it will gang wi' a lass.' (It came by a girl, it will go with a girl.) 'And so,' continues the chronicler, 'he commended himself to Almighty God, and turned his back to his lords and his face to the wall.' The silence of this solemn moment was broken by Cardinal Beaton, who vociferated in the deafening ear of his royal master, 'Take order, sir, with your realm! Who shall rule during the minority of your daughter? Ye have known my services, what will ye have done? Shall there not be four regents chosen, and shall not I be principal of them?' Whatever was the nature of the king's answer, the Cardinal succeeded in obtaining the royal signature to what his enemies affirmed to have been a blank sheet of paper, in which he afterwards wrote anything he pleased.* In this mournful condition the king remained for some time, but sense and consciousness appear to have remained till the last moments of his existence, for he turned him about once more, looked upon the few faithful nobles and councillors who stood round his bed, and as the chronicler expresses it, 'gave ane little laughter,' kissed his hand to them in mute farewell, and then stretched it out for them to perform their last act of homage by pressing it to their lips, and this done, he 'held up his hands to God and yielded up his spirit.'†

—his despair and death.

James V., who was thus cut off in the flower of his age, by a death far more painful than that of his father at Flodden, was undoubtedly one of the ablest sovereigns of his age. His natural talents were of a very high order; and in spite of his vicious and neglected education, his mental vigour

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 406; Knox's History, vol. i. p. 91. The statement of Knox is confirmed by Sadler, on the authority of the Governor Arran, who, on the 12th of April, 1543, said, "We have other matters to charge the Cardinal with, for he did counterfeit (quoth he) the late king's Testament; and when the king was even almost dead (quoth he), he took his hand in his, and so caused him to subscribe a blank paper."—Sadler's Papers, vol. i. p. 138. See also Lesley, p. 169, and Buchanan, book xv. chap. i.

† Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 407; Lesley, pp. 165, 166.

and energy of character enabled him to make up for the time which he had lost in youth, and to become as distinguished for his mental accomplishments, as for his skill in those athletic exercises which were the great objects of ambition among the nobles and princes of that period. He possessed a remarkable genius for the fine arts, and more especially for poetry and architecture. He managed the revenues of his kingdom with prudence and economy, 'encouraged fisheries, wrought mines, cultivated waste lands, and understood and protected commerce.' He was frank and affable in his manners, and easy of access to the poor; and he manifested the most praiseworthy zeal to punish the oppressors of his people, and to administer strict justice to all classes of the community. "The dangers of the wilderness," says Pinkerton, "the gloom of night, the tempests of winter, could not prevent his patient exertions to protect the helpless, to punish the guilty, to enforce the observance of the laws. From horseback he often pronounced decrees worthy of the sagest seat of justice; and if overtaken by night in the progresses which he made through the kingdom, or separated by design or by accident from his company, he would share the meal of the lowest peasant with as hearty a relish as the feast of his highest noble." According to Buchanan, James was sparing in his diet, and very rarely used wine; patient of fatigue, cold, heat, and hunger; and in the depth of winter often continued day and night on horseback, that he might surprise the robbers in their lurking-places. On the other hand it must be admitted, that with many virtues the character of this unfortunate monarch was stained by great vices. His licentiousness must be in part attributed to the wicked counsels of those unscrupulous courtiers who sought in this way to degrade and weaken his mind, in order that they might prolong their ascendancy over him. His violent passions, implacable resentment, and immoderate love of power, led him, fatally for himself and for his kingdom, to adopt a course of policy which ultimately alienated from him the affections of his nobility, threw him entirely into the hands of the clergy, and induced him, in opposition to his better judgment, to support a cruel and rapacious hierarchy, in all their vindictive measures against the professors of the reformed faith. He died (13th December, 1542) in the thirty-first year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign, leaving one legitimate child, Mary, his successor, and six natural children, amongst whom was James, afterwards the celebrated Regent Moray.*

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. lxii.; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 384.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

A.D. 1436—1542

The history of the church during the earlier part of this period presents few incidents deserving of notice. James I., who sought to enlist the clergy in his plans for repressing the insolence and tyranny of the nobles, and promoting the social improvement of the country, had wisely guarded their ancient privileges, and secured the restoration of church lands which had been alienated during the preceding regencies; but he vindicated at the same time the independence of the ecclesiastical establishment, by forbidding the purchase of pensions and benefices from the pope, and permitting no clerk to pass beyond the seas without the royal licence, and security being given that he would not be guilty of simony. The same wise but jealous policy was adopted by James II., who procured from a provincial council of the clergy held at Perth in 1457, a declaration that the king had an undoubted right, by the ancient law and custom of Scotland, to the ecclesiastical patronage of the kingdom, by which it belonged to him to present to all benefices during the vacancy of the see. The prerogative thus firmly asserted does not appear to have been often used, nor was the freedom of election by the clergy to the higher ecclesiastical offices in any way interfered with until the reign of James III., who assumed not only the right of nomination to vacant benefices, but openly sold them to laymen. This monarch, whose character and conduct have been severely arraigned by the ecclesiastical historians of that age, has been accused by them of having unscrupulously invaded the rights and privileges of the church, whenever these interfered with the gratification of his favourites, and the replenishment of his exhausted treasury. In 1481, in order to give the sanction of law to his proceedings, an act was passed, declaring that "it is ordained by the king and his three Estates, concerning the privilege of the crown used and observed in all times past in the presentation to benefices during a vacancy in the sees of bishops, that our sovereign lord and his successors shall in future, during the vacation of a see, have power to present to benefices till the bishop show his bulls to the king's highness and to the chapter. And in case that our sovereign lord, of his special grace and favour, admit any prelate to his temporalities before he show his bulls, such admission shall imply no prejudice or harm to his highness concerning the said privilege or right of presentation."* Such enactments, which occur more frequently in the statute-book as we advance, may be accounted for and vindicated by weighty considerations of political expediency. The wealth and power of the church had reached a height which seriously endangered the welfare of the community. During many years, the practice of bequeathing money or land to the church, with the view of averting the consequences of a wicked life, had been so successfully fostered by the priesthood, that more than one-half of the wealth of the kingdom had passed into their hands. The right of presentation to the church livings thus munificently endowed, had been at first conceded to the original donors and their heirs; but gradually and by the same process which had secured the grant of the benefice, the power of nomination was ceded by the laity, and the patronage annexed to one of the bishopries, abbacies, or priories of the kingdom. The clergy had thus become absolute proprietors of a great portion of Scotland, while their subjection to the see of Rome and their freedom from the control of the civil law, rendered their influence in the state alike anomalous and dangerous. It became, therefore, the policy of the king and nobles not only to check the farther growth of this system, but to reduce it within such limits as would neutralize the evils which it necessarily produced. The assertion of the royal right of presentation to vacant sees, and the recovery of lay patronage, seemed the easiest and least objectionable mode of gaining these desirable ends. The policy or superstition of James IV. led him, indeed, to restore freedom of election to the clergy in 1493; but he imposed a salutary check on the encroachments of the Romish See, by enacting that no legate was permitted to enter the kingdom unless he was a cardinal or native of Scotland; and vigorous efforts were at the same time adopted to induce all the king's subjects, whether clergymen or laymen, who had pleas depending in the papal court, to withdraw their litigation, and submit to the decisions of their own sovereign.* In the following year, in consequence of the impoverished state of the kingdom, he forbad the exportation of money to Rome, under the penalties of rebellion and treason. In the last parliament of James V., the same heavy penalties were denounced on all intruders into bishopries and abbacies during a vacancy. These measures were not without effect in restraining the cupidity of the clergy, and guarding the independence of the kingdom; but so exorbitant had the power of the church become, that at the period of the Reformation only two hundred and sixty-two benefices out of the whole number, consisting of nine hundred and forty, were not under its absolute control.

Measures adopted by the Scottish kings to resist the encroachments of Rome.

Meanwhile, the internal condition of the church was such that it provoked the contempt and indignation of the people, whose minds were gradually becoming imbued with the simple and scriptural doctrines disseminated by the Lollards. As the wealth of the ecclesiastical establishment increased, its higher offices were more eagerly coveted by men who were utterly disqualified for the sacred duties of the priesthood; and appointments to vacant sees were secured by intrigue and acts of

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 232.

unblushing simony which outraged the ordinary decencies of life. Some of the bishops were men of dissolute habits, who lived in a state of open concubinage, and had large families, which were amply provided for from the patrimony of the church; and while surrounded by every luxury which their wealth could at this time command, they manifested a selfish indifference alike to the temporal condition and spiritual necessities of the people. Nor were the inferior clergy more favourable specimens of their order. The monks and friars were seldom restrained by the vows which bound them to a life of devotion and good works, but encouraged by the example of their superiors, became idle, dissolute, and profane. There were not wanting, indeed, among the dignitaries of the church, men of saintly character, who deplored the increasing corruptions of the priesthood, and sought to reform the abuses which they saw were slowly undermining the establishment. The venerable Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, was a model prelate, learned, pious, thoroughly conscientious, and devoted to his office, which he zealously employed in securing from his clergy the due administration of the ordinances of religion, and in the removal of hirelings and profligates from the ministry;* but his exertions, though successful for a time in arresting the tide of degeneracy, failed to produce any permanent improvement. His successor, Patrick Graham, imbued with a similar spirit, succeeded in raising his bishopric to a metropolitan see, and returned from Rome armed with full powers from the pope to prosecute the work of reformation; but the clergy took instant alarm, and by bribing the king, secured the degradation and imprisonment of the prelate on the ground that he had violated the law, by leaving the kingdom and corresponding with the pope without the royal license.† Shevez, who had been the chief agent in the prosecution of this unfortunate prelate, succeeded him in the primacy, and by his unscrupulous and profligate conduct increased the evils which his predecessors had vainly endeavoured to remove. The clergy being responsible only to their diocesans or superiors, were able in a great degree to set at defiance the popular indignation which their vices provoked; but public opinion found expression in the satirical effusions of the poets belonging to this period, who lashed with no lenient hand the follies and crimes of the priesthood. Among these satirists, Dunbar and Lindsay occupy the chief place, and their poems, abounding in broad humour and biting wit, furnish a sad picture of clerical ignorance and profligacy. Dunbar represents his abbot as having a concubine; sending his sons to be educated at Paris; and though unable to preach, as skilful in playing at cards, dice, and tables; and Lindsay execrates the extortions of the vicar, whom he accuses of grinding the faces of the poor under the cloak of religion; while in the pardoner, or vagabond who hawks about his false relics, and sells indulgences for sins, he has given us a graphic picture of impudent knavery. These plays, some of which were not only printed, but acted in different parts of the kingdom, tended to swell the gathering tide of public indignation, and gave a powerful impetus to the progress of Protestant opinions which afterwards assailed and overthrew the ancient establishment.

Satires of Dunbar and Lindsay.

The dissolute lives of the clergy were not redeemed by the possession of great professional learning or aptitude for the general duties of their office. In spite of the erection of the universities and colleges, their theological acquirements were lamentably deficient, and contrasted unfavourably with those of the same class in England. A ludicrous example of ignorance, even in a dignitary of the church, is mentioned by Lindsay of Pitscottie, who states, that Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, being called to Rome on business connected with the church, entertained the pope and his cardinals at dinner, and was requested, as the host, to say grace. The bishop, "who was not a good scholar, and had not good Latin, began rudely in the Scottish fashion, in this manner, saying, 'Benedicite,' believing that they should have answered 'Dominus,' but they answered 'Deus' in the Italian fashion, which put this noble bishop by his intendement that he wist not how to proceed forward; but happened out in good Scottish in this manner, the which they understood not, saying, 'The devil I give you all false carles to, in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.' Amen, quoth they. Then the bishop and his men laughed. And the bishop showed the pope the manner that he was not a good clerk, and his cardinals had put him by his intendment, and therefore he gave them all to the devil in good Scottish. And then the pope laughed among the rest."* Comparatively few of the higher clergy condescended to inculcate by preaching the doctrines and duties of religion, and those of inferior grade were either disqualified for the office, or entirely neglected it. This flagrant omission of duty, along with the progress of Lollard opinions, led to the institution of the order of preaching friars, who perambulated the country, preaching to the people, and deriving their subsistence from the charitable gifts of their hearers. These

Ignorance of the clergy, and their neglect of their duty.

Preaching of the friars.

* See ante, pp. 347—8.

† Ante, p. 351.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 255. It is but fair to state, however that though grossly ignorant of their own profession, and in many cases totally unacquainted with the Sacred Scriptures, the Scottish clergy were still greatly superior to the nobility in general information, and in talents for political management. Sir Ralph Sadler, in a letter to a member of the English privy council, in 1540, bears testimony to their great ability and experience in the conduct of public business. "To be plain with you," he says, "though the noblemen be well-minded, and diverse others that be of the council and about the king; yet I see none among them that hath any such agility of wit, gravity, learning, or experience to set forth the same, or to take in hand the direction of things. So that the king so far as I can perceive is of force driven to use the bishops and his clergy as his only ministers for the direction of his realm. They be the men of wit and policy that I see here."

men were in no respect superior to the regular clergy, either in learning or morals; but their discourses, though crude and coarse, and frequently directed rather to the enforcement of the superstitious practices of the church, than to the exposition of the simple and sublime principles of Christian faith, tended nevertheless to keep alive the spirit of national piety. Sir David Lindsay, in his poem of the Papingo, written in 1530, says,

"War nocht* the preaching of the begging frieris,
Tynt† war the faith among the secularis."

As these mendicant friars were regarded with feelings of mingled jealousy and contempt by the regular clergy, and from their associating on familiar terms with the common people caught something of the popular spirit and opinions, they began to assail, with no ordinary vehemence, the wealth, indolence, and pride of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, and contributed to increase the odium in which these were generally held. The censures of the church, which at first inspired the greatest dread, began gradually to lose their terrors; and even so early as the reign of James II. it became necessary to enforce them by civil penalties. This result was chiefly owing to the clergy themselves, who, by their scandalous abuse of this grand engine of priestly power, brought it at last into general contempt. The defence of William Airth, a friar, who was summoned to answer to the charge of having calumniated the clergy, may be cited as an illustration. Airth appeared at St. Andrews, before his judges, consisting not only of the doctors and masters belonging to the University, but of several of the dignitaries of the church; and having selected for his theme, "Verity is the strongest of all things," proceeded to argue, that cursing, if it were rightly used, was the most fearful thing on the face of the earth, for it was the very separation of man from God; but that it should not be used rashly, nor for every light cause. But now, said he, "the avarice of the priests, and their ignorance of their office, has caused it altogether to be vilipended;‡ for the priest, whose duty it is to pray for the people, will stand up on Sunday, and exclaim, 'Anne has lost her spindle.' 'There is a flail stolen behind the barn.' 'The good woman on the other side of the way has lost a horn spoon.' 'God's curse and mine I give to them that know of these things, and restore them not.'" In proof of the contempt into which this desecration of the censures of the church had brought the office of the ministry, the friar proceeded to relate to his audience a 'merry tale.' "After a sermon that he had preached at Dunfermline, he said he entered a house where gossips were drinking their Sunday's penny; and he being dry, asked drink. 'Yes, father,' said one of the gossips, 'ye shall have drink, but ye maun first resolve ane doubt which is risen amongst us, to wit, What servant will serve a man best on least expense.' 'The good angel,' said I, 'who is man's keeper, and makes great service without expense.' 'Tush,' said the gossip, 'we mean no so high matters, we mean what honest man will do the greatest service for the least expense.' And while I was musing, said the friar, what that should mean, he said, 'I see, father, that the greatest clerks are not the wisest men. Know ye not how the bishops and their officials serve us husbandmen? Will they not give to us a letter of cursing for a plack, to last for a year, to curse all that look over our dyke (fence); and that keeps our corn better nor the sleeping boy, that will have three shillings of fee, a sark (shirt) and pair of shoon (shoes) in the year. And if their cursing do anything, we hold the bishops the best cheap servants in that behalf that are within the realm.'"* The testimony of Airth is entitled to respect, as besides being a worthy specimen of his order, he was warmly attached to the church, and remained through life its devoted adherent. When driven from Scotland by the persecutions of his enemies, he fled to England, where he was imprisoned for defending the claims of the Pope, and the doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith, against the encroachments of Henry VIII.†

Abuse of the censures of the church.

While the scandalous lives of many of the clergy and their ambition and avarice were rapidly alienating the affections of the people from the church, the doctrines of the Lollards were making silent but rapid progress in the country. The tenets of Resby and Paul Crawar were still cherished by great numbers of the Scottish people, though the fate of these intrepid martyrs prevented for a time any open display of sympathy for their opinions. At first little notice seems to have been taken by the bishops of the spread of these new doctrines, either because they were ignorant of the extent to which they prevailed, or had ceased to fear their influence; but at length in 1494, during the reign of James IV., Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow, summoned no less than thirty persons from the districts of Kyle

Progress of the reformed doctrines.

* But for. † Lost.
‡ Vilified disesteemed.

* Knox's History, vol. i. pp. 36—39.

† The Scottish parliament passed an act on the subject, on the 12th of June, 1535, in which the cause of this disregard of the censures of the church is mainly attributed to "the dampnable persuasions of heretikis and thair perversit doctrine," which, it is added, "gevis occasioun to lichtly (or despise) the process of cursing and uther censures of holy kirk." (Acts. of Parl. vol. ii. p. 342.) There is a singular production by one of the early Scottish poets, a priest named Sir John Rowll, called his 'Cursing,' which exemplifies the abuses to which this process was perverted. It was written between 1492 and 1502, and is directed chiefly against the stealers, among other articles,

"Of fyve fat geese of Sir Johne Rowllis,
With caponis, hennis, and uther fowlis;"

but it also contains a general invective against persons who defraud the clergy of their tithes or dues. It appears from certain entries in the Treasurer's Books that even ecclesiastical persons were not exempted from such censures, for, on the 3rd of November, 1533, payment was made of forty shillings to Sir John Smyth, notary, "to pass and to execute the process upon the Abbot of Melrose and the Prioress of Eccles, for non-payment of their taxes;" and on the 1st of June, 1534, the sum of twenty shillings was made to "ane chaplain to pass to curse the Prioress of North Berwick and Eccles for non-payment of their taxes."—Knox's History, vol. i. p. 38, note.

and Cunningham, in Ayrshire, to appear before the council, to answer on a charge of heresy. These were not illiterate and uninfluential individuals, but comprehended George Campbell of Cessnock, John Campbell of Newmilns, Adam Reid of Barskimming, Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet, and the Ladies Stair and Polkellie, besides other persons of note in the subsequent struggles for religious freedom. They were designated the Lollards of Kyle, and stood charged with no less than thirty-four articles of heresy, the more prominent of which consisted in condemning the worship of images; veneration for relics; and the offering of prayers to the Virgin Mary; the rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the denial of the lawfulness of tithes, the supremacy of the Pope as the successor of Peter, and that the mass is of the nature of a sacrifice for sin. The issue of the trial signally disappointed the expectations of their enemies. So ably was the defence conducted by their leader, Adam Reid, a man of strong judgment and ready wit, that the king who was present treated the proceedings with ridicule; and it was thought prudent to dismiss the accused with a caution to beware of new doctrines, and content themselves with the faith of the church. Their peculiar opinions became thus generally known, and the failure of this attempt to suppress them by force gave a powerful impetus to the progress of Scriptural truth.*

The Lollards of Kyle.

An interesting incident of a similar kind, which occurred about this period, affords satisfactory evidence that the New Testament in the vernacular tongue, in manuscript, was in existence and in use among the Scottish people under the reign of James IV. The narrative is contained in the reply of Alexander Aless to the calumnies of Cochlæus, published in 1534.† Arguing in favour of the reading of the Scriptures, especially in families at home, and addressing James V., the writer says:—"I will now add the decisions of princes; and, that I may omit others, I will relate to you a domestic example. I remember the most excellent king, your father, a very brave prince, by a remarkable testimony approved of this domestic practice. There was in your kingdom a man, not only of rank, but also distinguished for his exalted piety—John Campbell, Laird of Cesnock. His house might have been an example of Christian instruction, for he had a priest at home, who read to him and his family the New Testament in their vernacular language; and the morals, both of himself and of his family, corresponded with the glad tidings. He also assisted the poor in all kind offices; and although he had learned from the Gospel that superstition and hypocrisy are displeasing to God; that he might not seem partial to any rank, he was wont to receive also the monks into his hospitable abode. There, when he at times would familiarly converse with his guests upon Christian doctrine, certain hypocrites, as it happened, understood that he attacked some of their superstitions. At last, his mind having been often sounded, the monks, violating the law of hospitality, and, as it is said, 'passing by the eating-table and the salt,' they carried his name to the bishop, and accused him of heresy.

Perusal of the English New Testament.

"In that suit, when, after a long disputation, it appeared that both he and his wife were in danger of their lives, Campbell appealed to the king. Although the monks were grievously offended that the king should call the cause before himself, still he thought it belonged to his good faith and humanity that to good and noble men he should not fail to do his duty. He therefore graciously heard the cause on both sides; and when the husband, from natural reserve, and not a little agitated by fear of the monks, answered with modesty, the king commanded the wife to plead the cause. She then, quoting the Scriptures, refuted the charges brought against them so distinctly and wisely, that the king not only acquitted the defendants, Campbell, with his wife and the priest; but also, rising up, he caressed the woman, and extolled her diligence in Christian doctrine. Having severely reproved the monks, he threatened, that if ever after they created trouble of this sort to such honourable and innocent persons, he would punish them severely. To Campbell himself, indeed, he presented certain villages, that there might remain an honourable token of his decision, and of his good-will towards him; lest there should be supposed to lurk in his (the king's) mind any suspicion against Campbell because of the accusation of the monks."

With regard to the first introduction into Scotland of the sacred Scriptures in a printed form, it has recently been discovered, that Tyndale's version of the New Testament was imported into the country in the year 1526, nearly about the same time that it found its way into England. The proof of this interesting fact is furnished by a letter of John Hackett, the English ambassador to the Netherlands.* It appears that a considerable number of copies of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament had been discovered in Antwerp, and that Hackett had exerted himself to procure the destruction of these books, 'for the preservation of the Christian faith.' At this period a considerable traffic was carried on between Scotland and the Low Countries; and certain of the Scottish merchants, who, by the authority of parliament, generally went along with their goods, had purchased a considerable number of the obnoxious volumes, and conveyed them to their own country, before Hackett was able to 'see justice done' upon them. In a letter which this busy agent of the English Romanists addressed to Cardinal Wolsey, dated from Mechlin on the 20th of February, 1526-7, there is the following account of this incident:—"I trust by this time that your Grace

Introduction of the New Testament into Scotland.

* Knox's History, vol. i. pp. 7—10, p. 2; Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 60.

† Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii. pp. 400, 401.

* Cotton MS., Galba b. vi. 4; Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii. p. 409.

has ample information of such execution and justice as has been done in the towns of Antwerp and Barrow (now Bergen-op-Zoom) upon all such English books as we could find in these countries, similar to three such other books as your Grace sent unto me, with my Lord the Bishop of London's signature. By my last writing to Mr. Brian Tuke, I advertised him how that there were divers merchants of Scotland that bought many of such-like books, and took them into Scotland;—a part to Edinburgh, and most part to the town of St. Andrew's. For the which cause, when I was at Barrow, being advertised that the Scottish ships were in Zealand—for there the said books were laden—I went suddenly thitherward, thinking, if I had found such stuff there, that I would cause to make as good a fire of them, as there has been done of the remnant in Brabant; but fortune would not that I should be in time; for the foresaid ships were departed a day afore my coming. So I must take patience for all my labour, with leaving my Lady Margaret's letters, and good instructions with my Lord of Bever, and [the Scottish Conservator in Flanders, Mr. John Moffat,] concerning the foresaid business."

When this important event took place the Scottish primate was a fugitive, in terror of his life, in consequence of his quarrel with the Douglases; so that the importation of the sacred volume appears to have been carried on without hinderance for several years.

During the concluding years of the fifteenth and the earlier part of the sixteenth century, no persecuting measures deserving of notice were employed against the adherents of the new faith. The untimely death of James IV., and the distracted condition of the country during the minority of his son, engrossed the attention alike of the ecclesiastical and civil rulers; while the contests for supremacy between the rival sees of St. Andrews and Glasgow, were favourable to the spread of the reformed doctrines, by suspending for a time the vigilant jealousy of the church. On the elevation, however, of James Beaton to the primacy of St. Andrews, matters speedily took a less favourable turn; and under the direction of this active prelate, the ecclesiastical courts, now thoroughly alive to the dangers which menaced the hierarchy by the circulation of the writings of Luther and the other reformers, took prompt and vigorous measures to prevent the increase of the principles of the Reformation. The first victim of priestly intolerance was Patrick Hamilton, a noble youth, whose eminent acquirements, unfeigned piety, and resolute bearing amid the horrors of martyrdom, have deservedly embalmed his name in the grateful recollections of the Scottish people. He was the son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil,* and the grandson of the Lord Hamilton who married a sister of James III. His mother was a daughter of John Alexander, Duke of Albany, the second son of King James II. From his birth he was designed for the church, and accordingly in childhood had conferred on him the abbacy of Ferne.* It is uncertain at what period he adopted the religious opinions for which he afterwards suffered; but his altered manner, combined with the preference which he manifested for ancient literature instead of the barren philosophy taught in the schools, and his condemnation of the abuses of the church, appear early to have drawn on him the suspicions of the priesthood. With the view of escaping the consequences of this jealousy, and of acquiring a deeper insight into the reformed opinions, that he might afterwards more intelligently explain and defend them, Hamilton left Scotland for Germany, then heaving under the impulses of that new life which the Reformation had created. In the city of Wittemberg he visited Luther, and his amiable colleague Melancthon, who, won by the genius, piety, and thirst for knowledge displayed by the young Scotsman, entered warmly into his plans of study; and after instructing him in the principles of Scriptural truth, recommended him to the care of Francis Lambert of Avignon, who then presided over the College of Marbourg. Under this learned and devoted reformer, who had given up an excellent situation in his own country for the sake of his principles, Hamilton made rapid progress in learning, and mastered the great points of controversy between the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. He was now seized with an irresistible desire to revisit Scotland, for the purpose of disseminating among his countrymen the views which he had adopted. He returned therefore in 1527, and began a course of preaching in which the distinctive doctrines of Christianity were boldly proclaimed, and the errors of the Romish church as faithfully exhibited and denounced. His noble birth, great talents, youthful appearance (he was then only twenty-eight), and winning rhetoric, attracted crowds who listened with eager delight to his discourses; and the clergy becoming greatly alarmed resolved to destroy him. This however could not be easily effected; for besides his near relationship to the king, the young reformer manifested a prudent caution in his public discourses, contented himself with proclaiming the simple truths of the gospel, so that it was difficult to fasten upon him the charge of heresy. It was at last resolved to obtain possession of his person, and by artful means to draw from him such admission of his views as would justify the summary proceedings which were contemplated. He was accordingly decoyed to St. Andrews, under the pretext that the clergy desired a free conference with him on important matters of Christian faith

Martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton—

* Sir Patrick was slain in the skirmish of 'Clean-the-Causeway,' in the streets of Edinburgh, 30th April, 1520. See ante, p. 423.

* Hamilton however was merely titular Abbot of Ferne, and was not in holy orders. Ferne is a parish in the eastern part of the shire of Ross. The abbey was founded by Farquhard, first Earl of Ross, in the reign of Alexander III.

and practice; and when he arrived in the city, Beaton, the archbishop, instructed Alexander Campbell, a Dominican friar, to insinuate himself into his confidence, and under pretence of conscientious doubts regarding the disputed points, to extract from him an avowal of his opinions. This base scheme was completely successful. Hamilton, interested by the well-feigned anxieties of the friar, and encouraged by what seemed the gradual triumph of truth over error, disclosed every secret of his mind; and the unscrupulous tool, having gained his end, returned to his employer, and reported the gratifying result of his visits. The plot was now deemed ripe for execution, and Hamilton was apprehended during the night, and committed to the castle. On the following day he was summoned before the ecclesiastical court at which Beaton presided, assisted by the Bishops of Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Brechin, besides many other dignitaries of the church. Campbell appeared as his accuser, and charged him with holding the following tenets:—1. That corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism. 2. That no man by the power of his free will can do any good. 3. That no man is without sin as long as he liveth. 4. That every true Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace. 5. That a man is not justified by works, but by faith only. 6. That good works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good works, and an ill man ill works, although these ill works, if truly repented, do not make an ill man. 7. That faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that he that hath one of them hath all, and he that wanteth one wanteth all. 8. That God is the cause of sin in this sense,—that he withdraweth his grace from man, and grace withdrawn he cannot but sin. 9. That it is devilish doctrine to teach that by any actual penance remission of sin is purchased. 10. That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation. 11. That there is no purgatory. 12. That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion. 13. That the Pope is antichrist; and 14. That every priest hath as much power as the Pope.*

To the first seven of these articles Hamilton gave an unqualified assent, "whereunto he offered to set his hand; the rest he said were disputable points, but such as he could not condemn unless he saw better reason than yet he had heard." The council, after some discourse with the accused, deliberated upon the articles, and pronounced the whole of them to be heretical and contrary to the faith of the church; on which sentence was immediately passed against the accused, condemning him to the flames; while to give to it greater weight, not only were the signatures of the bishops and ecclesiastics present attached, but those of persons of rank attending the university, among whom was the Earl of Cassilis, a boy only thirteen years of age. Hamilton received sentence of death on the 28th of February, 1528;* and in the afternoon of that day he was conducted to the stake, which had been erected in front of the College of St. Salvator,† his judges being desirous it is said to anticipate the return of the king, who was absent at that time on a pilgrimage to St. Duthoc, in Ross-shire,‡ as well as to strike terror by his sudden and terrible fate. The calm and intrepid demeanour of the young martyr, during the closing scene of his life, is narrated with simple pathos by Spottiswood. "Being come to the place he put off his gown, and gave it, with his bonnet, coat, and other apparel, to his servant, saying, 'This stuff will not help in the fire, yet will do thee some good. I have no more to leave thee but the ensample of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind; for albeit the same be bitter and painful in man's judgment, yet is it the entrance to everlasting life, which none can inherit that denieth Christ before the congregation.' Then was he tied to the stake; about it a great quantity of coal, wood, and other combustible matter was heaped, whereof he seemed to have no fear, but seriously commending his soul into the hands of God, held his eyes seriously fixed on the heavens. The executioner firing the powder that was laid to kindle the wood, his left hand and the side of his face were a little scorched therewith; yet the fire did not kindle. Whereupon some were sent to the castle to bring more powder; whilst this was bringing, he uttered divers comfortable speeches to them that stood by: the friars all that time molesting him with their cries, bidding him convert, pray to our Lady, and say Salve Regina. Amongst them none was more troublesome than friar Alexander Campbell, who, as we said, kept company with him at his first coming to the city; often he besought him to depart and not to vex him; but when he would not cease his crying, he said, 'Wicked man, thou knowest that I am not an heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer; so much thou didest confess unto me in private, and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ.' The powder by this time was brought, and the fire kindled; after which with a loud voice he was heard to say, 'How long, O Lord, shall darkness oppress this realm? How long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of men?' and then closed his speeches with these words, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!'"§

—its influence in propagating the truth.

The death of Patrick Hamilton produced consequences altogether different from those which his murderers had anticipated. His fate excited general sympathy, and drew attention to the principles

* Lindsay of Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp. 315, 316.

* Andrew Duncan, the Laird of Airdrie, had concerted a scheme for the rescue of Hamilton, but it was discovered and defeated.

† See Appendix, Note XVIII., for a copy of the sentence pronounced upon the martyr, and of a letter from the doctors of the University of Louvaine to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, commending him for the execution of 'the wicked heretic, Patrick Hamilton.'

‡ Knox, vol. i. p. 16. The accuracy of the statement, however, has been called in question apparently on good grounds.

§ Spottiswood, p. 62—64.

for which he suffered. The harmony of these with Scripture became more apparent from examination; and the heroism which the youthful martyr had displayed during his trial and execution, attested their wonderful influence in supporting the soul amid the most excruciating tortures. A little treatise in Latin, composed by Hamilton, containing a brief but clear statement of the plan of salvation, and a commentary on the Christian graces, was extensively circulated, and contributed to deepen and perpetuate the impressions which his preaching had produced.* Nor was the miserable end of Campbell, his betrayer, without its influence in strengthening the general persuasion that he had suffered for the truth. Stung by the reproaches of conscience, and unable to dismiss from his memory the horrid scene which he had witnessed, and the dying abjurations of his victim, the reason of the unhappy friar at last gave way, and he died at Glasgow about a year afterwards, in a frenzy of madness. It was a common saying at the time, "That the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton had infected as many as it blew upon."† In St. Andrews, the scene of the tragedy, and the head-quarters of the persecutors, the opinions of the martyr made daily progress. Gawin Logie, principal of St. Leonard's College, and John Winram, the sub-prior, taught the principles of the Reformation to the students of the university, and the younger monks and noviciates of the abbey; so that it was customary to say of a suspected Lutheran, that he had drunk of the well of St. Leonard's. The king's own confessor, Alexander Seton,‡ a Dominican friar, became imbued with the new opinions, and boldly denounced the corrupt doctrines of the priests. He was in the habit of teaching that the law of God had been obscured by their traditions; that Christ was the end and perfection of the law; that man has no power to forgive sins, but that pardon can be obtained only by repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. His commanding eloquence and ready access to the king rendered his influence doubly dangerous; and having in a public sermon at St. Andrews not only vindicated the doctrines he had previously taught, but openly declared that according to the Scriptures bishops ought to preach, and that they who did it not were dumb dogs, who fed not the flock, but their own bellies, he was summoned to appear before the archbishop, to answer for his language. "Your informers, my lord," said the friar, "must have been very ignorant persons, who cannot discern between Paul, Isaiah and Zechariah, and Friar Alexander Seton. I said indeed that St. Paul declared that bishops ought to preach; and that the prophet Isaiah that they who feed not the flock are dumb dogs; but of my own authority I affirmed nothing, but merely declared what the Spirit of God had before pronounced at whom, my lord, if you be not offended, you cannot justly be offended at me." The archbishop was highly indignant at this mode of reasoning, but he was afraid to take any open measures against Seton (for he was a person of great learning, courage, and influence), until by artful misrepresentations he succeeded in poisoning the king's mind against him. This was not difficult to accomplish, as James had been galled by his confessor's honest reproofs of his licentious conduct; and Seton, perceiving that 'the king's countenance towards him was changed,' retired from Scotland, and sought shelter in Berwick; from whence he wrote a letter to the king, offering to justify himself in his presence from the charges of his accusers, if he were allowed a safe conduct, and liberty of speech. To this offer no answer was vouchsafed; and Seton ultimately proceeded to London, where he became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, under whose protection he continued till his death, in the year 1542.*

Intrepid conduct of the king's confessor.

The clergy were now thoroughly alarmed at the progress of the new opinions, and strove to extirpate them by the adoption of the most sanguinary measures. During the ten years which followed the death of Patrick Hamilton, a considerable number of persons in various parts of the country suffered martyrdom for their adherence to the cause of truth. Henry Forrest, a Benedictine monk, a native of Linlithgow, was arrested and thrown into prison by Archbishop Beaton, probably about the year 1532, on the charge that he had termed Patrick Hamilton a martyr, and affirmed that he was unjustly put to death, as the articles for which he was condemned were true. According to Foxe, he had expressed these sentiments under the seal of confession, to a friar named Walter Laing, who immediately reported them to Beaton. Forrest's confession was produced in evidence against him, and he was condemned to the flames as a pestilent heretic, 'equal in iniquity with Master Patrick Hamilton.' After being degraded from his holy orders, he was burnt at the north church-stile of the abbey church of St. Andrews, "to the intent," says Foxe, "that all the people of Angus might see the fire, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine."† Two years later (27th August, 1534), David Straiton and Norman Gourlay, a priest, were condemned to the stake. Straiton was a gentleman of good family, brother to the Laird of Lauriston. He had

Martyrdom of Henry Forrest—

—of Straiton and Gourlay.

* Knox, p. 8.

† This expression was first employed by a gentleman named John Lindsay, a friend of the archbishop's, who, when Forrest was to be burnt for heresy, said to Beaton, "My Lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counsel ye will utterly destroy yourselves. If ye will burn them, let it be in how (low) cellars, for the reek (smoke) of Master Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon."—Knox, vol. i. p. 42.

‡ Seton was the youngest son of Sir Alexander Seton of Touch and Tillibody, in Stirlingshire, who fell at the battle of Flodden, in 1513. His mother was a daughter of Alexander, Lord Home.

* Knox, vol. i. pp. 45—52, and appendix, p. 531; Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 87—93, Wodrow Society Edition.

† Foxe, p. 896; Knox, vol. i. p. 53; Spottiswood, p. 65.

quarrelled with the Vicar of Ecclesgreig,* respecting the payment of tithes; and indignant at the exactions of the priest, he had directed his servants to cast every tenth fish they caught into the sea, and to bid the vicar's men seek their tax where he found the stock. In consequence of these violent proceedings, the thunders of the church were directed against him, and when these produced no effect, he was summoned to answer for heresy. Meanwhile he had received instruction in the principles of the Protestant faith, from the celebrated John Erskine of Dun, one of the earliest of the reformers, and had undergone a great change in his character and conduct. "He had before been very stubborn," says Calderwood, "and despised all reading, specially of good purposes; now he delighted in nothing but reading, albeit he could not read himself; and exhorted every man to peace and concord, and to the contempt of the world." It is related that, listening to a portion of the New Testament, which was read to him by the Laird of Lauriston, he came upon that passage where our Saviour says, 'He that denieth me before men, I will deny him in the presence of my Father and before his angels;' upon which he was deeply moved, and falling down on his knees, and extending his hands, he earnestly prayed, that although he had been a great sinner, God would never permit him to deny Him or his truth, from the fear of death or bodily torment. Norman Gourlay, who was 'a man of reasonabell conditioun,' was accused of having denied the existence of purgatory, and having affirmed that the Pope was antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland. He had been abroad, and had married upon his return, which was the chief offence for which he suffered. For as Pitscottie remarks, while the utmost licentiousness was freely tolerated by the ecclesiastical courts, "they would thole (suffer) no priest to marry, but they would punish and burn him to the dead."† Straiton and Gourlay were cited to answer for their alleged heretical opinions before an ecclesiastical court, which was held in the abbey of Holyrood. Henry, Bishop of Ross, presided as commissioner for the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the king himself took his seat upon the bench, completely clothed in scarlet, the judicial costume of the time. Every effort was made to induce Straiton to purchase his pardon by abjuring his faith; but he steadily refused to listen even to the earnest solicitations of the king himself, who seemed anxious to save his life. He was executed along with his fellow-sufferer, at the Rood or cross of Greenside, on the Calton-hill of Edinburgh.‡

On the death of James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, his nephew, David Beaton, was appointed to the vacant see; and the elevation of this able but profligate prelate to the dignity of a cardinal and the primacy of the Scottish church, was speedily followed by a renewed and more inveterate persecution of the reformers. —of friar Keilor— Keilor, a black friar; Sir Duncan Simpson, a priest; John Beveridge, also a black friar; Forrester, a notary in Stirling; and Dean Thomas Forret, Vicar of Dollar, and canon regular of the monastery of St. Colm's Inch—were summoned to appear before a council, presided over by Cardinal Beaton, and Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane,* and were all condemned to the stake. Friar Keilor had, according to the custom of the times, composed a tragedy on the crucifixion of Christ, in which, under the character of the chief priests and Pharisees, who persuaded the people to reject our Saviour, and Pilate to condemn him, he painted in vivid colours the conduct of the bishops, who induced princes and judges to persecute the disciples of Christ. This play, which was acted before the king at Stirling, on the morning of a Good Friday, appears to have excited the most lively indignation among the clergy. The Vicar of Dollar, who suffered along with —and of the Vicar of Dollar and others. Keilor, belonged to the house of Forret, or Forest, in Fife, and was the son of the Master of the royal stables in the reign of James IV. After acquiring the rudiments of grammar in his native country, he was sent abroad by the kindness of a noble lady, for the purpose of completing his education at Cologne. Returning to Scotland, he was admitted a canon regular in the monastery of St. Colm's Inch. It happened that a dispute arose between the abbot and the canons respecting their allowance, and the latter got the book of the foundation, that they might examine into their rights. The abbot took the book from them, and gave them in its stead a volume of Augustine, which was in the monastery. "O happy and blessed was that book to me," did Forret often say, "by which I came to the knowledge of the truth." The study of the sacred Scriptures led him to embrace the doctrines of the reformed faith, and with the simple fearlessness of his nature he imparted his new views to his brethren in the monastery. He was successful in his efforts to convert the younger canons, 'but the old bottles,' he used to say, 'would not receive the new wine.' The abbot frequently advised him to say as others said, and to keep his mind to himself, else he would incur punishment. "I thank you, my lord," was his reply, "ye are a friend to my body, but not to my soul. Before I deny a word that I have spoken, ye shall see this body of mine consumed to ashes, and blown away with the wind." He was afterwards admitted to the vicarage of Dollar, where he rendered himself obnoxious to his superiors by his diligence in preach-

* Now called St. Cyrus, in Kincardineshire. Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii. p. 470.

† Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 357.

‡ Knox, vol. i. pp. 58—60; Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 106—108; Spottiswood, p. 66.

* It is stated by Keith, that Chisholm alienated the revenues of his bishopric in order to provide portions for his three natural children.—Keith's Catalogue, p. 105.

ing to his parishioners, a duty then invariably abandoned to the orders of friars, and by his generosity in relieving them from oppressive exactions. He taught his flock the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue; and also prepared a little catechism for the instruction of the young, and exhorted them all to look for salvation only through the blood of Christ. He was a diligent student, especially of the sacred Scriptures, and was most assiduous in the discharge of all the duties of the pastoral office. In his visitation of the sick and poor of his parish, he was in the habit of carrying provisions in his gown-sleeve, to relieve their temporal wants while he fed their souls with the bread of life. When the agents of the Pope came into his bounds to sell indulgences, he said, "Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you; this is but to deceive you. There is no pardon for our sins that can come to us either from Pope or any other, but solely by the blood of Christ." He incurred the enmity of his clerical brethren by refusing to exact what was termed the corpse-present, consisting of the best cow and uppermost cloth belonging to the deceased, which were claimed as a due by the vicar of the parish.* At the instigation of the friars, he was repeatedly summoned before the Bishop of Dunkeld, in whose diocese he resided, and accused of preaching and explaining the mysteries of the Scriptures to the people in the mother tongue. The Bishop, who seems to have been favourably disposed towards Forret, remonstrated with him, respecting his practice of preaching every Sunday, observing with great simplicity, that by so doing he might make the people think that the prelates ought to preach likewise. "It is enough for you," he added, "when you find any good epistle or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest alone." Forret replied that he had read both the Old and the New Testaments, and had never found an ill gospel or epistle in any of them; but if his lordship would point them out, he would preach the good and omit the evil. "Nay, brother Thomas, my joy, that I cannot do," said the bishop, "for I thank God I never knew either the Old or New Testament.† I will know nothing but my breviary and my pontifical; but go your way, and leave these fancies alone, else you will repent it when you may not mend it." When brought to the place of execution, on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh (March 1, 1538-39), he was annoyed by the importunity of a friar named Hardbuckle, who urged him, but in vain, to pray to the Virgin Mary. The New Testament was then plucked from his bosom by one of the attendants, who held it up before the people, and cried 'heresy! heresy!' Then the crowd shouted, 'Burn him! burn him!' To which the martyr meekly responded, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.' He was then fastened to the stake, and continued to recite portions of the Psalms as long as consciousness remained.* Foxe says, that three or four men of Stirling suffered death at the same time, because they were present at the marriage of "the Vicar of Tullibody, and did eat flesh in Lent at the said bridal."

—his execution.

In the same year Jerome Russell, a grey friar, and Ninian Kennedy, a youth of eighteen years of age, were convicted of heresy, and burnt at Glasgow, in spite of the intercession of Archbishop Dunbar,† that their lives might be spared. Kennedy, who is said by Knox to have possessed a fine genius for Scottish poetry, quailed for a moment at the prospect of a death so dreadful, and it was expected that he would recant; but the exhortations of his fellow-sufferer, Russell, speedily restored his fortitude, and falling upon his knees, he expressed in ardent language his gratitude to God, who had saved him from the guilt of apostasy. "Now," said Russell, addressing his persecutors, "I defy death. Do what you please. I praise God I am ready. Now is your hour and the power of darkness; ye now sit in judgment, whilst we stand before you, falsely accused and most wrongfully condemned. But the day is coming when we shall have our innocence declared, and ye shall discover your blindness; meanwhile proceed, and fill up the measure of your iniquities."‡

Martyrdom of Russell and Kennedy.

Besides those who suffered martyrdom, many persons, chiefly belonging to the inferior clergy, who had adopted the new opinions, were compelled to consult their safety by a hasty flight from the kingdom. Gawin Logie, principal of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, who contributed so much to spread the reformed doctrines, became at last suspected by the clergy, and found it necessary to consult his safety by escaping to England in 1533. Alexander Aless, a canon of St. Andrews, was so well versed in the chief points of the Lutheran controversy, that he undertook to reclaim Patrick Hamilton from his heresy; but the conversation of the martyr, and his constancy in death, produced so powerful an impression upon the mind of Aless, that he became a convert to the new faith. A discourse delivered by him against the vices of the clergy, brought upon him a charge of heresy, and he was thrown into prison, from which, however, after a year's confinement, he escaped to the Continent, and in 1540, became professor of divinity in

Protestant exiles.

* Sir David Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. pp. 6, 7.

† From this saying arose a common proverb, 'Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, who knew neither the new nor the old law.'

* Calderwood, vol. i. p. 128. See Appendix, Note XIX.

† Petrie, the Church Historian, says, "Because Bishop Gawin Dunbar was thought cold in the business, Messrs. John Lauder, Andro Oliphant, and Friar Maltman were sent from Edinburgh to assist him." But for the zeal of these inquisitors, whom Knox terms "Serjeants of Satan," Russell and Kennedy would, in all probability, have escaped martyrdom. Spottiswood, pp. 66, 67.

‡ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 216; Knox, vol. i. pp. 64—66.

the University of Leipsic.* John Fyfe also, who prosecuted his studies under Gawin Logie, at St. Andrews, fled in company with Aless to the Continent, where he obtained considerable academical distinction. His name is inscribed as Professor of Philosophy and Divinity in the Registers of the University of Frankfort, in 1547: he was created a doctor, and chosen rector in 1551; and he died in 1562, in the 72nd year of his age.† About the same time, John McBee, better known by his classical surname of Maccabæus, fled to Denmark, where he became professor of divinity at Copenhagen; and besides rendering important service to Christian III., in the settlement of the reformed religion in his dominions, he assisted in translating the Scriptures into the Danish language. The researches of Dr. McCrie have discovered the singular fact, that the real name of this eminent Scotsman was McAlpine, and that he belonged to the proscribed clan of McGregor—a circumstance which sufficiently accounts for his changed patronymic.‡ In this list of illustrious refugees, we must include the name of the celebrated George Buchanan, who in consequence of a biting satire against the order of Franciscan monks was imprisoned, but escaped by the window of his bedchamber, while his keepers were asleep.§ At a later period (1540), Sir John Borthwick, a younger son of William, third Lord Borthwick, who was slain at Flodden, was cited before Cardinal Beaton, and other prelates, at St. Andrews, on a charge of heresy contained in twelve articles of accusation. He disappointed the vengeance of his enemies, by escaping to England; but he was nevertheless condemned and excommunicated, besides being burned in effigy at the market-cross of St. Andrews. Soon after these proceedings Borthwick wrote a defence of himself, in the form of answers to the several articles of accusation. This production, which has been preserved by Foxe in his Latin Commentaries, contains, besides the vindication of his own conduct, a spirited and caustic attack on the Papal pretensions and the abuses of the church. While danger and death thus hung over the advocates of the reformed faith, it continued to make rapid progress in the country. The national character, at once patient in investigating truth, and cool and resolute in maintaining it, had secured for the new opinions the assent, not only of a large portion of the common people, but of considerable numbers of the nobility and gentry. In 1540, the following persons were already recognised as the earnest abettors of the reformation. William, Earl of Glencairn; his son, Alexander, Lord Kilmaurs; William Earl of Errol; William Lord Ruthven; his daughter Lilias, married to the Master of Drummond; John Stewart, son of Lord Methven; Sir James Sandilands, with his whole family; Sir David Lindsay, of the Mount; Erskine, of Dun; Melville, of Raith; Balnaves, of Hall-hill; Straiton, of Lauriston, and William Johnston and Robert Alexander, advocates.*

It appears that the importation of the works of the continental reformers had contributed greatly to the diffusion of Protestant principles in Scotland, and repeated attempts were made by the legislature to prevent their dissemination. In 1525, it was enacted, that no foreign merchants should bring into the realm 'any books or works of the great heretic Luther, and his disciples,' under the pain of imprisonment, and the forfeiture of their ships and cargoes.† From this it appears, that in the first instance, the books and opinions of the reformers were circulated by strangers, who came into Scotland for the purpose of trade; but it was soon found necessary to extend the penalties of the act to natives of the kingdom; and in 1527 it was declared by the chancellor and lords of the council, that "all other the king's lieges assistaris to sic opinyeons be punist in semeible wise, and the effect of the said act to strike upon them." The rehearsal or discussion of these heresies was strictly forbidden, unless "it be to the confusion thereof, and that by clerks in the schools alenarlie," (alone). These enactments were embodied in another statute, which was adopted by the parliament in 1535; and all persons who had any of the alleged heretical works in their possession were commanded to deliver them up to their ordinary, within forty days, under the penalty of confiscation and imprisonment.‡

Enactments against the importation of Protestant works.

In May, 1536, a public proclamation was made, prohibiting the selling or reading of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue,§ and the sacred volume was openly denounced by the clergy as the cause of 'all the din and play' which had taken place in the church. Two years later, the statutes against the possession and perusal of heretical works were enforced with increased rigour, and a considerable number of wealthy individuals were imprisoned and stript of their property for 'breaking his Highness' proclamation in having and using such books as are suspected of heresy, and are prohibited by the Kirk.'‖

As the principles of the Reformation continued to gain ground, the apprehensions of the clergy were manifested by the increasing severity of the statutes against heresy. In the parliament of 1540 it was made a capital crime to argue against the authority or spiritual infallibility of the Pope, all private conventicles, or meetings for the discussion of religious subjects, were strictly prohibited, and rewards were promised to those who

—and against heretics and conventicles.

* For an account of Aless's epistle against the decree of the Scottish bishops forbidding the perusal of the New Testament in the vernacular tongue, and his controversy with Cochlæus, see Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii. pp. 425—467.

† Appendix to Knox's History, vol. i. p. 527.

‡ Appendix to M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. pp. 357—372.

§ Buchanan, book xiv. chap. lv.

* Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 134, 135.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 295

‡ Ibid. p. 349.

§ State Papers, vol. v. p. 48.

‖ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.

revealed where they were held. No person even suspected of heresy was to be admitted to any office or privilege, either in the boroughs or elsewhere. Those who had fled from trial were to be held as confessed, and sentence passed against them; and so anxious was the church to protect her faithful subjects from the contamination of heresy, that all intercourse was forbidden with those who had at any time held heretical opinions, even although they had abjured their errors and received absolution. The exhortations which were at the same time given to the churchmen to reform their lives, and to attend more faithfully to their duties, show that the national council was well aware that the danger which now threatened the Popish church might be traced directly to the idleness, corruption, and ignorance of the clergy. A law which was passed by this parliament against the demolition of the shrines and images of the saints makes it evident that the iconoclastic spirit which afterwards raged with such violence in Scotland, had already manifested itself among the lower classes of the community.* During the last years of the reign of James V., the clergy obtained a predominant influence in the royal councils, and the project of Beaton, and the prelates, for the wholesale condemnation of the reformers, shows the desperate measures to which the hierarchy were prepared to resort for the extirpation of the new doctrines. And there can be little doubt that if the life of the unhappy monarch had been prolonged, an open struggle between the professors of the old and the new faith could not have been much longer averted.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 370.

CHAPTER XXIV.

LITERARY HISTORY OF THE PERIOD.

THE progress of literature during this period was considerable, and the establishment of several schools of learning indicated a desire at least to promote the moral and intellectual improvement of the people. In the month of January, 1450, at the request of Bishop Turnbull, a bull was granted for the foundation of a university in the City of Glasgow, by Nicholas V., 'a Pope distinguished by his talent and erudition, and particularly by his munificent patronage of Grecian literature.' The pious bishop did not leave the institution which he had founded to languish for lack of support. He endowed it out of his own revenues, establishing a chancellor, rector, dean of faculty, a principal who taught theology, and three professors of philosophy. Other royal and episcopal charters were subsequently granted by James II. (20th April, 1453), by Bishop Muirhead (1st July, 1461), and by King James III., (10th Dec., 1472). And in 1460 the first Lord Hamilton bestowed upon the infant university a piece of ground, with the buildings upon it, in the High-street of the city, on which the college stands at the present day. At first, however, it was very scantily endowed, and such was the insecurity of the times, and the general indifference to learning, that so late as the year 1521 it was attended by a very small number of students.* A second university was founded at St. Andrews about the year 1455, by the excellent Bishop Kennedy, a nephew of James I., and† one of the most illustrious names in Scottish history. In the first foundation charter which was conferred by Pope Nicholas V., the college is said to be built for theology and the liberal arts. It was dedicated to the honour of God, of our Saviour, and the Virgin Mary, and was named St. Salvator's College. The institution was established for the maintenance of a provost, licentiate, and bachelor, who were all to be in holy orders and to lecture on theology on certain days in the week, —four masters of arts, and six 'poor clergymen.' The good bishop endowed the college with the tiends of the parishes of Cults, Kemback, Denino, and Kilmany, and several chapelries, all of which had till then belonged to the bishopric; and as Martine informs us, bestowed upon the new institution "not only stoles for the priests, dalmatic tunics and copes, but chalices, goblets, basins, ewers, candelabras, censers, and crosses, and an image of the Saviour two cubits long, besides various gold and silver utensils; also large bells, small musical bells, and silk tapestry for adorning the church: in short, there was nothing outside or inside the college which did not evince the piety, taste, and munificence of the founder."* In the year 1512 a third college was founded at St. Andrews, under the title of St. Leonard's College, by Prior John Hepburn, in conjunction with King James IV., and his son Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who fell along with his father in the fatal field of Flodden.† It was endowed with the tithes of St. Leonard's parish, with the revenues of an hospital which had been built for the reception of pilgrims who formerly repaired hither in great numbers to adore the relics of St. Andrew, and also with a variety of property which belonged to the prior and canons. The college was intended chiefly for the education of the members of the convent, but it soon acquired such a high reputation that many of the sons of the nobility and gentry repaired to it for instruction. The students, among other branches of education, were carefully instructed in sacred music, and became so celebrated for their skill in that art, that after the Reformation many of them were employed in teaching it.‡

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, King's College, Aberdeen, was erected at the instance of the celebrated Bishop Elphinston, who persuaded James IV. to apply for a bull from the Pope to carry the project into execution. Accordingly, in compliance with this application, a rescript was issued by Pope Alexander VI., 10th Feb., 1494, establishing a university in Old Aberdeen for the teaching of theology, canon and civil laws, medicine, and the liberal

Foundation of the University of Glasgow—

—of St. Salvator's College—

—and of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews.

Of King's College, Aberdeen.

* Major de Gest. Scotorum, p. 19.

† The mother of this eminent prelate (see ante, p. 347) was Mary, a daughter of Robert III., who gave birth to the last Bishop and first Archbishop of St. Andrews, and was married four times: first to the Earl of Angus, by whom she had two sons, William and George Douglas, who successively became Earls of Angus: second to Sir James Kennedy, of Dunure, by whom she had two sons, James, the bishop, and Gilbert, afterwards created Lord Kennedy, the ancestor of the present Marquis of Ailsa: third to Lord Graham, of Dundresmore, by whom she had two sons, James Graham the first Laird of Fintray, and Patrick Graham the first Archbishop of St. Andrews: and fourth to Sir William Edmiston, of Culloden.

* The Chapel of the College, a handsome Gothic edifice, still exists. It contains the monument of its founder, a most beautiful structure.

† Alexander Stewart studied at Sienna, under the celebrated Erasmus, who speaks in the highest terms of the progress of his pupil in Greek rhetoric and law, as well as in the practice of music. 'Even at meals he did not intermit his studies; the chaplain always read some useful book. At other times he would listen to tales, but short and connected with literature; and if he had any spare time he employed it in reading history, in which he took great delight. Nor did that happen to him which sometimes happens to others, 'the more apt at letters the less apt at morals,' for his morals were pure, yet mixed with uncommon prudence. Though his feelings were acute, he was remarkable for the mildness and moderation of his character. He greatly enjoyed wit and humour, but it was of a literary kind and not too caustic; in a word, he was religious without being superstitious. No king was ever blessed with a more accomplished son.' However great might be the merits of the royal student, it was certainly a gross abuse to elevate a youth of eighteen to the primacy of the Scottish Church. In the Appendix, Note XX., will be found two letters written by young Stewart, from Padua, to his father, which will serve to show the scandalous manner in which the patronage of the Church was disposed of in that age.

‡ Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. i. p. 254.

arts, and conferring upon the new institution all the privileges enjoyed by the universities of Paris and Bologna, two of the most highly favoured in Europe. It appears that the chief object of King James and the learned prelate in erecting this college was to introduce civilization and learning into the northern districts of the kingdom. In his letter to the pontiff the king gives a most deplorable account of the barbarous state of this part of his dominions. "The inhabitants," he alleges, "were ignorant of letters, and almost uncivilised; there were no persons to be found fit to preach the word of God to the people, or to administer the sacraments of the Church; and, besides, the country was so intersected with mountains and arms of the sea, or distant from the universities already erected (at St. Andrews and Glasgow), and the road so dangerous, that the youth had not access to the benefit of education in these seminaries. But," adds the king, "the City of Old Aberdeen is situated at a moderate distance from the highland country and northern islands, enjoys an excellent temperature of air, abundance of provisions, and the conveniency of habitations, and of everything necessary for human life." In allusion to these representations the bull states, that notwithstanding there were already two universities in Scotland, a third could in no sense be injurious, as "science has this distinguishing quality, that the diffusion of it tends, not to diminish, but increase the general mass." The members of the College were originally thirty-six in number; but by a second foundation, prepared by Bishop Elphinstone, but not published till 1531, seventeen years after his death, the number was raised to forty-two: namely, four doctors, in the faculties of theology, canon law, civil law, and medicine; eight masters in arts, three students of law (all the above, except the mediciner, to be ecclesiastics), thirteen poor scholars, eight prebends for the service of the College church, and six singing boys. No efforts were spared by the munificent prelate and his royal master to make the new university complete in all its educational arrangements. It was liberally endowed by the bishop during his life, and at his death he bequeathed to it the sum of £10,000 Scots—in those days a very large sum of money. Thus fostered, King's College soon became the most flourishing educational institution in Scotland. It was placed under an excellent system of management, and endowed with professors of eminent ability and learning; and it is not unworthy of notice that Hector Boece, the well-known biographer and historian, was its first principal.

Statute enjoining attendance at the schools.

In a parliament held during the same year in which King's College was founded, a remarkable law was passed, mainly, it is said, through the influence of Bishop Elphinstone, which is justly considered one of the most interesting acts of the Scottish legislature. By this memorable enactment it was ordained that, throughout all the realm, all barons and freeholders "that are of substance should put their eldest sons and heirs to the schools fra they be six or nine years of age, and to remain at the grammar schools until they be competently founded and have perfect Latin; and thereafter to remain three years at the schools of arts and jure (law), so that they have knowledge and understanding of the laws: Through the quilk justice may remain universally through all the realm; so that they who are sheriffs, or judges ordinary, under the king's highness may have knowledge to do justice, that the poor people should have na need to seek our sovereign lord's auditor for ilk small injury; and what baron or freeholder of substance that holds not his son at the schools, having no lawful excuse, he shall pay to the king the sum of twenty pounds."*

Introduction of printing.

A few years after the passing of this judicious act, the memorable invention of printing, which had been imported into England by Caxton, as early as the year 1474, found its way into Scotland. Walter Chepman, a citizen of Edinburgh and a servant of the king's household, was the first Scottish printer. In the year 1508 he printed a volume of pamphlets and several of the poems of Dunbar; and in the following year the 'Breviary of Aberdeen.' His royal master, who in spite of his fondness for idle and frivolous amusements was a liberal friend to letters as well as to the useful and ornamental arts, patronized the ingenious typographer, both by purchasing books from him, and by granting him a royal patent to exercise his mystery.†

There can be no doubt that the establishment of the various colleges and schools throughout the country, together with the invention of printing and the importation of the works of continental authors, must have exercised a powerful influence upon the minds of the Scottish barons and gentry; softening the ferocity of their manners, and introducing among them a taste for liberal education. The unusual tranquillity, too, which, under the vigorous and wise administration of James IV., the nation enjoyed for a period of twenty-five years, must have been highly conducive both to the general prosperity of the country, and to the advancement of literature and art. Accordingly, we find that at this period there flourished in Scotland a considerable number of writers, whose learning and genius entitle them to rank with the most celebrated cotemporary authors, either in England or on the Continent. Among those distinguished Scotchmen, who, in the words of Warton, adorned the fifteenth century "with a degree of sentiment and spirit, a command of phraseology, and a fertility of imagination not to be found in any English poet since Chaucer and Lydgate," the chief place is due to

Life of William Dunbar.

WILLIAM DUNBAR, who has been styled by the highest authority, "an excellent

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 238.

† The grant, which was issued under the Privy Seal, was made to Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, and is dated Sept. 15th, 1507.

poet, unrivalled by any which Scotland ever produced."* Of the personal history of that great genius little or nothing is known except what may be gathered from a few obscure hints, contained in his own verses. He describes himself as a native of Lothian, and appears to have been born about the middle of the fifteenth century, not later than the year 1460. Kennedy, a cotemporary poet, represents him as related to the Earl of March, and Mr. Laing conjectures, with great probability, that he was either the son or nephew of William, son of that Sir Patrick Dunbar of Beill who signalized himself on many occasions, and in 1426 was one of the hostages for James the First.† In the year 1475, when he was probably about fifteen or sixteen years of age, Dunbar was sent to St. Andrews, the most flourishing seat of learning and science at that period in Scotland. This fact Mr. Laing has ascertained from the old registers of the University, in which the name of William Dunbar is entered, in 1477, among the *Determinantes* or Bachelors of Arts, in St. Salvator's College; a degree which the students were not entitled to claim until the third year of their attendance. And two years later, in 1479, the name of the poet again occurs in the registers, as then having taken the degree of Master of Arts. From the colophon of one of his poems, there is reason to suppose that he also studied in the University of Oxford. At an early period of his life he was a novitiate of the order of St. Francis, and in that character travelled over England and a part of the Continent. This is evident from his poem entitled 'The Visitation of St. Francis.' Satan, in the guise of the Saint, appears to the poet in a vision, shortly before the dawn of day; and holding a religious habit in his hand, exhorts him to clothe himself in these vestments and to renounce the world. But at the sight of the seeming saint and his habit, the poet was scared like one who sees a ghost, and excuses himself with thanks for the intended benefit; observing, that in holy legends he had read of many bishops, but of exceeding few friars, that had been admitted to the honour of canonization,—

'Wherefore ga bring to me ane bishop's weid,
Gif ever thou wald my soul yeid unto heaven.'

He allows, however, that in his early years he had worn the obnoxious habit.

'Gif ever my fortune was to be a frier,
The date thereof is past full many a year,
For into every lusty town and place,
Of all England, fro Berwick to Cales,
I have unto thy habit made gude cheer.

'In freiris weid full fairly have I fleichit;‡
In it have I in pulpit gone and preichit;
In Dernton Kirk and eke in Canterbury;
In it I past at Dover oure the ferry,
Thro' Picardy, and there the people teichit.

'As lang as I did bear the freiris style,
In me, GOD wit, was mony wrink and wile;
In me was falset with ilk wight to flatter,
Whilk might be flemit* with na holy water;
I was ay reddy all men to beguile.'

There can be no doubt, as Mr. Laing observes, that it was to this period of Dunbar's life that Kennedy alludes in his 'Flyting,' when he taunts him with his pilgrimage as a pardoner, begging in all the churches from Ettrick Forest to Dumfries.

'Fra Ettrick Forest furth ward to Dumfries
Thou beggit with ane pardoun in all kirks,
Collapis,+ curds, meill,‡ grottis,§ gryce,‖ and geiss,¶
And under nycht whils thow stall staigis** and stirkis.††
Because that Scotland of thy begging irkis
Thow schaipis in France to be a knycht of the field;
Thou has thy clamschellis,‡‡ and thy burdoun keild§§
Unhonest ways all, wolroun, thot thow wirkis.'

It is not known how long Dunbar continued to lead this wandering life, nor how he employed himself after he had relinquished the character of friar. It seems certain, however, that he had visited foreign lands before he became attached to the Scottish court. In one of his poems he speaks of his long and faithful services to the king, and of his having been employed in many foreign countries, in England, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. His biographer conjectures with great probability, that in these extensive peregrinations he accompanied as 'ane clerk' the frequent embassies which James the Fourth was in the habit of sending to the continental courts; as the literary attainments of the clergy peculiarly fitted them for employment in such negotiations. In the register of the Privy Seal, 15th August, 1500, we find mention of a grant by King James IV. to Dunbar, of an annual pension of ten pounds 'for all the days of his life,' or until he be promoted by the king to a benefice of the yearly value of forty pounds, or upwards; and from this period the poet became an attendant upon the court of this gay and gallant monarch. It appears from the treasurer's accounts, that the payment due at Martinmas, 1501, was deferred on account of Dunbar's absence in England; a circumstance which shows that in all probability he accompanied the ambassadors who were sent to the English court to conclude the negotiations for the king's marriage in October, 1501, and that he remained to witness the ceremony of affiancing the Princess Margaret, which took place at St. Paul's Cross, with great solemnity and splendour, on the 25th of January, 1502. Under this supposition, there can be little doubt that Dunbar was the person then styled 'THE RHYMER OF SCOTLAND,' who received £6 13*s.* 4*d.* in reward from Henry VII., on the 31st of December, 1501, and a similar sum on the 7th of January following.‖‖

The Princess Margaret remained in England

* Sir Walter Scott, in "Memorials of George Bannatyne," p. 14. Elsewhere he says, "The genius of Dunbar and Gawin Douglas is sufficient to illuminate whole centuries of ignorance."

† See the interesting Memoir prefixed to Mr. Laing's edition of the works of Dunbar, vol. ii. p. 8.

‡ Entreated.

* Washed away. + Collops. ‡ Meal.
§ Groats. ‖ Pigs. ¶ Geese.
** Young horses. †† Young cows.
‡‡ Scallop shells, as worn by pilgrims.
§§ Pilgrim's staff marked with ruddle.
‖‖ Poems of Dunbar, vol. i. p. 20.

till July, 1503, and three months before her arrival in Scotland, on the 9th of May, Dunbar commemorated that auspicious event in his fine poem, 'The Thistle and the Rose,' which has been pronounced one of the most beautiful, and certainly the noblest, of all Prothalamia. It commences with the following exquisite stanzas :—

'When March was with varying winds past,
And April had, with her silver showers,
Tane leave of nature with an orient blast;
And lusty May, that mother is of flowers,
Had made the birdes to begin their hours,
Amang the tender colours, red and white,
Whose harmony to hear it was delight.

'In bed ae morrow, sleeping as I lay,
Methocht Aurora, with her cristall ene,
In at the window lukit by the day,
And halsit me* with visage pale and grene,
Upon whose hand a lark sang fra the splene,
Awake, luvars, out of your slumbering,
See how the lusty morrow does up spring.

'Methocht fresh May before my bed up stood,
In weeds depaynt of mony divers hue,
Sober, benign, and full of mansuetude,
In brycht attire of flouris forgit new;
Hevinly of colour, white, red, brown, and blue,
Balmit in dew and gilt with Phoebus' bemys,†
While all the house illumit of her lemyss.‡

'Slugird, she said, awake anone for shame,
And in my honour something thou go write;
The lark has done the merry day proclame,
To raise up luvars with comfort and delyt;
Yet nocht incressis thy courage to indyte,
Whose hart sum tyme has glad and blissful bene,
Sangis to mak under the leaves grene.'

Somewhat ungraciously the poet excuses himself on account of the inclemency of the season, and May, soberly smiling, bids him rise and follow her, which he does into a garden redolent and resonant of all delight, for all flowers are there, and the birds are singing like the morning stars.

'The purple sun, with tender beams red
In orient bricht as angel did appear
Through golden skys putting up his head,
Whose gilt tresses shone so wonder clear,
That all the world take comfort, far and near,
To luke upon his fresh and blissful face
Doing all sable from the heaven's chase.

'And as the blisful sound of cherachy§
The fowlis sang throw comfort of the licht;
The birds did with open voices cry,
O luvars foe, away thou dully nycht,
And welcome Day that comforts every wicht,
Hail May, hail Flora, hail Aurora‖ schene,
Hail Princess Nature, haill Venus, luvis queen.'

Nature herself then appears to the poet, and for his sake bids Æolus calm the air, and Neptune the sea, and Jove the sky. No sooner said than done; and then she wills that all her worshippers, animate and inanimate, shall hail her advent, and do obesiance to her, 'their Maker.'

'She ordained eik that every bird and beist
Before her Hiennes suld annone compeir,
And every flower of verteu, most and leist,
And every herb be field far and neir,
As they had wont in May, fro yeir to yeir,
To her their maker to mak obediens,
Full low inclynand with all due reverens.'

* Saluted me. † Beams. ‡ Glitters.
§ Like the holy sound of the angelic host.
‖ Elegant, beautiful.

She sends the roe to bring the beasts, the swallow to collect the birds, and the yarrow or sneeswort to summon the flowers. In the twinkling of an eye they are all in the May-garden.

'All present were in twinkling of an ee,
Baith beast, and bird, and flower, before the Queen,
And first the lion greatest of degree
Was called there, and he most fair to sene,
With a full hardy countenance and keen,
Before Dame Nature came, and did incline
With visage bold, and courage leonine.

'This awful beast was terrible of cheir,
Piercing of look, and stout of countenance,
Right strong of corps, in fashion fair, but fier,
Lusty of shape, light of deliverance,
Red of his colour, as the ruby glance;
On field of gold he stood full mightily,
With flower de luces circled pleasantly.'

The reference in this noble description is to the Scottish royal arms,—a red lion rampant, upon a field of gold, encircled with a border of fleurs-de-luces. Nature lifts up his clear claws, and letting him lean upon her knee, crowns him with a diadem of radiant stones, enjoins him to 'exercise justice with conscience,' and on no account to let the smallest of his subjects 'suffer scaith or scorn from the great,' and concludes her charge to the monarch of the beasts with what Warton well calls 'a beautiful stroke, indicating the moral tenderness of the poet's heart.'

'The lady lifted up his claws clear,
And let him lightly lean upon her knee,
And crowned him with diadem full dear
Of radiant stones, most royal for to see,
Saying, The King of Beasts make I thee,
And the protector chief in woods and shaws,
Unto thy lieges go forth, and keep the laws.

'Justice exerce with mercy and conscience,
And let no small beast suffer scaith nor scorn
Of great beasts that bene of more puissance,
Do law alike to apes and unicorns,
And let no bowgle* with his boistrous horn
The meek plough ox oppress, for all his pride,
But in the yoke go peaceful him beside.'

As soon as Lady Nature ceases to speak, all beasts, great and small, fall down at the lion's feet, and cry, 'Laud! Vive le Roy!' She then crowns the Eagle king of Fowls—another image of the Scottish king—sharpening his pennons like steel darts, and enjoining him to be just to fowls of all degree.

'Syne crowned she the Eagle King of Fowls,
And as steel darts sharpit she his pens,
And bad him be as just to whaups† and owls
As unto peacocks, papingoes, or cranes,
And make ae‡ law for wycht§ fowls and for wrens.
And let no fowl of rapine do effeiray,‖
Nor devour birds but his own proper prey.

Nature then calls on all the flowers to hold up their heads and hear, and first of all she beholds the 'awful thistle,'¶ and seeing him well guarded with a bush of spears, and able for the wars, she makes him her champion, to protect the softer plants from harm.

* Wild ox. † Curlews.
‡ One. § Strong. ‖ Affright.
¶ Pinkerton has remarked that the first authentic appearance of the Thistle as a Scottish badge is in this poem, and in the account of Margaret's reception and wedding, where it is called a 'chardon.'

'Then called she all the flowers that grew on field,
Discerning all their fashions and effeirs,*
Upon the awful THRISSIL she beheld,
And saw him keepit with a bush of spears;
Considering him so able for the weirs,†
A radiant crown of rubies she him gave,
And said 'in field go forth and fend the lave.'‡

She proceeds to counsel him, since he is king, to act discreetly; to love only 'herbs of virtue and sweet odour;' to let no rude nettle be fellow to the goodly fleur-de-luce; no wild weed 'compare her to the Lily's nobleness;' but far beyond and above all other flowers to honour the Rose, 'the fresh Rose, of colour red and white,' the emblem of the English princess, in whom the Roses of York and Lancaster are blended.

'So full of virtue, pleasure, and delight,
So full of blissful angelic beauty,
Imperial birth, honour, and dignity.'

Nature then crowns the Rose queen of flowers, and eulogizes her peerless qualities in the following graceful strains,—

'Then to the Rose she turned her visage,
And said, O lovely daughter, most bening,
Above the Lily, illustrious of lynage,§
From the stock royal rising fresh and ying,‖
But ony spot or macall doing spring,¶
Come, bloom of joy, with gems to be crown'd,
For o'er the lave thy beauty is renown'd.

A costly crown with clarified stones bright,
This comely queen did on her head enclose,
While all the land illumined was with light,
Wherefore methought the flowers did all rejoice.
Crying at once,—Hail be thou, richest Rose;
Hail herbs empress, hail freshest queen of flowers,
To thee be glory and honour at all hours.'

The birds, led by the mavis, the blackbird, the lark, and the nightingale, all at once hail their queen with a triumphant song of gratulation, so melodious and yet so loud, that the poet suddenly awoke, and with a start turned him about to see this brilliant court; but all had vanished into empty air.

Another allegorical poem, called 'The Golden Targe,' is of a more extended range, and displays more creative power, though as a whole, says Professor Wilson, it is much inferior to the 'Thistle and the Rose,' which is as perfect as anything in Spenser. The subject of the poem is the power of love; the insufficiency of the golden targe or the shield of reason to afford protection against the assaults of 'Love's mighty Queen,' and her train. The opening stanzas are remarkably picturesque, and breathe the truest and sweetest spirit of poetry.

'Bright as the star of day began to shine,
When gone to bed were Vesper and Lucyne,
I raise, and by a rose-tree did me rest;
Up sprung the golden candle matutyne,
With clear depurit beams crystalline,
Gladding the merry fowls in their nest;
Or Phœbus was in purple cape revest. **
Up rose the lark, the heaven's minstrel fine,
In May, in till a morrow mirth fullest.

'Full angel-like these birds sang their hours
Within their curtains green, into their bowers,
Apparaled white and red, with bloomes sweet;
Enamelled was the field with all colours;
The pearly drops shook in silver showers;
While all in balm did branch and leaves flete*
To part fra Phœbus did Aurora grete,†
Her crystal tears I saw hang on the flowers,
Which he for love all drank up with his heat.

For mirth of May, with skippis and with hoppis,
The birds sung upon the tender croppis,
With curious notes, as Venus' chapel clerks;
The roses young, new spreading of their knoppis,‡
Were powdered bright with heavenly beriall§ drops,
Thro' beams red, burning as ruby sparks;
The skies rang for shouting of the larks;
The purple heaven, ower skaled in silver slopps,
O'er-gilt the trees, branches, leaves, and barks.

'Down through the ryce‖ a river ran with streams,
So lustily agayn thai lykand temys,¶
That all the lake as lamp did leme** of licht,
Which shadowed all about with twinkling gleams,
That boughs bathed were in fecund†† beams
Through the reflex of Phœbus' visage bright;
On every side the hedges raise on hicht,
The bank was green, the brook was full of bremys,
The stanners‡‡ clear as stars in frosty nicht.

'The crystal air, the sapphire firmament,
The ruby skies of the orient,
Cast brightest beams on emerant boughs green,
The rosy garth-depaynt§§ and redolent,
With purple, azure, gold, and gowlis gent,‖‖
Arrayed was by dame Flora the queen,
So nobly, that joy was for to seen;
The rock against the river resplendent,
As low¶¶ illumined all the leaves schene.'***

The poet falls asleep, lulled by the harmony of the birds and the rushing of the river, and sees a vision of a white sail approaching the shore, swift as a falcon pouncing on her prey. The ship anchors, and a hundred ladies leap from its deck, as fresh as flowers in May, clad in green kirtles, with golden tresses, and 'paps white and middles small as wands.' Amongst these the poet recognises Venus and Aurora and Flora and Juno, Clio, 'the help of Makars' (poets), Pallas, and prudent Minerva, all with crowns upon their heads. May, 'the queen of mirthful months,' is then seen advancing between her sisters April and June, all three walking up and down the garden, amid the music of birds. The poet then sees Nature present May with a gown,

'Rich to behold, and noble of renown,
Of every hue under the heaven.'

Nature is saluted by her subjects, 'the merry fowls.'

'And every bloom on branch, and eke on bank
Open'd and spread their balmy leaves dank (moist)
Full low inclining to their queen so clear,
Whom of their noble nourishing they thank.'

They then salute on the 'same wise' Dame Flora, and after her the mighty Queen of Love. To her

* Qualities. † Wars. ‡ Defend the rest.
§ Lineage. The lily is the emblem of France, and the poet prefers the house of Tudor to Valois.
‖ Young. ¶ Springing without spot or taint.
** Dressed.

* Flow. † Weep. ‡ Buds.
§ Beryl. ‖ Brushwood. ¶ Pleasing sunbeams.
** Shine. †† Rich, abundant, fertilizing.
‡‡ Small stones, gravel. §§ Garden painted.
‖‖ Pretty marigolds. ¶¶ Flame.
*** Beautiful.

'They sang ballads in love, as was the gyse (fashion)
With amorous notes lusty to devise,
As they that had love in their hearts green;
Their honey throats opened fro the spleen (heart)
With warbles sweet did pierce the heavenly skies,
While loud resounyt the firmament serene.'

But, lo! another court, of which Cupid is the king.

'With bow in hand ybent,
And dreadful arrows grundin* sharp and square,
There saw I Mars, the god armipotent,
Awful and stern, strong and corpulent;
There saw I crabbed Saturn, auld and haire+
His look was like for to perturb the aire;
There was Mercurius, wise and eloquent
Of rhetoric, that found the flowers faire.'

There too was Priapus, the god of gardens, and Phanus, and Janus, and Neptune, and Eolus the god of winds, with varying look, 'right like a lord unstable,' Bacchus and Pluto, 'the elrich incubus'

'In cloak of green, this court used no sable.'

The gods with song, lute, and harp, win the goddesses to dance, and the poet drawing near to behold this joyous scene, and creeping through the leaves, is discovered by Venus, who commands Beauty, Fair-Having, Pleasance, and others of her archers, who attend on her, to seize the culprit; but when they are drawing their bows to pierce him to the heart,

'Reason came, with shield of gold so clear,
In plate of mail, like Mars armipotent,'

and defended him from their assault. The archers are then joined by Youth and her young virgins, Innocence, Modesty, Dread, and Obedience, but their efforts are all harmless against Reason's Golden Targe. Then came Sweet Womanhood with a formidable train of artillery, served by Nurture, Lowliness, Patience, Good Fame, Discretion, and other 'ladies full of reverence;' but 'their sharp assays' could not hurt the poet, protected by Reason's shield. A reinforcement arrives under High Degree, followed by Estate and Dignity, Honour, Noble Array, Riches, Freedom, and other allegorical personages, marching under banners displayed, and discharging a cloud of arrows like a shower of hail. They too are repulsed; and Venus brings up her reserve, composed of Presence, Fair Calling, Cherishing and Homeliness, who brings Dame Beauty to the field again,

'With all the choice of Venus' chivalry,'

under the guidance of Dissymulance; but though

'The shower of arrows rappit on as rain,'

they yet make no impression on the Golden Targe. At length Presence, by whom, according to Warton, the poet understands that irresistible incentive accruing to the passion of love, by being often admitted to the society of the beloved object,

* Ground. + Hoary.

throws a powder into the eyes of Reason, who is suddenly deprived of his sight, and reels like a drunken man. The poet having thus lost his protector, receives a deadly wound, and is taken prisoner by Beauty, who now appears more lovely as the clear eye of Reason grows dim. Dissimulation then tries all her arts to deceive the prisoner. Fair Calling smiles on him, Cherishing feeds him with fair words, New Acquaintance embraces him awhile, but soon takes her leave, and is never seen again. At last Danger approaches the unhappy poet, and on her departure delivers him to the custody of Heaviness; Eolus then blows his bugle, the pageant dissolves into empty air,

'Leaving no more but birds and bank and brook.'

The enemy re-embark in the twinkling of an eye, unfurl their sails, and swiftly proceed on their course, celebrating their victory with a discharge of artillery, re-echoed by the rocks, as if 'the rainbow brake.' The poet starts up in affright, and finds that it was but a dream.

The conception of the Golden Targe, it has been justly remarked by Professor Wilson, is wonderfully vivid; but the execution is imperfect; and Dunbar can scarcely be said to have succeeded in the main object of the allegory. The expectation excited by the splendid poetry of the introduction is disappointed by the huddled and hurried action which follows, and which, brief as it is, proportionably to the other parts of the poem, wearies the reader by its excessive sameness.

This fine piece, which was much admired in the days of its author, concludes with an address to Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, whose chief excellences he is thought by some critics of no mean name to have equalled.

'O, reverend Chaucer, rose of rhetors* all,
As in our tongue a flower imperial,
That rose in Britain ever who reads right.
Thou bear'st of makers the triumph royal,
Thy fresh enamelled works most cœlical+
This matter could illumined have full bright.
Wast thou not of our English all the light?
Surmounting every tongue terrestrial,
As far as May's morning doth midnight.

'O moral Gower and Lydgate laureate,
Your sugar'd lips and tongues most aureate‡
Have to our ears been cause of great delight.
Your angel voices most mellifluate,
Our language rude has clear illuminate,
And gilded o'er our speech that imperfyte.
Stood till your golden pens began to write,
This isle till then was bare and desolate
Of rhetorich or lusty fresch indyte.§

'Thou little quair,‖ be ever obedient,
Humble, subject, and simple of intent,
Before the face of every cunning¶ wight.
I know that thou of rhetorich art schent;**
Of all her lovely roses redolent
Is none into thy garland set on hight;
Ashamed be then, and draw thee out of sight,
Rude is thy weed, distained, bare, and rent,
Well may'st thou be afraid to face the light.

* Orators, rhetoricians. + Celestial. ‡ Golden.
§ A discourse, writing. ‖ Book.
¶ Knowing, skilful. ** Shorn, deprived.

James IV. was an avowed patron of literature, and at this period, says Mr. Laing, "Dunbar appears to have lived on terms of great familiarity with the king, and to have participated freely in all the gaieties and amusements of the Scottish court; his sole occupation being that of writing ballads on any passing event which might serve to exercise his fancy or imagination, and thus contribute to the entertainment of his royal master." We learn from the treasurer's accounts, that besides his yearly pension of ten pounds, the poet received occasional grants of money from the royal purse. On the 17th of March, 1504-5, Dunbar for the first time said mass in the king's presence, and on that occasion he received a gratuity of seven French crowns, or £4 18s. in Scottish money—a larger sum than was usually given by his majesty on hearing 'a priest's first mass.' At Martinmas, 1507, his pension was 'newly eiked,' or augmented, the king having ordered it to be increased to the annual sum of £20, and three years afterwards it was raised to £80, to be paid as before at the stated terms of Martinmas and Whitsuntide, 'for all the days of his life, or until he be promoted to a benefice of £100, or above.' The poet's pension, however, seems to have been scarcely sufficient to supply his ordinary wants; for in his address to the 'lords of the king's exchequer,' he tells these grave personages that they need not 'tire their thumbs in reckoning up his rents and farms, or make their counters clink, or consume their ink and paper in the receiving of his sums.' The story is very short. He received a sum of money from the Lord Treasurer, which is all gone. Not a cross or copper is left, as his empty purse will testify. 'I cannot tell,' he adds, 'how the money has been spent; but well I wot it is all gone, and that methinks ane compt o'er sair' (too sore a reckoning). There can be no doubt that the poet was a favourite of his royal master, who was no niggard to his servants; but James, though kind-hearted and generous, was thoughtless and passionately fond of amusement, and often lavished his bounty on the most unworthy objects, to the neglect of the modest and deserving. In his 'Remonstrance to the King,' Dunbar has portrayed, in most graphic terms, the extravagance of the monarch, and the worthless character of the multifarious crowd of suitors, whom his indiscriminate patronage attracted to the Scottish court—astrologers, musicians, minstrels, jugglers, jesters, tale-bearers, flatterers, sharpers, Monsouris of France, importunate Irish beggars, and innumerable others who

> ——'ken none other craft nor curis (profession)
> But to mak' thrang within the duris:'

all came in for a large share of the regal bounty. The poet speaks with just commendation of the king's liberality to men of science and talent; but when he witnesses his indiscriminate favour bestowed on the crowd of importunate, idle, and worthless characters who infest the court, while he is passed over, his very heart is ready to burst for despite.

> 'My heart near bursts then for tayne*
> Whilk may not suffer nor sustene
> So great abuses for to see
> Daylie in court before my ee.
> My mind so fer+ is set to flyte‡
> That of nocht else I can indyte,
> For either maun§ my heart to break,
> Or with my pen I maun me wreik.
> And since the tane must needs be,
> Into melancholy to dee,
> Or let the venom ische all out—
> Beware anon, for it will spout,
> Gif that the treacle come not tyt‖
> To swage the swalme¶ of my despite.'

In another Address to the King, the burden of the song still is, 'my painful purse still prickells me.' The thought of its utter emptiness of all but pain comes across him when he would blithely write ballads, or when he sets himself to dance or sing, and drives all pleasant pastime from his remembrance. And worse than that—

> 'When men that have purses in tone
> Passis to drink or to disjone**
> Then maun I keep ane gravitie,
> And say that "I will fast till noon;"
> My painful purse so prickells me.
>
> 'My purse is made of sic ane skin,
> There will na crosses++ bide it within;
> Strait as fra the fiend they flee,
> Wha ever tyne‡‡ wha ever win;
> My painful purse so prickells me.
>
> 'I have inquired in mony a place
> For help and comfort in this case,
> And all men say, My lord, that ye
> Can best remeid, for this mal-ease
> That with sic pains prickells me.'

The grand object of Dunbar's ambition, however, as Mr. Laing observes, "was preferment in the church, which, independently of any other claims he might possess, he was entitled to expect from the terms of the grant of his yearly pension. It is somewhat amusing to observe with what ingenuity and address he varies his continuous and importunate petitions. In general he seems to found his chief claims for preferment upon former services which he had rendered, his youth having been spent in the king's employment; while he intimates that his wants would be easily satisfied. But whether in the form of a satirical or of a pathetic appeal to the king, or simply as a congratulation on the new year, or whether under some humorous personation he brought forward his request, still the burden of Dunbar's song was "a benefice." From the strain of his earlier poems, it appears that he had at one time entertained sanguine hopes of advancement, but as years passed on and left him still unbeneficed, and a mere dependent on the bounty of his royal master, his heart began to sink within him at the prospect of the future.

* Anger, sorrow. + Fierce. ‡ Scold. § Must.
‖ Quick. ¶ Tumour. ** Breakfast.
++ Money. ‡‡ Lose.